

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

SYMBOLIC WARFARE

The Battle for the Ownership of
Symbols in an Anglican Community

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ABSTRACT

The uncovering and investigating of those meaningful aspects of human existence which emerge as a result of one's location in life and experience of life and are appropriated, interpreted and operated by individuals and groups is the focus of this thesis. This is an enquiry into 'living meaning', the symbolic configurations and conceptions which lie hidden in the recesses of the human psyche as feelings, images, words and associations and are displayed in combinations and concatenations in the public square. The initial belief that I would discover a common language and find cohesion and unity in the theological college which formed the research arena was soon shattered, and this project came to centre around the use and abuse, manipulation, exploitation and stealing of

symbols and the complex procedures of negotiation and collective bargaining. In fact, we entered a battle zone from which we would not emerge unscathed because symbolic warfare was being waged!

While at one stage there was the attempt to carry out the task before me by primarily using questionnaires and interviews, I came to realize that in dealing with the complex nature of pre-apprehended and apprehended symbols, participant-observation and reflective analysis was far more fitting. Here I focused on a representative South African community which, I believe, contained almost all the permutations found in our society - political, social, economic, cultural and educational. This complexity may have been compounded by the comprehensive nature of Anglicanism.

I believe that symbolic warfare is endemic to the very nature of religion and I endeavour to show this by analysing the discourse, ritual and community aspects of the seminary. But it is also my belief that there are some things of the sacred which defy appropriation and thwart the claims to ownership and it is these which prevent the disintegration of a community. My hope is that men and women will assimilate the multiplex nature of being human and seek to relinquish the tenacious grip they have on their own symbols - symbols which have, in fact, become idols! Bound in these chains there can be no freedom, because liberation comes in recognizing the interdependent and interconnected nature of human living in a universal theatre of symbols. To die to one's own symbols is indeed a real death but the lesson has not been learnt that while the crucifixion brings death, the flickering light of the resurrection is still shining as it did on that first Easter morn.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1:	Sacred Symbols, Secularization and Sociological Analysis	1
CHAPTER 2:	Anglicanism and the South African Church	35
CHAPTER 3:	St. Paul's College and its Context	76
CHAPTER 4:	Discourse	110
CHAPTER 5:	Ritual Practice	140
CHAPTER 6:	Community	172
CHAPTER 7:	Symbolic Warfare	203

APPENDICES:

1.	QUESTIONNAIRE	1
2.	INTERVIEWS	15

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

1

CHAPTER ONE

SACRED SYMBOLS, SECULARIZATION

AND

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

It has been stated that our world has been reduced to a "global village". Today we can keep abreast of events in distant places and maintain a watchful eye on many horizons because physical distance has been radically minimized. Through the various branches of the media, a whole gamut of occurrences and experiences are brought into our homes: from the devastating drought in Ethiopia to the exciting and innovative technological advancements in Japan, from viewing open-heart surgery "live" to seeing the latest AIDS victim arrive at hospital to spend his dying days, from witnessing the destruction caused by the Irish Republican Army to the awareness of escalating civil conflict in our country

(although in the latter instance our access has been severely restricted). But our increased awareness has not, I fear, brought an increase in the ability to understand one another or the possibility of forging an acceptable common future. Have these recently acquired modes of communication, these new vistas of information and knowledge merely exacerbated our separateness or perhaps intensified the awareness of our disjointed and disunited human condition and that no world-wide 'family of humankind' shall ever be established? Has there been a growing realization that differentiation is far more of a reality than agreement about the perpetuation of our human experience?

Thus, from ecologists to economists, from politicians to priests we frequently hear about the need for forging a common symbol-set, a common language because "the attainment of some kind of viable and coherent world order would precipitate a major new set of symbolic forms"¹ which could bridge the gap,

1. R.N. Bellah: Beyond Belief. Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World.

Harper and Row, New York 1970, 185

the chasm which exists as a result of the lack of common perceptions about ourselves, our world and our future. And together with the absence of this common symbol-set there appears to be the apparent absence of religion in the public realm of life, so that Kenneth Leech could begin his latest book by saying "that we live, in the West, in an atmosphere of spiritual deprivation and impoverishment is abundantly clear. For whatever reasons, conventional western religion does not provide adequate nourishment for the souls of men and women ... We seem to have entered what Koestler has termed 'the spiritual ice age', an age in which 'the established churches can no longer provide more than Eskimo huts where their shivering flocks huddle'".²

In view of this dilemma it is not surprising that there have been numerous attempts by western religious writers (and most notably by Christian theologians) either to emphasize this present world and one's (almost) exclusive involvement in it; or to focus on the projected state of eternal life where finally,

2. K. Leech: True God. Sheldon Press, London 1985,1

as Julian of Norwich anticipated, 'all shall be well and all manner of thing shall be well'. Hence we discover a theology of politics and liberation which loses sight of man's destiny to dwell with his creator or a theology of hope which is far too futuristic and neglects the present suffering reality.

And there are many who were once committed to the creation of an alternative society here on earth in which there would be the common ownership and possession of wealth and resources but who now feel that they cannot present a picture which they no longer perceive - of a vision, a utopian existence, a fantasy world which could be strived for by following some new 'blueprint for survival'. There are also those who, in all honesty and sincerity, have lost their faith in the theological enterprise and cannot offer a reason to wait expectantly for the bliss of existence with a supreme deity in a realm beyond this one, because the realm of eternity may well be a figment of one's

imagination and an ultimate being may not exist at all. Here then is the loss of hope either for our world or for the exalted status of standing with the angels and the saints around the heavenly throne.

It is in response to such a disappearance of hope that one, Lesslie Newbigin, wrote his article: "The Other Side of 1984"³ in which he decried the "eighteenth century philosophers who had translated the Christian vision of a heavenly city into a future earthly utopia, who called upon their contemporaries to forget about 'God' and put their hope in the blessed future in which would be realized that happiness which is every man's right and which God had never been able to provide".⁴ The confidence placed in technology and science as the tools for shaping a new future and a concomitant freedom from poverty, ignorance and disease,⁵ have themselves become monsters which

3. L. Newbigin: The Other Side of 1984.

BCC Private Circulation 1983

4. Ibid., 4

5. see V. Ferkiss: "Freedom in a Planetary Society" in Humanitas Vol.XIV No.1, 6-7

threaten the very existence of our planet, through, for example, the threat of nuclear warfare and pollution - perhaps they have become the idols which now rule! And Newbigin pointedly enquires whether there is a future for "our culture"⁶ or whether this culture is moving inexorably to its fate; to its annihilation and death

THE SACRED AND THE SECULAR

The roots of the despondency and dissatisfaction that Newbigin writes of have been traced to Renaissance literature and art, and its fascination with the human form,⁷ and to the Reformation with its emphasis on one's individual calling⁸ and the

6. By "our culture" Newbigin means post-Enlightenment culture, Pg.19

7. see A.I.C. Heron: A Century of Protestant Theology. Lutterworth Press, Guildford and London 1980,2

8. see H.R. Macintosh: Types of Modern Theology. Fontana Collins, Glasgow 1937, 14-15

exercise of the "rationalistic economic ethic".⁹

It has been claimed that these were the beginnings of a gradual transition from a sacral world-view to a secular world-view.¹⁰ According to this thesis the Weltanschauung of common era history until the Middle Ages (and beyond) was a retrospective existence - one in which mens eyes were fixed on the golden age of the past; and their occupation was a steadfast contemplation of that time of "original" justice, peace and human fulfillment. Societal norms and morality seemed to be fixed ultimately by God and revealed to mankind through his instrument on earth, the Church. This was a dualistic understanding of reality, a division between what was natural and what was super-natural, between what was human and what was divine.

Alternatively, such theorists declare, in the Enlightenment and now the post-Enlightenment

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9. see G. Marshall: Presbyteries and Profits; Calvinism and the development of capitalism in Scotland, 1560-1707.
Clarendon Press, Oxford
1980, 33 and 25
10. see A. Shutte: The Human Meaning of Religion.
Unpublished M.A. (University
of Stellenbosch) 1971

secular world-view, there are no stable formulas and principles for society and any such fundamental framework is consciously fixed by man and can therefore be abrogated at will. Thus renowned German theologian Hans Küng states in his most recent book that the matter of "eternal life" can only be examined "when the postulate of the Enlightenment has penetrated everywhere and there is no longer any eternal truth that can evade the critical judgement of reason by an appeal merely to the authority of Bible, tradition or Church ..."¹¹ Now one no longer labours and strives for an entrance ticket to heaven because the focus is on the future of this world and it is in the future here that peace and justice will lie because man is the agent who can and will bring about a utopian world. This is a one-world world, a theatre in which there is no place for the divine, the mysterious, the sacramental, stripping the public area of life of what is spiritual or holy. Therefore deductive logic is unacceptable because there are no absolutes. The society and the community deny their dependency upon the moral attributes of God

11. H. Küng: Eternal Life? Fount, London 1985, 17

as their yardstick and gauge for action, involvement and reflection. The use of reason now begins from the statistical analysis of data or from the attempt to build logically consistent and coherent systems of belief, always conscious that the theorist himself confers authority on the beliefs that he holds.

Blind obedience to governments is questioned because the ruling authority is not accepted as having been placed there by a supreme being. Man enacts laws; man governs and exercises his power because he has substituted "for the love of God ... the love of humanity; for the vicarious atonement, the perfectibility of man through his own efforts; for the hope of immortality in another world, the hope of living in the memory of future generations".¹²

But we cannot go back, we cannot retrace our steps and seek shelter in a medieval world where 'If I ascend to heaven thou Lord art there! If I make my bed in Sheol, thou Lord art there! If I take the wings of the morning and dwell in the uttermost

12. C. Becker: The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth Century Philosophers.

Yale Univ. Press, New Haven 1942,130

parts of the sea, even there thy hand shall lead me,
and thy right hand shall hold me' (Psalm 139 vv 7-8).

Nor can we take a nostalgic return journey to the
triumphalist celebration inaugurating the kingdom of
heaven on earth, that deep faith in human nature
which even swept into our own century.

But if we did attempt to turn back, to remigrate,
what is it that we could go back to? Would we
find a golden age of faith? Did it ever exist?
Was there a time in which the Christian faith
governed and ruled the hearts of men and women so
that their lives were saturated by sacred symbols?
Or even outside the Christian faith, were those
who went before us, the 'primitives', were they
somehow innately more religious than twentieth
century men and women? And with the so-called
"demise of religion", have we gained autonomy
and discovered a new freedom? Are we more
authentically human than those who worshipped
in the great fanes, basilicas and cathedrals
which now stand empty?

The secularization thesis has recently been the target of attack both by those who have questioned the thesis itself and by those engaged in historical and anthropological research. With regard to the latter, anthropologist Mary Douglas states that "the idea that primitive man is by nature religious is nonsense. The truth is that all the varieties of scepticism, materialism and spiritual fervour are to be found in the range of tribal societies ... (and thus) ... secular in the sense of this-worldly, secular in the sense of failing to transcend the meanings of everyday, secular in the sense of paying no heed to specialized religious institutions, there are secular tribal cultures".¹³ And indeed, while global society can be said to contain all the permutations from the religious to the agnostic or atheist, it could be proposed that any one society contains this entire spectrum.

But the fundamental assumption underpinning the secularization thesis is that people once were

13. M. Douglas: Natural Symbols. Vintage Books, New York 1973, 36-37

religious, both in the privacy of their homes in prayer and Bible reading and in the streets processing behind statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary or the monstrance on the Feast of Corpus Christi. In contrast it is stated that today, religion, if it is present, exclusively resides in the pietistic practices performed secretly for the saving of one's solitary soul. Some theorists claim that industrialization and its concomitant urbanization have ensured the demise of the Church's influence because family and communal based societies were compelled to become societies of voluntary association.¹⁴ Others who concentrate on numbers of adherents to the traditional religious institutions appear to "prove" their thesis concerning the decline of religion, but two problems immediately surface: one with reference to such a narrow definition of religion or religious commitment and in consequence to that, the question arises as to whether a person is less religious

14. see P.E. Glasner: The Sociology of Secularization. A Critique of a Concept.
Routledge and Kegan Paul,
London 1977, 56-57

because she does not attend formal Church services.¹⁵ Recently it has been argued and, I believe most convincingly, that the apparent dominance of religion, particularly during the feudal period, was due to the contribution religion offered to the political and economic structuring of landownership and that the peasantry was seldom significantly influenced by the Christian faith.¹⁶ Such a materialist perspective analyses the influence of Christian teaching and practice on the reproduction of the family which was vital to the organization of property. Turner writes that "feudal societies were deeply conflictual and class divisions were sharply marked in language, dress, culture and religion"¹⁷ and reflecting on the opening remarks of this thesis, little appears to have changed.

Even the adoption of the scientific and anthropocentric

15. Ibid., 15-22

16. see B.S. Turner: Religion and Social Theory.
A Materialist Perspective.
Heinemann, London 1983

17. Ibid., 153

paradigm of the Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment period, with the unashamed proclamation that man had 'come of age' and "would rise to unprecedented heights, and all evils would vanish",¹⁸ that one united family was being born, has gradually been displaced by pessimism, desperation and despair as the confidence in man and his ability to provide answers to the vexing questions of human existence have proved increasingly inconclusive and unsatisfactory.¹⁹

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

It was the 'subjective turn' and the locating of man at the centre of all enquiry which rendered

18. I. Barbour: Issues in Science and Religion
SCM, London 1966, 64

19. see D. Cupitt: Only Human. SCM, London 1985,
44-47 These pages contain a
critique of liberal theology with
its progressive world-view.

also see L. Cowie: Eighteenth Century Europe.
Bell and Sons, London 1963,36:
"The eighteenth century is
perhaps the last period in the
history of western Europe when
human omniscience was thought
to be an attainable goal".

obsolete the total explanation of all things in theological terms. Therefore subsequent investigations and analyses of the social, cultural and communal nature of existence were to be carried out by using the "positive method" which involved a "careful examination and co-ordination of the factual results"²⁰ of the relevant research material. And it was this "positive method" which provided the framework to Emile Durkheim's seminal work in the sociology of religion: The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,²¹ because "like every positive science, it (i.e. this study)

20. C.B. Armstrong: An Outline of Western Philosophy.

SPCK, London 1964, 95

also Cupitt: op. cit., 120

also Bryan Wilson: Religion in Sociological Perspective.

Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford

New York 1982, 1-10

21. E. Durkheim: The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life.

George Allen and Unwin,

London, 1915

has as its object the explanation of some actual reality which is near to us, and which consequently is capable of affecting our ideas and acts: this reality is man, and more precisely, the man of today, for there is nothing which we are more interested in knowing".²²

Durkheim's book was first published in 1912 (merely five years before he died) and central to his thesis was the exploration of the cohesive nature of symbols with their function of group reinforcement in terms of identity and belonging. Durkheim's analysis and definition of religion emerged from his study of the Australian Aborigine and North American Indian communities. He believed that in order to understand the social function of religion he would have to return to the most "primitive" society he knew and examine this phenomenon in that context. Durkheim discovered that among the Australian Aborigines each particular clan had a token which was taboo and represented on a piece of wood or stone as an

22. Ibid., 1

emblem. "Thus the universe, as totemism conceives it, is filled and animated by a certain number of forces which the imagination represents in forms taken, with only a few exceptions from the animal or vegetable kingdoms ...".²³ A special relationship existed between the clan and its totem: the totem was a symbol first for what Durkheim called "the totemic principle or God" and secondly a symbol whereby the clan distinguished itself from any other clan. It was at this point that Durkheim equated God and society; "So if (the totemic emblem) is at once the symbol of the god and the society, is that not because the god and the society are only one?"²⁴ In the affirmative answer to this question, Durkheim understood the power of religion as a moral force embodying the common values of the society: "Religion ceases to be an inexplicable hallucination and takes a foothold in reality. In fact, we can say that the believer is not deceived when he believes in the existence of a moral power upon which he depends and from which he receives all that is

23. Ibid., 189

24. Ibid., 206

best in himself: this power exists, it is society ...

Before all, (religion) is a system of ideas with which the individuals represent to themselves the society of which they are members and the obscure but intimate relations which they have with it.

This is its primary function ..."²⁵ The group shares symbols and sentiments and therefore utters "the same cry, pronouncing the same word, or performing the same gesture in regard to some object that they become and feel themselves to be in unison".²⁶ And as long as the human society

exists religion will have a function because "there can be no society which does not feel the need of upholding and affirming at regular intervals the collective sentiments and the collective ideas which make its unity and its personality".²⁷

It is not yet our task to offer a critique of

25. Ibid., 225

26. Ibid., 230

27. Ibid., 427

Durkheim's theory²⁸ but rather to state two fundamental aspects of his thesis and explore them in Berger and Luckmann's study on 'the social construction of reality' and in Berger's book "The Sacred Canopy".²⁹ At one point Durkheim mentions that society, that moral and collective force which is the clan's religion, is internalized: "It does not act upon us wholly from without; but rather, since society cannot exist except in and through individual consciousness, this force must also penetrate

28. Merely two of the many places where this can be found are: D.W.D. Shaw: The Dissuaders. SCM, London 1978, 69-74 and E.E. Evans-Pritchard: Theories of Primitive Religion. Oxford Univ. Press, Oxford 1965, 64-73

29. P.L. Berger and T. Luckmann: The Social Construction of Reality. Penguin Univ. Books, U.K. 1976

P.L. Berger: The Sacred Canopy. Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion. Anchor Books, New York 1969

us and organize itself within us; it thus becomes an integral part of our being"³⁰ and that this religious force is "projected outside of the consciousnesses that experience them, and objectified".³¹

This internalization/externalization thesis is paralleled in Marx's earlier fetishism/reification theory and certainly provides the basis for Berger and Luckmann's work in the sociology of knowledge.³²

Following both Marx and Durkheim, Berger and Luckmann believe society to be precisely such a dialectical phenomenon, that is, man both constructs society in a process of externalization and society confronts the individual as an external facticity of the world.³³ This external, human-constructed product is then "internalized" by the

30. Durkheim: op. cit., 209

31. Ibid., 229

32. see Turner op. cit., 68-69

33. Berger and Luckmann op. cit., 28

"...we have modified the Durkheimian theory of society by the introduction of a dialectical perspective ..."

individual. Individuals are socialized to the extent that they personally appropriate the externalized, objectivized social reality. But because this is a dialectical process, there is conversation not only between the individual and society but also within the individual between the socialized and non-socialized components. The externalized social construction maintains the Weltanschauung of the community and indeed, explains and justifies the social order. For life to be meaningful, it must be located in the social world, a world which may restrict freedom, inhibit freedom, punish, command, destroy, sanction etc. Society is "nomizing", that is, it is the established meaningful social order within which one can "make sense of one's own biography" because it is "the guardian of order and meaning" both objectively and subjectively. The stable perimeter within which one is free to act and to be, is established by the nomos. But the societal nomos is not the end of the process of externalization. Rather, to the

extent that "the socially established nomos attains the quality of being taken for granted, there occurs a merging of its meanings with what are considered to be fundamental meanings inherent in the universe".³⁴ Now a person's life becomes meaningful in the ultimate sense. Meaning is not confined to the society within which the individual lives but the socially constructed nomos is projected as revealing 'the way things actually are' and thus becomes a sacred cosmos, a powerful reality which confronts man. And this is religion, "the human enterprise by which a sacred cosmos is established".³⁵ Here one is located in an ultimate frame of reference.

While Berger and Luckmann have been criticized for what is interpreted as social determinism,³⁶ the lack of emphasizing individual freedom³⁷ and

34. Berger op. cit., 24

35. Ibid., 25

36. H. Jones: "The Spirit of Inquiry and the Reflected Self: Theological Anthropology and the Sociology of Knowledge" in Scottish Journal of Theology Vol.31 1978, 208

37. D. Cairns. "The thought of Peter Berger" in Scottish Journal of Theology Vol. 27 1974, 187,191

confusing the investigations of socially-
 conditioned beliefs with their truth or
 falsehood,³⁸ it is more appropriate for us to
 examine their concept plausibility structures
 in a plural society³⁹ with a variety of

38. Ibid., 191 also R. Gill: "Berger's
 Plausibility Structures:
 A Response to Professor Cairns"
 in Scottish Journal of Theology
 Vol.27 1974, 201,202

39. South Africa has been referred to as a 'plural
 society' and this notion has been increasingly
 employed. Without entering the debate I
 believe that the following definition is
 pertinent to South Africa and relevant to this
 study. Therefore for our purposes a 'plural
 society' is one "composed of disparate ethnic
 categories which live side-by-side, meeting only
 in the market place, and lack a commonly agreed
 value system to guide non-market activity",
 see J. Brewer: "Race, Pluralism and Power:
 The British parallel with South Africa" in
Social Dynamics 7 (1) 1981,42

also see D. Tracy: The Analogical Imagination.
Christian Theology and the
Culture of Pluralism,
 SCM, London 1981,366:

"True pluralism develops
 criteria of relative
 adequacy ... Pluralism demands
 conversation and expects conflict".

perspectives: "It goes without saying that this multiplication of perspectives greatly increases the problem of establishing a stable symbolic canopy for the entire society".⁴⁰ Plausibility structures are defined as "the specific social base and social processes required for its maintenance".⁴¹ In the case study of one Anglican community I encountered a variety of plausibility structures and hence meaning, identity and belonging were evident in the language and symbols relevant to and understood by the group of which one was a member. In the research situation one had to ask what would happen when the respondents to this project came together to live a common life and study theology. Would there be what Berger and Luckmann call "alternations",⁴² the transformation of the various individual group identities into one, an over-arching language and symbol system? Or rather, would the nature of South African society and the Anglican Church and the relatively short period of time together ensure that groups remained locked into their "sub-universes"⁴³ where categories of

40. Berger and Luckmann op. cit., 103

41. Ibid., 174

42. Ibid., 176

43. Ibid., 102

meaning were accepted and identity and belonging was known?

But such expectations are founded on the trademark of the sociology of religion, namely, that religion is the social glue or adhesive which binds a society together and thereby legitimates the prevailing social organization.⁴⁴ And with the "demise" of religion, various theorists have subsequently focused on the ritual and ceremonial life of the nation, stating that there are overarching symbols which now perform the adhesive task. But problems abound with respect to this 'social cement' thesis. First, the question is seldom asked as to who is fostering such commonly accepted symbols and why they are being promoted. In other words, what is the ideological content to and rationale behind these ubiquitous symbols? Secondly, the statement that 'knowledge is power' leads to an insidious realization that the proliferation of knowledge does not necessarily entail an

44. see Turner op. cit., esp. pp 38-62

increasingly critical population. To educate people about the meaning of a symbol through a series of religious or civil rituals, entails an extension of the authoritative power base and therefore the use of more sophisticated discourse in the manipulation of the population. Thirdly, the proposal that religion is the social glue for any group is far too limited a perspective because military might, economic coercion or the scarcity of resources could be reasons for social cohesion. The final problem lies at the centre of this investigation. For too long sacred symbols have been perceived as the socially accepted signs, pointers and reflections of a united group, things agreed about, the common property of any one society. They are instead, I believe, power points which engender an emotional response and reaction and thus they are fought over in the arena of symbolic warfare.

SACRED SYMBOLS

Therefore I write of symbols, those meaningful aspects of human existence which emerge as a result of one's location in life and experience of life and are appropriated, interpreted and operated by individuals and groups. It is evident that there is considerable difficulty in identifying and interpreting the living, dynamic and deep-seated nature of symbolic arrangements and configurations because they lie in the hidden recesses of the human psyche as feelings, images, words and associations and are only displayed in combinations and concatenations in the public square. But for that reason these issues cannot be ignored because "symbolism is no mere idle fancy or corrupt degeneration: it is inherent in the very texture of human life".⁴⁵ Symbols are indeed a means of communication, or as Mary Douglas argues, in society "symbols are the

45. A.N. Whitehead (1927, 61-72) quoted in
R. Needham: Symbolic Classification.
Goodyear, California 1979, 70

only means of communication ... the only means of expressing value; the main instruments of thought, the only regulators of experience".⁴⁶ But Douglas also warns that for any communication to occur, there must exist symbolic structure and form, that in order for a person to pursue an integrated existence his life must emerge and mature within a coherent symbolic arena. To move out of a 'restricted code', that rather closed theatre which has shaped so much of one's experience and perceptions, to leave its comforting confines and live in an 'elaborated' arena is inevitably frightening because the 'restricted code' transmits information which maintain a particular social form as both a system of control and communication⁴⁷ and these symbolic perimeters systematize and manage experience. However in the 'elaborated' area more options are present and the potential for conflict is greater because there are a plethora of 'competing' symbolic worlds. As Tracy notes, in this 'elaborated' area "each of us seems

46. Douglas op. cit., 60

47. Ibid., 79 Also p. 27: "I argue that the perception of symbols in general as well as their interpretation, is socially determined".

to become not a single self but several selves at once. Each speaks not merely to several publics external to the self but to several internalized publics in one's own reflections on authentic existence".⁴⁸

The task of this thesis in interpreting the function of symbols was aided by an investigation of a stable and yet impermanent community of Anglicans. The fieldwork was carried out in a "representative" South African community in the sense that it comprised different ethnic and racial groupings, widely divergent educational standards, a variety of languages were spoken, the prior living-standards of the participants varied enormously etc. It could be claimed that the "broad" nature of Anglicanism only served to entrench this multifariousness. Because of this diversity I adopted a method which primarily consisted of participant-observation but included the compiling, distributing and assessing of

48. Tracy op. cit., 4

questionnaires, and the conducting of interviews.

In the case study each person brought to the community a set of, what I shall call, symbolic pre-apprehensions, that is, symbolic configurations which are deep-seated and the result of the social, geographical, personal location and genetic make-up of one's life and the qualitative evaluation in this regard.⁴⁹

49. see A. Berleant: "The Experience and Judgement of Values" in E. Laszlo and J.B. Wilbur (eds.): Value Theory in Philosophy and Social Science.

Gordon and Breach, New York 1973

also see R.N. Bellah: op. cit., 1970, 10

also see S.M. Tipton: Getting Saved from the Sixties. Moral Meaning in Conversion and Cultural Change.

Univ. of California Press
1982, 274: "Religion ties the way a people live to the order they live within through sacred symbols".

On the genetic influence see K. Jubber: Genetic Epistemology and the Sociology of Knowledge.

Unpublished Ph.D. U.C.T. 1981 esp. pp 232-262 and 138-196

Indicative of the growing consensus among theologians and sociologists that religion has become privatized,⁵⁰ Chris Stones could introduce his doctoral thesis by saying that "religion is the most intimate and personal value system (people) have".⁵¹ I would agree that it is "intimate" and "personal" in the sense that it is vitally important to the person concerned, but such a value system is at any one moment a conversation between the individual and society in the continual process of socialization. Indeed, religion is both individual and communal, both personal and social

50. see J. Moltmann: Theology of Hope.

SCM, London 1967, 310

Leech op. cit., Chapter 1

R.J. Niehaus: The Naked Public Square.

Eerdmans, Grand Rapids 1984

51. C.A. Stones: The Meaning of Becoming and Being a Member of a Small and Structured Religious Group.

Unpublished Ph.D.

Rhodes Univ. 1980, 20

but in its communal and social aspects religion lives within a community of faith, a community with a common language which is symbolic.⁵²

And it is precisely the symbolic nature of this personally appropriated and socially propitious language which is the problematic that cuts to the heart or perhaps through the very heart of the community under investigation. Societal consensus about symbols is confounded and frustrated because what is acceptable in terms of identity and belonging within a cultural unit presents serious impediments to consensus about symbols across a series of cultural groups.⁵³ Thus it must be emphasized

52. see D. Cupitt: The World To Come.

SCM, London 1982, 64

53. see R.N. Bellah (ed.): Religion and Progress in Modern Asia.

The Free Press,

New York 1965, 153

also see N. Lash: Theology on the Way to Emmaus.

SCM, London 1986, 57

also see J.H. Gill: "'Talk about Religious Talk"

Various approaches to the nature of Religious Language' in Scottish Journal of Theology. Vol. 19, 1966, 11

that "it is in the realm of culture that both participation in and critical reflection upon symbols, including religious symbols, principally occur".⁵⁴

Was it at all realistic to suppose that the arena within which this investigation occurred would be a melting-pot of symbolic conceptions as the 'social cement' theorists suppose? For the reality which emerged was not so much one of the overarching Anglican symbols absorbing the varied symbolic pre-apprehensions or even cushioning the conflict and tension between the various parties present,⁵⁵ rather, this thesis centres around

54. Tracy op. cit., 11

55. With the 'broad church' tradition in Anglicanism, the conflict appears to be wider than in the Catholic tradition. This was confirmed by an interview with a Roman Catholic seminarian on 31 August 1987 who revealed that there was much conflict in the seminary he was attending but that it did not significantly include areas like doctrine or perceptions of the Bible.

the claiming of symbols - the use and abuse, manipulation, exploitation and stealing of symbols. But symbolic warfare also involves processes of negotiation either before war is declared or when the cost of war becomes too high and the community is in danger of disintegration. Sacred symbols operate in the charged atmosphere which encircles the complex procedures of conflict and consensus. And so we stand, as people have always stood, in the front-line of our own struggle to be human and understand our world, to interpret what happens to us and around us in a minefield from which few can escape unscathed, because for us, as for those who have gone before, the realm of religion involves a battle for the ownership and ultimate possession of sacred symbols.

CHAPTER TWO

ANGLICANISM AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN CHURCH

It is essential to this study to reflect something of the nature of Anglicanism and to display some of the historical facts relating to the birth and growth of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa.

First, the Anglican Church has long been accepted as the VIA MEDIA, a consequence of the Elizabethan Settlement¹ and explored in the religious literature of the seventeenth century² and particularly by Richard Hooker in "The Laws of Eccliastical Polity".³ Such an understanding of the Anglican Church appears

1. see J.H.R. Moorman: A History of the Church in England.

A and C Black, London 1953, 202

2. Although Jewel and Hooker were writing in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the term "seventeenth century" is a "convenient and sufficiently accurate term", see P.E. More and F.L. Cross: Anglicanism SPCK, London 1935, XI V

3. More and Cross draw heavily on Hooker throughout their book.

to emerge at that time as a result of two dangers, one political and the other theological. On the political side the threat was both the intervention by the Roman Church in the temporal affairs of nations far beyond the borders of the Vatican and also the Calvinist theory of the state which curtailed the independence of the church and went even further in denying the authority of the bishops.⁴ On the theological side, the Anglican method avoided the extremes of relying either on an evolving Catholic tradition or on the Protestant sola scriptura.⁵ The Anglicans "clung to the principle of mediation in regions of doctrine and discipline"⁶ and perhaps this is best illustrated in the Chalcedonian

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4. see P.E. More: "The Spirit of Anglicanism" in More and Cross op. cit., XXI also see Moorman op. cit., 212
5. Moorman op. cit., 233: "Behind the political and constitutional issues which were dividing the country (in the sixteenth century) good work was quietly being done by a group of writers and thinkers who set themselves to proclaim to the world what the Anglican Church stood for. The movement owes its origin to the work of Jewel and Hooker who, by their wit and learning, had defended the Church, the one against Roman, the other against Puritan, criticism".
6. More op. cit. XXIV

Christological formula which was produced at the last of the ecumenical councils which Anglicans accept as authoritative when they speak of "tradition".⁷ Chalcedon holds in tension both

7. see J. Macquarrie: "The Anglican Theological Tradition" in R. Holloway (ed.) The Anglican Tradition. Morehouse Barlow, Connecticut 1984, 39

also see F. Higham: Catholic and Reformed. A Study of the Anglican Church, 1559-1662

SPCK, London 1962,7. Here the author notes Elizabeth I's appointment of Matthew Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559 and states: "He was still a scholar at heart, and the studies in early Church history which had first won him distinction, coloured his whole approach to his work as Archbishop. He saw the Anglican Church as part of the Church Universal, tracing its proud heritage back to the first centuries after Christ".

also see H.R. McAdoo: The Spirit of Anglicanism, A Survey of Anglican Theological Method in the Seventeenth Century.

A and C Black, London 1965,320: "...Andrewes gave expression to what may be summarised in his own phrase 'one canon...two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period...determine the boundary of our faith'".

also see Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission: The Final Report. SPCK, London 1982,61:

"In both our traditions the appeal to Scripture, to the creeds, to the Fathers, and to the definitions of the councils of the early Church is regarded as basic and normative". The note reads: "This is emphasized in the Anglican tradition.

Cf. The Lambeth Conferences of 1948 and 1968".

the full divinity of Christ and his full humanity⁸
 and as paradoxical as this may seem it is
 indicative of the Anglicanism of which former
 Archbishop of Caterbury, Michael Ramsey says
 'its credentials are its incompleteness, with the
 tension and the travail in its soul. It is
 clumsy and untidy, it baffles neatness and logic.
 For it is sent not to commend itself as "the
 best type of Christianity", but by its very
 brokenness to point to the universal Church
 wherein all have died'.⁹ The Anglican Church
 as the via media should not however be perceived
 as a "path between" but rather as a "bridge
 across" in the sense that it attempts to be
 inclusive rather than exclusive in its
 theologizing. This is satisfactorily
 represented in the 1968 Lambeth Conference reply
 to the Orthodox Churches which accused the
 Anglicans of being lax and uncommitted because of
 their efforts to be "comprehensive". The
 bishops stated: "Comprehensiveness is an attitude

8. see A. Grillmeier: Christ in Christian Tradition.

Vol.1 John Knox Press,
 Atlanta 1975, 544

9. M. Marshall: The Anglican Church Today and
 Tomorrow.

Mowbrays, Oxford 1984, 24

of mind which Anglicans have learned from the thought-provoking controversies of their history ... Comprehensiveness demands agreement on fundamentals, while tolerating disagreement on matters in which Christians may differ without feeling the necessity of breaking communion. In the mind of an Anglican, comprehensiveness ... implies that the apprehension of truth is a growing thing; we only gradually succeed in 'knowing the truth'".¹⁰

10. Ibid., 133

also see McAadoo op. cit., 312: "The history of the seventeenth century is one of religious controversy and theological dispute, and it reveals Anglicanism as standing apart from Roman Catholicism, from Calvinism after an initial period of rapprochement, and from Puritanism and the various religious bodies in the latter half of the century. That there were many reasons, historical, doctrinal and political, for the situation is obvious, but beneath the surface was the feeling for the via media which was not in its essence compromise or an intellectual expedient but a quality of thinking, an approach in which elements usually regarded as mutually exclusive were seen to be in fact complementary".

Here we have a distinction drawn between "fundamentals and accessories of religion"¹¹ where the fundamentals are "summed up ... in the Creeds, particularly in the so-called Apostles' Creed ... But behind the Creed, guaranteeing its truth and in general confirming the authority of tradition where right, and correcting it when astray, was the sacred canon of written books".¹² Thus "the centrality of Scripture and the freedom of reason, the relation of revelation to reason and that of reason and faith, creedal orthodoxy and liberty in non-essentials, the appeal to antiquity and the welcome to new knowledge, the historic continuity of the Church"¹³ serve to confirm the foundation stones of Anglicanism as the Bible; Tradition; and Reason and Human Experience. One of the greatest Anglican theologians of this century, Professor John Macquarrie, repeatedly emphasizes that by "tradition" we mean the teachings of the early Fathers and even goes so far as to say that the position of Scripture is recognized "as

11. More and Cross op. cit., XXIV

12. Ibid., XXV

13. McAdoo op. cit., 312-313

mediated through the theological reflection of the Fathers of the Church, the early creeds and conciliar decisions, and the continuing liturgical tradition of which the Book of Common Prayer represents a part".¹⁴ This "appeal to antiquity" as McAdoo calls it, shows that although Scripture is central, it cannot exist "in a vacuum apart from the life of the Church within which it was formed in the first place".¹⁵ Hence the Anglican method upholds not only the Bible and Tradition as two of its three principles but inextricably links the two. Therefore when Marion Hatchett argues for the 1979 American Prayer Book she states that it is "grounded on Scripture, agreeable to the practice of the early church, unifying, and edifying".¹⁶ Perhaps the Anglican way of theologizing and the relevance of Reason and Human Experience is best summed up by contemporary theologian Professor John Pobee who writes: "It has often been said

14. J. Macquarrie: "Theological Implications of the Oxford Movement" in J. Robert Wright (ed.): Lift High The Cross. Forward Movement Publications, Cincinnati 1984, 14

15. McAdoo op. cit., 318 also 345: "Andrewes regarded the appeal to antiquity as showing that 'there is no principle dogma in which we do not agree with the Fathers and they with us'".

16. M.J. Hatchett: "The Anglican Liturgical Tradition" in R. Holloway op. cit., 75

that Anglicans have no theology but rather have a method encapsulated in the phrase the via media i.e. the middle way. Two aspects of this method are important for understanding my bias:

(a) the via media eschews extremes and doctrinaire positions such as biblicism, legalism etc.

(b) the via media has built into it such rationality which is termed "probable reason" or "probable persuasion". This is what guards inter alia against biblicism, even though the Anglican tradition has two other principles or criteria, namely the Bible and tradition".¹⁷

Secondly, the Anglican Church in Southern Africa has been greatly influenced by Anglo-Catholicism which became autonomously identifiable from the time of the Oxford Movement in the 1830's.

However the roots of Anglo-Catholicism reach back to seventeenth century England, initially to John Jewel and Richard Hooker, to the later period

17. J.S. Pobee: "Creation Faith and Responsibility for the World" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa No.50 March 1985, 16

of creativity in art and literature, architecture and music and more significantly to those known as the Caroline Divines.¹⁸ The latter were men whose theology can only be called both ascetical and mystical and who made a "real attempt to recover the simplicity and purity of primitive Christianity".¹⁹ Thomas Traherne's "Centuries of Meditations" has been compared to Thomas

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18. Both More (XXX111) and McAdoo (154) agree that "the real thread of continuity runs from the seventeenth century to Lux Mundi and not to the Tractarians" (Mc Adoo, 154) and while this may be partly true of "attitude" (although I would want to maintain that there was a particular "reserve" about the Oxford Apostles) I believe that it is not true of the understanding of the Church. Indeed as More also says: "The Oxford Movement brought theology back to the path from which it had deviated in the arid intervening years" (i.e. between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries).,XXX
19. Moorman op. cit., 234

'A Kempis' "The Imitation of Christ", while Jeremy Taylor's "Holy Living" and "Holy Dying" as "English counterparts to the 'Introduction to the Devout Life' by the great French Saint of the period, Francis de Sales ..."²⁰

Perhaps one could also draw a parallel between Lancelot Andrewes "Preces Privatae" and Pope John XXIII's "Journal of a Soul". The devotion of such priests as George Herbert and Izaak Walton and the early attempt of community life at "Little Gidding" had a lasting and penetrating influence on Anglicanism, in fact Arnott states: "It was the religious aspirations of the seventeenth century divines which made the VIA MEDIA become a glorious reality instead of a barren philosophical theory"²¹ or as Moorman puts it "by their sound scholarship, their courage, the purity and sanctity of their lives, they saved the Church of England from destruction and laid the foundations upon which later generations could build".²² Despite the ensuing Age of Reason and the confidence of

20. F.R. Arnott: "Anglicanism in the Seventeenth Century" in More and Cross
op. cit., LXVIII and LXIX

21. Ibid., 1

22. op. cit., 234

'enlightened man' who had 'come of age', this seventeenth century piety was, I believe, deeply etched into the devotional life of Anglicanism and to emerge again in the Oxford Movement²³ which was not only an aspect of the larger reaction to the Age of Reason²⁴ but more specifically sought to recover the mystical nature of the Church with the understanding of the Church as Sacrament.²⁵ In the latter eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries this concept had been kept alive by people like William Jones, William Stevens, Charles Daubeny and Thomas Sikes who wrote, taught and spoke prophetically, for as Sikes said: "... some day, not far distant, it (i.e. the doctrine of

23. see O. Chadwick: "The Oxford Movement and Its Historian

in Holloway op. cit., 105

24. see J.C. Livingston: Modern Christian Thought. From the Enlightenment to Vatican II.

Macmillan, New York 1971, 115

also see J. Macquarrie op. cit., 14

25. see J.C. Livingston op. cit., 136

also see J. Macquarrie op. cit., 24

the one Holy Catholic Church) will judicially have its reprisals ... We now hear not a breath about the Church; by and bye those who live to see it will hear of nothing else".²⁶ And indeed that day came, a day in which the Church was understood as not just "analogous to the incarnation" as Macquarrie proposes,²⁷ but as the direct consequence of the incarnation, as "the official presence of the grace of Christ in the public history of the one human race".²⁸ This I believe is the basis of the Anglo-Catholic protest and the unshakeable foundation to both John Keble's "Assize Sermon" containing his opposition to the State's interference in matters spiritual²⁹ and Newman's first tract on Apostolic Succession with its defence of the authority of the bishops of the Church as traceable to the apostles.³⁰

26. Moorman op. cit., 309

27. see op. cit., 24

28. K. Rahner: The Church and the Sacraments.

Burnes and Oates 1986, 19

29. see Livingston op. cit., 117

30. see J.H. Newman: Apologia Pro Vita Sua.

J.M. Dent and Sons 1864, 69

Now considerable attention was paid to the seventeenth century writers and their convictions regarding authority and tradition, or as Newman puts it: "I had a supreme confidence in our cause; we were upholding that primitive Christianity which was delivered for all time by the early teachers of the church, and which was registered and attested in the Anglican formularies and by the Anglican divines".³¹ The Tractarians tenaciously fought against Erastianism, a matter which was to feature prominently in the Church's life in Southern Africa. On the eve of the Oxford Movement, Moorman states that "For too long the Church had been looked on, by the majority of its members, as little more than a department of State, the religious aspect of the national life"³² and there was the need to return to "That ancient religion (which) had well-nigh faded out of the land, through the political

31. Ibid., 63

32. op. cit., 335

changes of the last hundred and fifty years, and it must be restored. It would be in fact a second Reformation: a better reformation, for it would be a return not to the sixteenth century but to the seventeenth. No time was to be lost, for the Whigs had come to do their worst, and the rescue might come too late. Bishopricks were already in course of suppression; church property was in course of confiscation; sees would soon be receiving unsuitable occupants".³³

Behind all the visible protests of the Oxford Apostles stood the primary sacrament, namely the Church, and silhouetted behind its "concreteness"³⁴ was the God - man, the doctrine of the Incarnation. William Wolf writes that the "doctrine of the Incarnation has dominated Anglicanism to a remarkable degree"³⁵ and Richard Holloway argues that the social action which

33. Newman op. cit., 63

also see Mc Adoo op. cit., 313 who states that the "extent of seventeenth-century writing on the Church testifies ... (to the) ... fact of the Church ... its continuity, its givenness, and its visible corporateness".

34. J. Macquarrie op. cit., 20 and 21

35. Quoted in M. Marshall op. cit., 106

resulted from the Oxford Movement had a two-fold foundation: first, the doctrine of the Incarnation and secondly (and it could be said, in consequence to it) a mystical identification with the poor.³⁶ The Christian's justification and growth towards sanctity was to be displayed in a life of humility, obedience and holiness³⁷ and in being "partakers of his divine nature" through an understanding of the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist,³⁸ this exemplary life was to be lived-out in the socio-political context. And it was the realization and assimilation of this life, this identity which led to an increasing commitment by the priests to the life of the poor and in their dogged ministry in the slums of London they were branded "communists" because of their battle for justice. "These were men of the city", writes Bishop Paul Moore

36. see R. Holloway: "Social and Political Implications of the Oxford Movement in J. Robert Wright op. cit., 40-42

37. see Livingston op. cit., 125, 135 and 136

38. Ibid., 137

"incarnational, sacramental Catholics, living out the gospel with the Christ of the altar and the Christ of the poor".³⁹ It is this model of ministry which is evident in the South African Church today and the Oxford Movement's most particular contribution in this regard was its influence which led to the formation of religious communities in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Monks and nuns, their monastic obedience, poverty and discipline and their training of prospective priests in the theological seminaries (most notably St. Peter's Rosettenville, subsequently moved to Alice and now one of the three constituent colleges of the Federal Seminary) has had an abiding influence in this country and emphasized the holy office of the priest, the sacraments, ritual and the commitment to an "earthed" ministry symbolised in the relinquishing of possessions and the abandoning of family ties. Anglicanism, says Mc Adoo, "will have, for want of

39. Quoted in J. Robert Wright's essay:

"The Oxford Movement and the American Church" in
J. Robert Wright op. cit., 101

a better word, a certain quality of humanism, for no human experience or field of enquiry can be alien to an outlook in which concern with the Creation and the Incarnation are to the fore. It will hold that theology owes to man a rational consideration of their problems, and its method will be one of liberality rather than of liberalism. It will have a historical consciousness in respect of doctrinal content and of the meaning of continuity. It will have an element of practical divinity which it will integrate into its concept of spiritual life".⁴⁰

Thirdly we shall briefly explore the birth and growth of Anglicanism in Southern Africa and endeavour to draw out those strands relevant to this study. There can be little doubt that the Church in this province owes its greatest debt in terms of its constitutional shape, missionary endeavours and even its spirituality to Robert Gray, the first bishop of Cape Town. Despite

40. op. cit., 315

the estrangement caused by the Colenso trial, on Gray's death this 'renegade' Bishop of Natal said from the pulpit in his Cathedral: "To advance what he deemed the cause most dear to God and most beneficial to man; and that in labours for this end, most unselfish and unwearied, in season and out of season, with energy that beat down all obstructions, with courage that faced all opposition, with faith that laid firmly hold of the Unseen Hand, he spent and was spent, body and soul in His service. To him we owe it that the foundations of the life of the Church of England were laid in this diocese ..."⁴¹ An indefatigable worker, Gray (often accompanied by his wife Sophy) visited the priests and faithful throughout his vast diocese and repeatedly travelled to Britain to raise funds or fight the cause of Church independence for his South African flock. While this country was initially served by military and

41. A.O.J. Cockshut: Anglican Attitudes. A Study of Victorian Religious Controversies.
Collins, London 1959, 119

colonial chaplains⁴² with episcopal duties performed by the bishops of Calcutta⁴³ and confirmation services held in the Grootte Kerk,⁴⁴ three years after Gray's arrival in Cape Town in 1848 he issued a letter "To the members of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town" in which he stated that "It was necessary at first in an infant missionary Church like ours, that the whole burden and responsibility of what was done should rest upon the Bishop. It could scarcely be otherwise. But we have arrived at that period of our history when such a state of affairs ought not to continue. It is not in accordance with the principles of our Branch of the Church, or of the Primitive and Apostolic Church, that the Bishop should, by his sole authority, settle all questions which may

42. see P. Hinchliff: The Anglican Church in South Africa.

DLT, London 1963, 10-18

43. see C. Lewis and G.E. Edwards: Historical Records of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

SPCK, London 1934, 18-23

44. see Ibid., 19

arise, and conduct the affairs of the Church through all their details. The Presbyters, the Deacons, and the Laity of the Church have each their separate functions, responsibilities, privileges, which at present are in much danger of being overlooked. I have indeed from the first laid it down as a rule for myself, to consult with such of the clergy as I could gather together in one place on all matters of great importance. But our meetings have hardly assumed the shape of formal Synods ... I should probably have brought this subject under your notice before now, had it not been for the practical difficulties which surround it, especially in a Diocese of such vast extent as this, whose Parishes are not yet completely formed. The matter however is one of so much importance, and I anticipate so much advantage from our mutual consultations, that I shall hope ... to take measures for the formation of a Synod or Convention, in whose deliberations both Clergy and Laity may take their respective parts".⁴⁵

45. from Bloemfontein Cathedral Archives,
dated 15 November 1851

There are two questions which are of considerable import to the South African Church and demand exploration: first, why is the Church in this province considered a bastion of Anglo-Catholicism and secondly, why is there such a socio-political colouring to its present image? Where do the roots of these two factors lie?

I believe that the answer to the first of these questions is contained in embryonic form in Gray's statement to the members of his diocese which is quoted at length above. The authentication of his desire for synodical government is that this conceptualization of the Church is both "Primitive" and "Apostolic". Therefore is the matter simply one of Gray being a Tractarian? After all he was a student at Oxford when the ideas of the Oxford Movement were no doubt developing and being discussed. But Robert

Gray does not seem to have been aware of these influences while a student,⁴⁶ perhaps they were hardly prevalent. Nevertheless it does appear evident that he was soon enamoured with their ideas and ideals, and this settled English parson read the "Tracts" and "declared himself 'much pleased'".⁴⁷ But the situation of the Church in the country to which he came no doubt conflicted with the Church Fathers because separate "ordinance" churches, each individually in communion with the Church of England, has been established⁴⁸ and therefore St. Cyprian's

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46. see M. Nuttall: "Theological Training in Historical Perspective. A South African Anglican Review" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 18 March 1977, 33
47. A. Brooke: Robert Gray. First Bishop of Cape Town Oxford Univ. Press, Cape Town 1947, 11

also see Cockshut op. cit., 96: "(Gray) was a High Churchman, but one curiously dissimilar in outlook from the leaders of the Oxford Movement".

48. see P. Hinchliff op. cit., 22-24

ecclesiastical conviction that there is "no truth without unity, for the foundation of all truth is love, and where there is no unity there is no love"⁴⁹ was breached, and the difficulties of episcopal oversight in an expansive and scattered diocese compounded. The unity that was supposed to be focused in the bishop of the diocese⁵⁰ was somewhat diffuse because appeal could be made to the British Church and because of the latter's established status, ultimately to the Privy Council. In avoiding the intricacies of the "Long case"⁵¹ and the

49. J.L. Gonzalez: A History of Christian Thought.

Vol. 1 Abingdon,
Nashville 1981, 249

50. Ibid., 249-252

51. see Hinchliff op. cit.

see Brooke op. cit.

see Lewis and Edwards op. cit.

Colenso controversy"⁵² we shall nevertheless agree with former Archbishop of Cape Town, Bill Burnett in viewing the Natal controversy as a major factor "in the Church declaring itself a voluntary association in the Colonies, free of government control, but in full communion with the Church of England"⁵³ because the Colenso issue once again highlighted the tension "between the Catholic (and Anglican) idea of Church government by bishops, the Protestant (and Anglican) idea of supremacy of private judgement in religion, and the peculiarly Anglican idea of Church government by kings".⁵⁴ However the earlier "Long case" had

52. see J.J. Guy: "The Religious Thinking of J.W. Colenso: The Theology of a Heretic" in Religion in Southern Africa, Vol. 4 No. 2 July 1983, 3-20

see B.B. Burnett: Anglicans in Natal.

A History of the Diocese of Natal.

St. Paul's Durban (no date)

see Hinchliff op. cit.

see Brooke op. cit.

see Lewis and Edwards op. cit.

53. Ibid., 67

54. Cockshut op. cit., 90

probably only strengthened Gray's resolve that the Church as a divine body must be both self-governing and independent which accorded with the Tractarian principle of the Church as the primary sacrament and of which he had previously become convinced. Perhaps on the greatest day of Robert Gray's life, surrounded by his brother bishops in the Cathedral Church of St. George the Martyr in Cape Town, the famous "Third Proviso" was written into the "Constitution of the Church of the Province of South Africa" at the assembled Provincial Synod in 1870. No longer was this Church in "so feeble a state" as Gray had said it was in 1851 and no longer could its members appeal to external courts or committees because the "Third Proviso" stated "that in the interpretation of the aforesaid Standards and Formularies the Church of this Province be not held to be bound by decisions, in questions of Faith and Doctrine or in questions of Discipline relating to Faith and Doctrine, other than its own Ecclesiastical.

Tribunals, or of such other Tribunal as may be accepted by the Provincial Synod as a Tribunal of Appeal".⁵⁵ With its autonomy settled, I believe that the South African Church had reached Gray's criteria of both being "Primitive" and "Apostolic" for it now governed itself and because the Bishop of Cape Town was primus inter pares, unity was preserved. But this firm foundation of the Church could have merely become an image forceably present in the procedures and deliberations of synodical government but hardly significant in the parish churches. Even Gray's desire for a stronger union within the Anglican Communion which he propagated at the meeting of bishops at Lambeth⁵⁶ was relatively unknown to the local parishioner. Rather, the firmly attached tractarian label was the result of the necessary defense of orthodoxy in the face of the theology of one John William Colenso. Robert Gray was quickly drawn into the initial controversy between Colenso and his Dean, James Green. Gray and Green held a common view of the Church as the sacred community whereas

55. Constitution and Canons of the Church of the Province of South Africa.

E.L.D. Johannesburg 1979 as amended, 17

56. see Hinchliff op. cit., 112 and 113

Colenso championed a more Erastian viewpoint,⁵⁷ in fact to the extent that his mentor F.D. Maurice could eventually "refer to him as showing 'the frenzied earnestness of an Erastian monomaniac'".⁵⁸ Both the "Catholic" and "Evangelical" wings of the South African Church united against Colenso; even the evangelical Bishop of Grahamstown, Cotterill, "was no longer willing to defend Colenso, for he had come to see that those points of doctrine on which the Bishop of Natal erred most, were precisely those closest to his own heart as an ardent Evangelical".⁵⁹ Again, former Archbishop of Cape Town Bill Burnett, who is certainly no noted Anglo-Catholic, could write: "The Metropolitan believed, and rightly, that Colenso's theology of redemption and atonement were unscriptural and defective"⁶⁰ (my emphasis) and of his biblical research Maurice said: "His idea of history is that it is a branch of arithmetic"⁶¹ and "To have a quantity

57. see Burnett op. cit., 68

58. Brooke op. cit., 93

59. Hinchliff op. cit., 93

60. op. cit., 70

61. Cockshut op. cit., 94

of criticism about the dung in the Jewish camp, and the division of a hare's foot, thrown in my face, when I am satisfied that the Jewish history has been the mightiest witness to the people for a living God against the dead dogmas of priests, was more shocking to me than I can describe".⁶² Colenso's denial that Christ could be addressed in prayer⁶³ and his tendency to shift the presence of Christ away from the Eucharist⁶⁴ were contained in the nine charges eventually laid against him.⁶⁵ The hurt that this heresy trial caused Gray is evident in a letter written to Bishop Twells: "It is my painful duty to summon you to attend, as one of assessors, at the Cathedral Church at Cape Town..."

62. Ibid., 95.

63. see Hinchliff op. cit., 85

64. see I. Darby: "Bishop Colenso and Eucharistic Theology" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 46 March 1984.

Especially noted is the subtle contrast between the views of Colenso and those of Maurice.

65. see Hinchliff op. cit., 92 and 93

in hearing charges as to the false teaching which have been brought ... against the Bishop of Natal".⁶⁶ Predictably this case reached the Privy Council and although in law the judgement and sentence against Colenso was declared null and void, the ardent tractarian Dr. Pusey perceived, and I believe correctly, that the South African Church was now finally liberated from secular interference.⁶⁷ Indeed, in a letter dated 9th May 1865 Gray wrote to his son: "Intending to destroy the power of bishops, the Lord Chancellor bids fair to exalt it".⁶⁸ Hence the Church as the divine community with its publicized defense of orthodoxy has ensured it bearing the indelible mark of "Anglo-Catholicism" and attracted from abroad priests so persuaded, and the arrival and ensuing influence of monks and

66. from Bloemfontein Cathedral Archives,
dated 18 August 1863

67. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 172

68. Cockshut op. cit., 105

nuns could not be forestalled. Although Bishop Gray had written to Father Benson of the Society of St. John the Evangelist in June, 1871 requesting that they began work in his province, it was not until eleven years after his death that the All Saints Sisters and the Cowley Fathers came to South Africa. A loose community of women which were previously under Gray's direction and guidance were absorbed into the All Saints community and henceforth schools and mission work was supervised by those dedicated to the traditional monastic vows.⁶⁹ In the Orange Free State religious orders were encouraged from the very beginning and the work of the Society of St. Augustine is still continued at Modderpoort by the Kelham Fathers while the aged Community of St. Michael and All Angels still reside at St. Michael's School, the institution they managed for more than one hundred years.⁷⁰ Bishop Webb,

69. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 92,99,106,107,109,117

70. see K. Schoeman (ed.): The Free State Mission. The Anglican Church in the O.F.S. 1863-1886
Human and Rousseau,
Cape Town Pretoria 1986

the founder of this latter order, founded the Community of the Resurrection of our Lord after he was translated to Grahamstown in 1883. Gray's successor in Cape Town, West-Jones, encouraged the work of the religious communities and in 1887 another indigenous order was founded and the sisters of the Society of St. John the Divine continue their work in Durban.⁷¹ Carter, "a nephew of the famous T.T. Carter of Clewer, one of those responsible for the revival of religious communities in England",⁷² succeeded West-Jones as Archbishop of Cape Town and had already, as Bishop of Pretoria, invited the Mirfield-based Community of the Resurrection and the Wantage sisters to his diocese.⁷³ In Cape Town, Herschel School for girls, St. John's Hostel for boys and St. Clare's Hostel for girls at Zonnebloem were opened and the Sisters of Bethany, based in Plumstead, began their work. Monasticism

71. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 337

72. Hinchliff op. cit., 191

73. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 141

also coloured the Church hierarchy because for fourteen years of Carter's metropolitical episcopate, his coadjutor-bishop was one of the Mirfield Fathers, James Nash.⁷⁴

In attempting to answer the question relating to the cause of the high socio-political profile colouring the present image of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa, the contributing factors do not appear readily evident. And this difficulty has been compounded due to the publication of a recent book analyzing 'the role of English-speaking Churches (between) 1903-1930' in which the author states that "although Churches gave some expression on occasion to fairly radical demands - such as the participation of workers in decision-making and management of industry as a public service rather than a private enterprise, and alignment with the cause of labour - no specific analysis, no particular programme,

74. see Ibid., 141-143

no unambiguous policy, and no theological clarification appears to have been carried out. Moreover, little evidence may be found of the Church forging a close relationship to labour as such, either black or white, while on the contrary its connections to sections of capital and to the small but influential black bourgeoisie were deepened".⁷⁵ Therefore I am going to propose, albeit rather tentatively, three roots to this image all of which have been mentioned above. Perhaps what may have been a major contributor, namely Colenso's missionary policy "to leaven African culture and its social system with the gospel"⁷⁶ and with which Gray was in relative

75. J.R. Cochrane: Servants of Power. The Role of English-speaking Churches 1903-1930 Towards a Critical Theology via an Historical Analysis of the Anglican and Methodist Churches.

Ravan, Johannesburg 1987,133

76. J.W. de Gruchy: The Church Struggle in South Africa.

David Philip, Cape Town 1979,17

agreement, did have some although insufficient impact, because most rural missionary endeavours were carried-out on Monravian lines.⁷⁷

Central to the Church's political stance is I believe, the independent and self-governing status for which Gray had fought so vehemently. The established position of the Church of England meant that the English Church was at least politicized in the sense that legislation regarding Church law had to be passed in Parliament - as was the case recently when women were admitted to the holy office of deacon.⁷⁸ Paradoxically,

77. see Hinchliff op. cit., 45-48; 61-64.

Hinchliff is far more cautious than de Gruchy who simply states that "Colenso and Gray disagreed" on missionary policy. (Pg.18)

Instead I believe that it was a disagreement about the concept of the Church which I have already dealt with above.

78. In fact the passing of the measure in the Church of England's General Synod had to be delayed because the parliamentary procedures were not complete.

the dis-established status of the South African Church coupled with its understanding of the Church as sacrament, meant that it could stand outside the strictures of legislation if need be,⁷⁹ as was illustrated at a recent protest

79. Cochrane (op.cit) argues that during the first decade of this century the Anglican Church "was for many almost a state church" (154) and indeed at various stages in Anglican history there have been close political, economic and social connections between the Church and the authorities. However, I do believe that this is hardly comparable to the position of the Church of England.

also see: Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission: For the Sake of the Kingdom. God's Church and the New Creation.

Anglican Consultative Council 1986,16:

"In England the legal establishment of the Church of England in the post-Reformation period intensified the close relationship between the Church and the civil authorities.

When Anglicans went abroad in the colonial period, this involvement of church and state persisted, though in varying degrees ..." (my emphasis).

meeting when Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "I say to the government: You are not God. You may be powerful. You may be very powerful. But you are not God. You are mere mortals. Beware when you take on the Church of God. You will come a cropper".⁸⁰

Then secondly, the importance of the Incarnation must not be underestimated because it is the prominence given to this doctrine which has ensured that "at its best Anglicanism has stubbornly pursued a commitment to the social gospel".⁸¹ For the priests of a Tractarian persuasion and then later for the monks and nuns, the belief that God became man in Jesus Christ inspired many to serve in the slums and among the poor, exploited and oppressed in this country. Of these priests, the Bishop of Edinburgh has written: "Most of (them) were pragmatists, fighting for improvement, for amelioration, but some went further. They were captured by the

80. Cape Times, 14 April 1987

81. M. Marshall op. cit., 111

haunting and perplexing vision of a whole society redeemed, not just individuals within it. They longed and planned for the day when the kingdoms of this world would be the kingdom of our God and of his Christ. So they created what they called a sociology, an attempt to tackle their thoughts to the ethics of institutions as well as persons. Some of them became fully-blown Utopians, like Conrad Noel, whose Red Flag hangs in Thaxted Church. So the doctrine of the Incarnation led them to the dispossessed and it filled some of them with visions of a transformed society, become God's kingdom on earth".⁸² The previous Archbishop of Cape Town's much talked about "President's Charge to Provincial Synod" in 1985 emphasizes 'an incarnational faith' as the first of his nine marks of an authentic spirituality.⁸³

The final root of the South African Church's socio-political image that I shall note derives

82. Holloway in J. Robert Wright op. cit., 41

83. see Acts and Resolutions of the Twenty-fifth Session of the Provincial Synod 1985, 16

its power from the doctrine of the Incarnation but focuses more specifically on the people who have embedded this image in South African Anglicanism,⁸⁴ from the paternalism of Gray⁸⁵ to the human dignity denied to the present occupant of Bishopscourt. As difficult as it is to single out individuals it is necessary merely to highlight some incidents and events. In the opening decade of this century

84. I believe Cochrane (op. cit.) to be correct in his "notion of the functional dependency (of the Church) upon the dominant political economic system" (222). However there have always been individuals who have attempted and some have succeeded in drawing the Church towards the "critical ecclesia" which Cochrane proposes. it should become (219-247).

85. see Robert Gray: "To the Members of the Church in the Diocese of Cape Town" from Bloemfontein Cathedral Archives, dated 15 November 1851

Archbishop Carter's first public act as metropolitan was to sign a letter written to the members of the National Convention opposing the restrictions on black people and in his final charge to Provincial Synod in 1929, he decried the enactment of laws relating to black people without consulting them.⁸⁶ Geoffrey Clayton's episcopate just prior to and after the advent of apartheid is well-documented and his vitriolic opposition to racial injustice is symbolically captured in his death on the day after signing a letter to the Prime Minister stating that civil disobedience would follow if a Bill designed to segregate congregations was passed by Parliament.⁸⁷ Clayton's successor Joost de Blank was even more confrontationalist and today the stance taken by Desmond Tutu is widely acclaimed.

86. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 141 and 143

87. see A. Paton: Apartheid and the Archbishop.

David Philip, Cape Town 1973

also see C.T. Wood (ed.): Where We Stand.

Archbishop Clayton's Charges

1948-57.

Oxford Univ. Press, Cape Town 1960

Others, such as the once-banned priest David Russell whose prominence as a defender of the rights of the oppressed in the Eastern Cape and at Crossroads in Cape Town was no doubt a significant factor in his election as Bishop of Grahamstown earlier this year, while Bishop Sigisbert Ndwandwe, suffragan of Johannesburg, spent a lengthy period in detention last year, and Father Geoffrey Moselane has recently been released on bail after over two years in prison as one of the Delmas Treason Trialists. Father Trevor Huddleston and the Rosettenville community's work in Sophiatown⁸⁸ together with the efforts of countless monks, nuns and parish priests have ensured that their garments have been frayed through the suffering, alienation and exploitation experienced in countless townships.⁸⁹ There can be no argument that attitudes have been patronizing and paternalistic

88. see T. Huddleston: Naught For Your Comfort.
Collins Fountain, Glasgow 1977

but as black access to both synod and hierarchy has opened, so the voice of rising anger has been heard.

There have been and indeed still are tensions in the South African Church, indicative of the "disunity and diversity of South African society as a whole".⁹⁰ Perhaps the future task of the Church is to engage in combat against the forces which claim the exclusive ownership of symbolic conceptions and configurations and use them as weapons of war rather than as 'swords beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning-hooks so that nation may not lift up sword against nation nor ever again be trained for war and all may walk in the light of the Lord' (Isaiah 2: 4-5).

90. Hinchliff op. cit., 204

CHAPTER THREE

ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE AND ITS CONTEXT1. SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY

While it is far beyond the scope of this study to undertake an in-depth analysis of South African society, it remains necessary to note the following information which is relevant to our purposes.

The South African population in 1984 has been given as 29 235 284 people¹ (this includes the "TBVC countries", that is, the so-called "independent national states") and is officially enumerated in the following way:-

1. All the figures used here are from:

Survey of Race Relations in South Africa
1986, Part 1.

(SAIRR, Johannesburg 1987).

Updated figures (and estimates of probable undercounts) for the 1985 population census compiled by the central statistical services.

SOUTH AFRICA: (excluding "TBVC countries)

	<u>Numbers</u>	<u>Proportion</u>
Black	15 162 840	64,9%
White	4 568 739	19,5%
Asian	821 361	3,5%
"Coloured"	2 832 705	12,1%
	<hr/>	
	23 385 645	100,0%
	<hr/>	

<u>Revised for</u>	
<u>undercount</u>	
19 051 500	68,7%
4 947 100	17,9%
861 300	3,1%
2 862 200	10,3%
	<hr/>
27 722 100	100,0%
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"TBVC COUNTRIES":

Bophutatswana	1 721 463
Ciskei	756 185
Transkei	2 916 134
Venda	455 857
	<hr/>
	5 849 639
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"NON-INDEPENDENT HOMELANDS":

Gazankulu	496 200
Kangwane	391 205
Kwandebele	235 511
Kwazulu	3 738 334
Lebowa	1 833 114
Qwa Qwa	180 924
	<hr/>
	6 875 288
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Although segregation and discrimination in both legal and social terms have a long history in this country, "it was the legislative blitzkrieg that followed the National Party's accession to power in 1948 that entrenched apartheid".² Central to the Government's grand plan for South Africa is the "Homeland Policy" which restricts black people to permanently reside in various ethnically constructed "national states" carved out of 13%

2. J. Leatt, T. Kneifel and K. Nürnbergger (eds.):

Contending Ideologies in
South Africa.

David Philip, Cape Town 1986,67

of the total land area, although they may temporarily work outside these regions.³

Therefore as the figures above illustrate, the Tswana's belong in Bophutatswana, the Xhosa's either in Ciskei or Transkei, the Zulu's in Kwazulu etc. While I abhor any policy of enforced separation, its concomitant resettlement and the division of this country into "ethnic states", I do nevertheless believe that there are various cultures in this land; that is, ways of living, constructed by groups of human beings, which are transmitted from one generation to another.⁴ Here "culture" is not something innate and unchangeable but rather it refers to

3. see inter alia L. Thompson and A. Prior (eds.):

South African Politics.

David Philip, Cape Town 1982

T. Dunbar Moodie:

The Rise of Afrikanerdom.

Univ. of California Press,
Berkeley 1975

F. Wilson:

Migrant Labour in South Africa.

S.A.C.C. and Spro-Cas.,
Johannesburg 1972

4. see L. Newbigin: "Christ and the Cultures" in

Scottish Journal of Theology

Vol. 31 1978, 9

"shared systems of meaning that underlie the ways in which a people live. Culture, so defined, refers to what humans learn, not what they do and make"⁵ or what they are. Therefore I believe that there is a cultural complexity to South African society as there is an ideological complexity⁶ and among Christians and therefore among the Anglican sample in the case study, there were "divided perspectives and conflicting ideologies".⁷ As one finds adherents to free-market capitalism and its power to eradicate racial discrimination, so there are those who believe that there is an alliance of capitalism and apartheid in South Africa. There are

5. R. Keesing: Cultural Anthropology. A Contemporary Perspective.
Holt, Rinehart and Winston,
U.S.A. 1976, 139

6. see J. Leatt et al op. cit.

7. see J.W. de Gruchy: "Christians in Conflict: the Social Reality of the South African Church" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa.
No. 51 June 1985, Pp 16-26

Pluralist and Revisionist interpretations of our society, there is old-style Liberalism and radical Marxism prevalent, Conservatives and Socialists, proponents of a form of socialism peculiar to Africa, Afrikaner Nationalism, African Nationalism, Black Nationalism and all the permutations of Black Consciousness.

Therefore in the community in which the fieldwork for this study was carried out there was a multifaceted interaction of cultures and ideological commitment; this arena was indeed a multiplex "world".

2. CHURCHMANSHIP

I have already explored the Anglo-Catholic nature of the Church of the Province of Southern Africa and its fundamental concept of the Church as sacrament; that the Church is "not merely a

humanly sustained social organism, but that it is an instrument of grace".⁸ The case data revealed that the largest single group of students were "Anglo-Catholic" and I believe that they understood that the particular Church to which they belonged was "something far greater, far more ancient, than a Reformed body dating back to the sixteenth century".⁹ The outward manifestation of the Anglo-Catholicism of the Oxford Movement soon became linked to much ritual and ceremony¹⁰ and this is largely how it is

8. L. Weil: Sacraments and Liturgy. The Outward Signs. A Study in Liturgical Mentality.

Basil Blackwell, Oxford 1983, 35

9. Brooke op. cit 11

also see F. Higham op. cit., 7

10. see L. Weil op. cit., 17: "In the popular mind the Oxford Movement is often associated with elaborate ceremonial in the liturgy. The introduction of ritual practices generally connected with Roman Catholicism is the commonly held consequence of the Oxford Movement upon Anglican worship, and this is certainly an eminently visible and thus easily recognizable factor".

also see articles by Macquarrie and Chadwick in J. Robert Wright op. cit.

visible in the Church of this Province. When exercising his pastoral duties, the priest represents the Church, and could even be said to be 'the presence of the Church' in one's home¹¹ while at the Eucharist (which is often celebrated daily¹²) he is the central figure, representing Christ in the midst of the incense and bells, candles and ornate vestments.¹³

11. This type of statement was made by two interviewees of Anglo-Catholic persuasion.

12. It was in 1874 that Bloemfontein Cathedral was the first Church in the Anglican Communion to re-introduce a daily Eucharist.

13. Weil op. cit., 63, writes: "This popular identification of the Church with the Clergy is indicative of a mentality which viewed the Church essentially with respect to cultic activity". This statement seems to indicate that there was a lack of pastoral care and influence. However I do not believe this to be true in South African Anglo-Catholic parishes as was attested by a number of interviewees.

But in recent years the South African Church has also been affected by the Charismatic Movement, the roots of which, in the Catholic Tradition, have been traced to Duquesne University and an experience of two Holy Ghost Fathers in January 1967.¹⁴ The Church in this Province was profoundly influenced in this regard by Bill Burnett when Bishop of Grahamstown¹⁵ and this soon spread throughout the Province when he was translated to Cape Town in 1974.¹⁶ The reasons for such charismatic fervour are difficult to discover and while Stones traces

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14. see R. Lane: "Catholic Charismatic Renewal" in Charles Y. Glock and Robert N. Bellah (eds.): The New Religious Consciousness. Univ. of California Press, Berkeley 1976.
Lane's description of a service (Pg.169) is typical of the "charismatic services" attended by this writer.
15. From a conversation with the present Archbishop's chaplain who was then a student at Rhodes University.
16. see de Gruchy op. cit., 142

it to an "experiential-orientation" found among the "Jesus People" and their counter-culture adherence,¹⁷ in the Anglican Church the opposite appears to be the case. The movement blossomed and still appears to be sustained mainly among white middle-class priests and parishioners as a liberation from a non-experiential-orientated way of life.¹⁸ It must be noted that involvement in the Charismatic Movement may also be a form of escape from both personal and socio-political reality, as Marshall states: "it has to be admitted that many charismatic renewals are conspicuous in their actual geographical location and are to be found in just the very areas where political issues are at their most acute and most complex (for example in South Africa)".¹⁹

17. see C.R. Stones: The Jesus People: Attitude, personal-orientation and life-style changes as a function of non-conformist religious influence.

Unpublished M.Sc.

Rhodes University, 1976

18. Although difficult to document this was my experience in the research situation and in parishes visited.

19. op. cit., 9

In the South African Church today it is of the utmost importance to draw Marty's distinction between "hard" and "soft" Charismatics.²⁰ He writes: "The soft one is basically a Christian renewalist responsive to the language about and the experience of the Holy Spirit. He or she follows the prescriptions and patterns of the movement, but is gentle with non-Pentecostal Christians, more or less hoping and praying that they will seek the gift, but not looking on them as second-class Christians. The hard Charismatic makes the second Baptism or the blessing in the Spirit into a sign of qualitative difference and cannot help but rule that those who do not have it and seek it are truly unfinished Christian products, more or less half safe".²¹ It was evident that the college had been through a period largely dominated by "hard" Charismatics but that when this research was

20. see M.E. Marty: A Nation of Behavers.
Univ. of Chicago Press,
Chicago 1976, Chapter Five

21. Ibid., 123

carried out, it was a period of "soft" Charismatic renewal.

The other Anglican classifications which I employed in the questionnaire were "Evangelical" by which I meant one passionately concerned for the spread of the Gospel with no interest in any particular theological interpretation such as that found in Liberation Theology; "Low Church" which meant little (if any) ritual and ceremony and sometimes no candles on the altar and usually no cross, the Eucharist celebrated only on Sundays by a priest wearing hood and scarf, and Morning and Evening Prayer the primary acts of worship; and "Middle of the road" which would lie somewhere between "Low Church" and "Anglo-Catholic"/"High Church". The "Charismatic" and "Evangelical" influences may be found in any of the other classifications although they are less likely the "higher" the churchmanship.

Although the influence upon Anglicanism of the doctrine of the Incarnation has already been emphasized, it remains necessary to note that the doctrine of Creation and the concomitant doctrine of the providence of God also have considerable import for Anglicans. As the recent Inter-Anglican Theological and Doctrinal Commission report states: "The world is God's creation. As such it is good. Both the natural order and the world of history - of human decision and action - have their ground and their end in God, who is present in them and for them to finish his creative work"²² and again the commissioners stress that in their social contexts Anglicans must convey "the 'beyond' of God's grace and judgement in Christ".²³ Without further arguing the point, these emphases may be due to the weight given by the first four ecumenical councils to the transcendence of God and the Logos

22. For the Sake of The Kingdom op. cit., 30

23. Ibid., 59

as somehow "bridging" the gulf between God and the creation.²⁴ Of course this generates numerous christological problems and puzzles which are outside the scope of this thesis.

3. ST. PAUL'S COLLEGE

In 1902 the Right Reverend Charles Edward Cornish, then Bishop of Grahamstown, founded a "residential Theological College for the training of European candidates for the sacred ministry"²⁵ in a house given to the Church by Philip Simeon, a pastoral-worker in the isolated parts of the diocese.²⁶

In terms of the deed of transfer the land was registered in the name of the Bishop of Grahamstown and his successors.²⁷

24. Such a conceptual framework is found in the work of leading Anglican theologian, Rev'd Father E.L. Mascall O.G.S., for example: Whatever Happened to the Human Mind? Essays in Christian Orthodoxy. SPCK, London 1980

25. Constitution and Canons op. cit., Act X, 185

26. see Hinchliff op. cit., 199

27. see Constitutions and Canons op. cit., 185

From 1910 St. Paul's College became a provincial theological institution and additional ground, including the present warden's house, was purchased. This additional land and home was bought out of a provincial grant registered with the Provincial Trustees.²⁸ It appears that the college was under the authority of a Faculty of Divinity which had been constituted in 1898 and comprised the archbishop, all bishops and priests who were graduates in divinity²⁹ until the Provincial Synod of 1950 when it was thought necessary to appoint a council for the College "to manage and control on our behalf the finances of the College ... and to consider and advise on the training offered in the College".³⁰ The Archbishop of Cape Town and the Bishop of Grahamstown were to be ex officio

28. see Ibid., 185

29. see Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 204

30. Constitution and Canons op. cit., Act X, 185

members of the council and there were to be no fewer than four additional ordinary members. At the Provincial Standing Committee³¹ meeting in the year of Provincial Synod, all ordinary members retire and the Provincial Standing Committee appoints new members.

The warden is appointed by the Archbishop of Cape Town with the agreement of the Bishop of Grahamstown and after consultation with the College council. The duration of the warden's term of office is at the discretion of the Archbishop of Cape Town, who may, again with the agreement of the Bishop of Grahamstown dismiss the warden at any stage. The power of the warden is considerable. He alone "shall have the power and authority to dismiss at his discretion any member of the teaching

31. P.S.C. carries out the work of Provincial Synod between its Assembly every three years.
see Constitution and Canons op. cit.,
Canon 42, 114-115

staff or any servant or employee ... the warden shall have under his control the whole internal organization, management and discipline of the College. He shall have the power of expelling students for adequate cause ..."³²

From the time that the Rev'd E.C. West became warden in 1906, the College was run on Cuddesdon lines and to a large extent this is still the case today. Then, time was provided for "lectures, study, gardening, private prayers and from the very first a daily Eucharist ..."³³ and although from 1984 the Eucharist was celebrated six days a week, the other duties and activities remained very much the same.

Most dioceses send students to the College after having been approved as an ordinand by the diocesan bishop and his board of selectors.

32. Constitutions and Canons op. cit., 189

33. Lewis and Edwards op. cit., 205

In a few dioceses where a selection board has not been constituted, the bishop may solely approve a candidate for training. At the end of his training a student returns to work in his sponsoring diocese. The majority of students attend the College for three years which is the time it takes to complete the Diploma in Theology offered by the College. The curriculum consists of three courses each in Church History and Doctrine, and a single course in Missiology, Ethics and Worship. The pastoral studies courses such as Christian Education, Healing and Counselling, and Church Growth are accredited by course-work performance, while the other subjects mentioned are evaluated in terms of assignments and examinations held at the end of the year. As has been emphasized, most but not all students attend the College for the full three years, and this is largely decided at the discretion of the sponsoring bishop and his diocesan selection committee. Often if a student held a degree in theology, was

about to complete a correspondence degree in theology or if the student was elderly (that is, if he had retired from secular employment and was now to become a priest, or if he was in his late fifties or sixties) he would usually be in residence for one or two years. The College occasionally had students from beyond the borders of the province and in the period under review a Malawian, a Maritian and a Zimbabwean were in attendance. Students are constantly evaluated as to their suitability for ordination and most were conscious that this process was continuing whether in terms of their academic work or attendance at lectures and chapel or when at social functions. Twice a year the staff wrote individual assessments of students which were sent to the respective bishops and once a year each student wrote a self-assessment which was also sent to the bishop. The most important criteria in the staff

assessment seemed to relate to pastoral ability and spirituality.

During the period under review the College was served by a staff of five, four men (all priests) and one woman. Of the men, two were white (the warden and the chaplain) and two were "coloured" (both lecturers). The woman (a lecturer) was from Singapore. All except the woman held degrees and/or a diploma in theology; she held a law degree and had previously practised as a lawyer. A recent Ph.D. graduate and rector of a local parish church was a part-time lecturer while a school chaplain taught a practical theology course to the final year students. These two priests were both white. Out of the full-time and part-time complement of seven staff members, five were married, while one of the "coloured" lecturers and the woman were single.

While this research was being carried out there

was a total of fifty-three students attending the College. Twenty were single, thirty-two were married and one was a widow. There were three female students of whom two were single and one was the widow. An ethnic breakdown of students reveals the following:

- 4 Zulu
- 2 Tswana
- 3 Xhosa
- 1 Malawian (black)
- 2 Asians
- 11 Coloureds
- 29 Whites
- 1 Mauritian

The College operated on a three-term basis, the first term ending on Easter Sunday morning (after the Easter liturgies), the second term ended in the latter half of July and the final vacation began in mid-November. The two vacations during

the year lasted about three weeks to a month and the final holiday was approximately two and a half months long.

With regard to worship, the week-day schedule for the first and final terms required students to be in chapel at 6.30 a.m. for meditation (7 a.m. in the second term) and this usually lasted for fifty minutes. On feast days this period would be shortened because a sermon would be preached during the Eucharist. The Eucharist preceded meditation on Tuesdays but followed after meditation on Wednesday and Thursday mornings. On Fridays, the Eucharist was held in the evening at 5.45 p.m. to which students could bring guests and which included supper afterwards. On Mondays there was no celebration of the Eucharist; instead, meditation lasted for one hour and was followed by Prayer Book Matins. On Friday mornings meditation lasted for thirty minutes after which, at the discretion of the student

in charge for that particular week, a free form of service was held in five separately constituted "Friday-morning-prayer-groups". Excluding the latter and Monday morning Matins, all services mentioned were conducted according to Liturgy 1975. The Office of Evening Prayer (according to Liturgy 1975) was held on Mondays (12.45 p.m.), Tuesdays (2 p.m.) and Thursdays (5.30 p.m.) while Prayer Book Evensong was sung on Wednesdays (2 p.m.). Saturday was regarded as a "day-off" although services in the College chapel continued and the Eucharist was celebrated at 8 a.m. while Evening Prayer or Evensong (at the choice of the student officiant) was said at 5.30 p.m. On Sunday mornings the Eucharist was celebrated at 8.30 a.m. during which a Sunday School was conducted by the students. On Sunday evenings students were "expected to attend worship in the city".

The daily schedule outside worship took the following form: Lectures began at 9 a.m. (a little later in the condensed "winter-schedule") and proceeded until 10.30 a.m. for a half-hour tea-break. Lectures resumed at 11 a.m. until 12 noon when the programme altered. On Mondays and Thursdays choir practices were held and these were compulsory; that is, the whole College formed the choir. On Tuesdays the three respective pastoral studies courses were taught. Part of the course requirements for obtaining the Diploma in Theology was student involvement in various practical modules such as hospital visiting, involvement in local parish churches or schools, the teaching of Sunday School, taking services in resettlement areas etc. and the evaluation and planning of these modules took place on Wednesdays at 12 noon. There was a considerable change in programme on Fridays from 11 a.m. and the period from then until lunch-time

was headed "Applied Theology" during which discussions were held and lectures offered on a variety of issues from alternatives and revisions of the liturgy, to violence, politics or women's ordination.

For both staff and students there seemed to be a constant tension as to what were compulsory events and what were not compulsory events for students. Some occurrences both inside and outside the College were deemed at times "compulsory" by the warden, and for the lack of attendance at lectures or chapel an apology was expected to be made to the staff member concerned. Statements would periodically be made by the staff to the effect that "we would begin to question your vocation if you slept-in instead of being in chapel or lectures". A "compulsory" gathering was the Monday afternoon "College Meeting" at which the community was updated in terms of staff and student movements

etc. and any relevant information which affected the effective running of the College. It ensured that the warden could maintain a degree of uniformity in the College and this meeting was often used by the warden and the chaplain to pull various students "back into line".

Having provided a general overview of the life of the College community, it remains necessary to speak of the persons on the staff. The warden assumed the wide powers given to him in terms of the Canon of St. Paul's College and presented himself as the sole authority not only in terms of those he employed but also in terms of the entire administration of the College. A common experience of students was that often only the warden participated verbally in the staff-assessment interviews held twice a year, but this may be due to his considerable experience having been on the College staff for over fifteen years

and the relative inexperience of the other lecturers. The next most prominent member of staff in terms of College discipline was the rather reserved and youthful chaplain who had been head student at the College in the late seventies. Students in general viewed him as the warden's right hand man and as a conformist to the warden's views. He would deputise for the warden if the latter was away, and following the appointment of the warden as Dean of Johannesburg in 1986, the chaplain succeeded him as warden. Students were told that this occurred at the instigation of the former warden. One of the "coloured" lecturers was viewed by some "coloured" and black students as the person to champion "the black cause" among staff and students alike, but he seemed to be reluctant to do so. He had stated on occasions that "we need to penetrate the teaching of the Church Fathers because there we will find all that liberation theologians are writing about today". The other "coloured"

lecturer was as he himself stated, "task-orientated". In September 1984 he returned to South Africa after completing a two-year Diploma in Theology at Oxford University. He spoke with a British accent and although his home language was Afrikaans he insisted on preaching to the local "coloured" congregation in English. The attempt by some "coloured" students to use this lecturer as another lobbyist for "the black cause" failed. Such students expressed their frustration, often saying "there's nothing you can do with him". The only woman on the staff was regarded by most of the single students as the warden's inside agent because she was the only member of staff who lived in the single quarters and when the behaviour (or mis-behaviour) of a single student became known to the warden, she was thought to be the person who had informed him. She had no formal theological training (i.e. no Degree in Theology) and was regarded by some as an incompetent teacher. Students had

been known to opt out of attending her lectures and instead to merely write the assignments and sit the examination. Some rather irregularly attended her classes due, they said, to the quality of her teaching.

There was, inevitably, conflict in a community of so many people in close proximity for lengthy periods; people of diverse culture and language groups, educational standards, wider experience etc. While there were many individual person to person clashes it was the group formations which were rather more interesting. A group which had the image of being extremely powerful was the predominantly single students' "black caucus". But this image was, for the most part, presented by two or three single "coloured" students who were the organizers and leaders. While the black students were incorporated they appeared to be rather passive members of the group and the "black caucus" seemed far more

important to "coloured" identity than to black identity.

The black students tended to fall into ethnic groupings and the most visible unit was the one comprising the four Zulu students who met together, sang traditional songs, danced and would usually be observed together on the campus. The two Tswana students also met to talk and sing and although their number was small, these two students did not know one another prior to attending the College, and one of them was married. The two married Xhosa students always went jogging together in the afternoons and appeared to be quite close and although the single Xhosa student would run with the others he did not otherwise appear to mix with them. The former two were from Transkei, the latter had spent all his life in Soweto. As stated, the "coloured" single students seemed to form an identity in relation to the black students and they always ensured that

black students were welcome in their rooms and appeared afraid to be observed as a separate group or as being too close to the white students. They spent much time and effort on the "black cause" and on seeking support for various campaigns. The two Asian students did not constitute an identifiable unit but found a form of identity 'through' the "coloureds" with the black students. The single white students and the female students were not identifiable as separate groups, while the married students were hardly a unit and instead formed various groups as parents of children at the local school, as students of the same age, having similar interests or churchmanship or due to living next door to one another.

On reflection, perhaps, the most isolated people at the College were the "coloured" married students who did not constitute a group themselves nor were they part of the single "black caucus"

although they were pressurized by the latter. The idealism of the single "coloured" youths was often too costly for the married students with children to educate and food to buy. These "coloured" married students also did not seem to find an identity in terms of the various white married groupings. The female students tended to gravitate towards different groups, the widow to some white married students, the single Maritian to some white and "coloured" single students and the other single female student was rather isolated.

Meals were taken in a communal dining-room and while almost all students and the full-time staff ate breakfast together, only about two-thirds ate lunch at the College, and in the evenings a "light supper" was served for students. It was the exception for married students to eat in the dining-room in the evenings. Meal-times probably provided one of the few occasions for

communication to occur across the cleavages identified above and yet this did not appear to be the case. There were in fact, clearly identifiable table groupings in the dining-room, two "black" tables which were dominated by Zulu, Tswana and Xhosa students; a loose single students table at which an ethnically and racially mixed group of single students would gather; two white married students tables and a group of students who regularly sat at the warden's table. The "coloured" single and married students usually oscillated between tables, the marrieds usually moved between the white married students table while the singles ensured that they regularly ate with the black students. Despite periodic appeals by the warden that students "stop sitting in groups in the dining-room" very little notice was taken of this and after perhaps one meal at which some students would move to different tables, the situation would quickly revert to what it was before.

Here then was the arena in which the complexities and subtleties of conflict and compromise, controversy and consensus were explored. The investigation now focuses on the discourse, ritual and communal aspects of this Anglican seminary engaged in the battle for the ownership of symbols.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCOURSE

Following Joachim Wach's analysis of religion on the theoretical, practical and social levels,¹ I shall adopt an interpretive-analytic description of the research material in order to illustrate my thesis concerning symbolic warfare on the levels of discourse, ritual and community.

While these appear as three separate chapters, it is important to note that the issues raised in one area inevitably informed others. For instance, the doctrine of the Incarnation was significant within the realm of discourse and yet was central to the ritual act of the Eucharist. But the doctrine of the Incarnation was specifically appropriated by a section of the community for their use in the struggle for

1. see J. Wach: Sociology of Religion.
University of Chicago Press,
Chicago 1944, 17-34

freedom and therefore was also applicable to the area of community. This present chapter concentrates on the ownership and possession of discourse and the appropriation and use of it by various coalitions and groupings. I need to emphasize that the method adopted in this research was one of participant-observation and thus while some of my assertions may appear extremely bold, I have attempted to verify my results.

BIBLE

Central to the study of theology is the Bible which, down through history, has been claimed, used and interpreted in different ways. The early Christian communities merely possessed fragments of the New Testament, perhaps some of them relied only on one or two of the Pauline Epistles. For the Western Church, the canon

was closed at the Synod of Carthage in 397 C.E. while some three hundred years later a similar action was taken by the Eastern Church at the Trullan Synod.² The Bible augmented by tradition ("Catholic") or the Bible alone ("Protestant" - sola scriptura) are, I believe for the most part, false categories, and yet there is a real way in which the Evangelical and Anglo-Catholic wings of the Anglican Church have appropriated the Bible in different ways.³ And hence, for those in the College, there were varying understandings of the Bible, from those who believed that this was the infallible Word of God to those who focused exclusively on the Exodus event and Jesus' quotation from Isaiah in Luke's Gospel (Chapter 4, Verse 18) and therefore used the Bible in the cause for freedom and liberation in the South African situation. It is safe to say that the Evangelical

2. see inter alia W.C. Wantland: Foundations of the Faith.

Morehouse-Barlow,
Connecticut 1983, 25

3. see inter alia J. Macquarrie: Principles of Christian Theology.

SCM, London 1977, 380

and Charismatic students tended to question the veracity of certain biblical claims somewhat less than those who were of an Anglo-Catholic persuasion and it was not uncommon to hear from the former groups that something was to be believed because "the Bible says so". Again however, the two former groups did not form a united front in terms of their biblical interpretation, because for the Charismatics the primary focus was on the gifts of the Holy Spirit and the Pauline teaching in this regard, while the Evangelicals focused on missionary aspects of the New Testament and usually adopted an individualistic interpretation of salvation, thereby emphasizing the need for a "personal relationship" with Jesus. The Anglo-Catholic wing recognized that the foundation for Christian living was the teaching of the Church, its worship, rituals and festivals while the pastoral letters of the bishops were regarded as "authoritative" although the Anglo-Catholic students often called for "stronger leadership

and direction" from the episcopate. For students who belonged to the "black caucus" those aspects of the Bible which were useful to their cause were appropriated, for example, the Exodus-event, the suffering servant in Isaiah and Jesus' pronouncement during the Sermon on the Mount: "Blessed are the poor".

Thus, for some, the message of the Bible was centred around St. Paul's teaching of "justification by faith" while for others the Christian life must manifest "the gifts of the Spirit". For those fighting for freedom, the Bible was the story of a God who liberates his people from oppression and exploitation, for the Anglo-Catholic students the Bible was interpreted in conjunction with the teaching of the Church down the centuries. The Evangelicals appeared to adopt a more individualistic interpretation of the Bible while for those of a "high church" persuasion "the

body" needed to confirm biblical interpretation.

"The body" for this latter group was the "whole Church" in the sense that what was done in the local church needed to be commensurate with the teaching of the wider Christian community, whereas "the body" for the Charismatic students was the small prayer group or the students present in Chapel, without reference to the wider Church.

Because of its centrality to the faith, the appropriation of the Bible and what it meant was a source of conflict in the community. For instance, when liberation theologian Father Theo Kniefel came to Grahamstown to address students, various seminarians objected to what they believed was a 'tendentious' use of the Bible and consulted their Bibles to prove him wrong. For some students salvation was an individual experience, for others it was communal and both these groups appealed to the Bible to prove their

argument. Those of an Evangelical and Charismatic persuasion appeared far more familiar with their Bibles in terms of consulting texts and would often use various texts in the extemporary prayers.

CONTROLLED AND UNCONTROLLED DISCOURSE

For the rest of this chapter I shall concentrate on controlled and uncontrolled discourse. Within the realm of controlled discourse I shall include myth and doctrine, while I shall consider uncontrolled discourse to be glossolalia.

CONTROLLED DISCOURSE: Myth and Doctrine

I shall understand by "myth" the "expression of the sacred in words"⁴ or in the Christian context, the conveying of Jesus' relationship with God and God's relationship with man in the telling of stories.⁵

And here I shall concentrate on some of the central Christian stories which were prominently used in the community and the acceptance of these stories as "doctrines" or particular aspects of Christian belief which are statements of faith and standards of measurement which define

4. M.Eliade (editor in chief): The Encyclopaedia of Religion.

Macmillan, New York 1987, 261

5. see A. Harvey: God Incarnate. Story and Belief. SPCK, London 1981, 5

what is orthodox and what is heretical.⁶

It is safe to say that none of the seminarians accepted the Genesis creation story as literally true but rather perceived it as illustrative of the providence of God. The belief in God's omnipotence and control of the world and its destiny was affirmed by all and despite the suffering and oppression in the country there was little questioning of the omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent and all-loving Father who allowed suffering and evil in the world. Perhaps some aspects of African life contributed to an emphasis on the providence of God,⁷ but (as already stated)

6. see A. Richardson and J. Bowden : A New Dictionary of Christian Theology. SCM, London 1983, 161

7. see J. Mosala: "African Traditional Beliefs and Christianity" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.43 June 1983, 21: "It is worth noting ... that African traditional religion has never had problems comparable to those of Western Christianity about Transcendence. That "Modimo", the awe-inspiring transcendent reality, is much more than what we are capable of knowing about Him has never been a matter for controversy within African traditional religion notwithstanding the close relation between society and religion in the African set-up".

it could also be due to the importance for Anglicanism of the first four ecumenical councils which emphasized the transcendence of God.⁸

For students there seemed to be no doubt that ultimately God's kingdom would come and even in the depressing and dark days in South Africa with the all too evident oppression and exploitation, those who were politically active believed themselves to be involved in bringing about the reign of God which would be approximated here on earth in a free and liberated South Africa.

The stories of the Incarnation and of the Virgin Birth, although presenting some conflict, were not major issues of concern. That Jesus was the Son of God was not seriously questioned and I believe that most of the students held a fairly 'high' Christology. While a few students did subscribe to the adoptionist view, the majority accepted the Chalcedonian definition, namely, that Jesus was "homoousious" with God the Father and "homoousious" with us, with human beings. This interpretation

8. see pp. 88 and 89

of course, influenced the celebration of the Eucharist where, for most, the consecrated bread and wine were the body and blood of Jesus, the Son of God who was one in nature with the Father. Together with the Anglo-Catholic image of the province and the teaching of anamnesis (the making present of an event which happened in the past), the reception of the blessed sacrament of the altar was certainly perceived to be the reception of the actual body and blood of Jesus. Again, while this produced some conflict over the concept of 'sacrifice', the doctrine of the Incarnation was more prominently employed as an impetus to active involvement in the liberation struggle in this country. Here the belief was that "Jesus is a supremely human God"⁹ and that the doctrine of the Incarnation was a revolutionary statement which compelled men and women to question their ideological biases¹⁰ and be involved as Jesus

9. F. Chikane: "The Incarnation in the Life of the People in Southern Africa" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 51 June 1985, 44

10. J.L. Segundo SJ: "The Shift within Latin American Theology" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 52 September, 1985, 17-29

was in working among the poor and infirmed, the marginalized in society for the liberation of all and the establishment of the "eschatological shalom".¹¹ Thus the debate did not focus on the ontological questions surrounding the doctrine of the Incarnation, rather the conflict was about to what extent the kingdom could be present now or whether it would only be inaugurated to the sound of trumpets on the last day. While the "black caucus" worked for the establishment of that kingdom now and believed that this could happen, the older white students and those of an Evangelical and Charismatic persuasion were prepared to rely on the doctrine of the providence of God -- that he would bring about his will in his own time and that our primary task was to pray that his will may be done. There were some students who believed that a future South Africa could in no way approximate the kingdom and that such a belief was heretical. One of the students who subscribed to such a belief was a former mayor of

11. W. Kasper: Jesus the Christ.

Burnes and Oates, London 1977, 73

one of the major cities in the country who believed that 'politics' and 'religion' should be completely separate and not influence each other. His views were regarded by those on the liberation front as typical of one who was so closely involved with the state's structures of oppression and exploitation. The Incarnation as myth was thus a story of God's actual indwelling in Jesus and also of a God who was active in the world in a very real and tangible manner. But the life and pattern of the Incarnate Son of God was open to so many interpretations. There were those who interpreted Jesus in a 'socio-political' sense, there were some students who imitated him in the pietistic sense of cultivating the Christian virtues through reflection, prayer and meditation thereby following the Jesus who withdrew to the mountain to pray. Alternatively, some students perceived Jesus only as the proclaimer of the Good News and that the task of the Church was to spread its message in the missionary endeavour

to reach all people - oppressed and oppressor - and bring them to a "living relationship with Jesus". For others the doctrine of the Incarnation was exclusively located in the Eucharist with the reception of the actual body and blood of Jesus.

There were two theological controversies which were prominent in the Church during the research period, and both centred around the appointment of Professor David Jenkins of Leeds University as the Bishop of Durham. The disputation concerning the Virgin Birth did not itself become an issue in the College probably because there had been so much speculation in this regard in recent years. While the Incarnation bridged the gap between myth and doctrine, the Virgin Birth, like the story and doctrine of creation, was understood to be rather more story than doctrine. The seminarians accepted that God could, in his divine providence and will, ensure that his Son was born of a virgin. Whether they in fact believed this, was rather

more doubtful. It is interesting to note that in the same way in which Gray and Cotterill formed a united front to oppose Colenso,¹² the Anglo-Catholics who accepted the Virgin Birth as a literal truth were now on the same side as the Evangelicals!

The atoning work of Jesus Christ and the whole theology of the cross and crucifixion has been interpreted in different ways down the centuries and while the traditional theories of the Atonement were taught at the College, the symbol of the suffering and dying Saviour on Calvary was appropriated by various groupings in diverse ways. In the context of liberation theology there has been a shift away from the personalized perspectives of the Classical, Anselmian and Moralistic (Subjective) theories of the Atonement.¹³ For those who were members of the "black caucus" or on the forefronts of the cause for freedom and

12. see p. 61

13. see S.S. Maimela: "The Atonement in the Context of Liberation Theology" in South African Outlook, Vol. 111, December 1981, 183-186

liberation in South Africa, the symbol of the cross and the redeeming work of the crucified Christ had become depersonalized in the sense that one could not be saved alone but only in conjunction with all those who were suffering, oppressed and exploited.¹⁴ However the personalized forms of salvation were still prevalent particularly among the Evangelical and Charismatic groups and the older white students who were not politically motivated. Thus it was only from the white students and one "coloured" student that I can remember praise and thanks being offered to Jesus during the liturgy for having 'saved us from our sins'. The crucifixion was an ever-present symbol in a similar way to the anamnesis of the Eucharist and thus this latter central act and highest form of Christian worship did not seem to be as much a cause of thanksgiving (*ευχαριστω*) as a reminder that the

14. see D.J. Bosch: "Currents and Crosscurrents in South African Theology" in G.S. Wilmore and J.H. Cone (eds.): Black Theology: A Documentary History, 1966-1979 Orbis Books, New York 1979, 235

suffering and dying Jesus was present with us in the situation of suffering in which we lived. Thus Jürgen Moltmann words are apt: "The symbol of the cross in the Church points to the God who was crucified not between two candles on an altar, but between two thieves in the place of the skull, where the outcasts belong, outside the gates of the city. It does not invite thought but a change of mind".¹⁵ The cross and the Eucharist were there to change hearts and minds to the cause of liberation for those who were presently hanging on the cross of death.

The sacred story of the resurrection of Jesus was a myth that was "alive" for the community. All the seminarians affirmed the resurrection as a doctrine of the Church and any problem with this central tenet of Christian belief was about what resurrection meant in physical/spiritual

15. J. Moltmann: The Crucified God.
SCM, London 1974, 40

terms rather than whether it happened or did not happen.

The Bishop of Durham's view that the resurrection was "a conjuring trick with bones"¹⁶ was widely reported and many South African bishops were brought into the fray and expressed their views in sermons, monthly diocesan newsletters and were on occasions asked by newspapers to comment. According to the questionnaires, the majority of students believed that the Bishop of Durham's views on the resurrection were heretical and during this time the prayers in the liturgy often expressed statements of faith in the literal resurrection of Jesus and therefore in the resurrection of his followers - 'we too shall rise as he has risen'. The agreement

16. In Church Times (2 November 1984)

Bishop Jenkins states that what he actually said was: "The Resurrection is far more than a conjuring trick with bones". Pg.20

On this controversy see:

Church Times 16 March 1984, 4 May 1984, 18 May 1984, 15 June 1984, 6 July 1984, 5 October 1984, 9 November 1984 and 15 February 1985 which contains the General Synod Debate on the issue.

regarding the resurrection of Jesus offered the community a symbol of orthodoxy in the face of the onslaught of heresy and the 'appalling situation' that some of the heretics even came from within the Church.

In writing about the classifying of symbols, Rodney Needham notes that "symbolic classification as a characteristic human activity manifests two unconscious and restrictive tendencies - formal economy and empirical correspondence"¹⁷ and the sacred stories and formal statements of Christian belief contained in the myths and doctrines explored above, manifest these two qualities. First, there was economy in that one story endeavoured to explain, for example, the whole complex of creation or life after death. In terms of empirical correspondence, there were questions with reference to the evidence of science: Did the resurrection really happen? Could it really

17. op. cit., 62

happen? While on the other hand, the myths and doctrines were shaped by the socio-political context and thus the crucifixion as reflective of the suffering in South Africa generated more discussion and debate than the resurrection, about which there could have occurred much controversy because it was widely contested in clerical and lay circles throughout the Anglican Communion and beyond.

UNCONTROLLED DISCOURSE: Glossolalia

As already stated, the Anglican Church in this province was influenced by the Charismatic Movement and within the Church the primary catalyst appeared to be the Archbishop of Cape Town between 1974 and 1981. However, prior to Bishop Burnett's translation to Cape Town, the pentecostal movement was growing in South Africa¹⁸ and in February 1974,

18. see de Gruchy op. cit., 142

a matter of months before Bishop Burnett's election to the Cape Town see, the University of Cape Town held an Extra-Mural Summer School series of lectures entitled "Charismatic Christianity". It is interesting to note that the number of Anglicans who attended this course far exceeded any other denominational group.¹⁹

I have already drawn attention to the fact that the research period was a time of 'soft' charismatic renewal at the College if a comparison was made between this period and that of the latter seventies. An example illustrates this difference: During the research period an Anglo-Catholic priest from the Diocese of Port Elizabeth was invited to preach at one of the Friday evening 'open' Eucharists. The chaplain stated that the invitation was an attempt to

19. Some of the papers read at this course are contained in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 7 June 1974.

John Painter notes the denominational distribution in the editorial.

redress the balance in worship which, during the late seventies, had had an almost exclusively charismatic colouring. The chaplain had been a student during the former years and recalled the occasion when the reaction to the sermon of a priest from one of the bastions of Anglo-Catholicism in the Province was such that students stood on their stalls, singing choruses, arms raised and speaking in tongues.

One of the most evident features of the Pentecostal Movement has been glossolalia²⁰ and within the Anglican Church this was synonymous with the Charismatic Movement - - in fact the symbol of the Charismatic Movement was glossolalia. And it was an extremely powerful symbol, in fact more than many others it engendered emotional experiences which generated feelings of commitment. Thus it does "not merely ... mark or enhance the

20. see J.S.W. Bond: "Pentecostalism in the Pentecostal Churches" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.7 June 1974, 10

importance of what is symbolized, but also (serves) to evoke and sustain an emotional commitment to what is decreed to be important in the social group in question".²¹

What is glossolalia? Here there is some disagreement as it has been defined as "a medium of communication that directly informs both the participants and the onlookers of a ritual about the presence of and contact with the powers or the beings of the sacred dimension of reality ..."²² while Eleanor Nash states that "much energy is expended on asserting that the language itself is communication instead of recognizing that the language is symbolic of religious experience".²³ It is however both of these things - for the

21. Needham op. cit., 5

22. Eliade op. cit., 565

23. E. Nash: "The Psycho-Social context of Glossolalia" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 7 June 1974, 45

participant it is contact with the sacred power and within the Christian community and the seminary in particular, it was understood as a gift of the Holy Spirit and a means of communication with God.²⁴ During the height of the Charismatic Movement glossolalia was also believed to be evidence of baptism in the Holy Spirit. When it was performed in the context of the liturgy at the College, this tongue-speaking demanded interpretation. But glossolalia is also illustrative of certain religious experience - and in the community was, for the most part, the preoccupation of older white students. As already stated glossolalia is often present in a situation of socio-political turmoil and indicative of a reticence to face the harsh realities of the situation in which one lives,²⁵

24. J. Müller: "Neo-Pentecostalism. A Theological Evaluation of Glossolalia, with special reference to the Reformed Churches" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.7 June 1974, 45

25. see p. 85

but the question still remained as to why the older white students were the largest group involved. In discussion with Professor Cumpsty (also an Anglican priest) we concluded that perhaps one of the reasons why this phenomenon was prevalent amongst this group was that they had been raised before the period of "expressionism" of the late sixties and early seventies and were now experiencing a certain 'legitimate' freedom of expression in the religious realm. It needs to be noted that of those who spoke in tongues outside this group of older white seminarians, were three Zulu students. However two significant factors need to be recorded. First, tongue-speaking was a familiar practise in the Zulu tradition and thus for this group cannot be analysed as a sudden response to the socio-political situation in South Africa.²⁶

26. see R. Shorten: "An Anglican Renewal Movement in Relation to its Zulu Context" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.58 March 1987, 39-40

Secondly, in Shorten's analysis of the "The Legion of Christ's Witnesses", a renewal movement in the Diocese of Zululand, he states that "unlike the Pentecostal tradition which insists on baptism of the Spirit and the manifestation of glossolalia as proof of that baptism, Legion members emphasize that each Christian needs to be filled with the Holy Spirit but that this may manifest itself in some other way".²⁷ While none of the Zulu students may have been members of this movement, there did not appear to be an exclusivity about their gift of glossolalia.

It must be noted that the 'type' of glossolalia used at the seminary on all the occasions at which I was present, was of a similar kind. Now as problematic as it is to assert this, when this matter was discussed many students expressed alarm or a certain disquiet that various students

27. R. Shorten: "The Legion of Christ's Witnesses. A Research Report" in Religion in Southern Africa, Vol. 6 No.2 July 1985, 41

were merely repeating the same phrases.

Certainly when it came to the interpretations, there were only one or two variations on a general theme of "Glory, dominion, honour and power be to you O Lord most High". This latter interpretation was always used by the warden no matter who spoke in tongues. It has been claimed that glossolalia is learned behaviour and shaped by its social context with regard to what is said and the subsequent interpretations.²⁸ But perhaps in this research arena, tongue-speaking was not as much 'shaped by context' as controlled by those in authority.

While the warden was the most regular interpreter, the chaplain spoke in tongues himself and influenced and encouraged glossolalia in the chapel. In one incident, after a student had offered an interpretation of another's ecstatic utterance, the chaplain stated that this interpretation was incorrect.

28. see Eliade op. cit., 564

Glossolalia never occurred spontaneously in the community, but was always evoked, a trance-like atmosphere had to be created. Tongue-speaking usually occurred during the prayer time in the liturgy after an emotionally rousing chorus or as a result of a sermon which had emphasized the need for the gifts of the Spirit. The usual scenario was as follows: A student would present one of a series of certain rather emotion-rousing choruses and this would often lead first to singing in tongues (a number of students together), then speaking in tongues (usually only by one student) followed by an interpretation and perhaps a confirmation of the interpretation. This could even be succeeded by a prophecy and its confirmation.

Examples of choruses which lead to the speaking in tongues were:

We see the Lord X2
 And he is high and lifted up
 And his train fills the temple
 The angels cry 'Holy' X2
 The angels cry 'Holy is the Lord'.

(Sound of Living Waters No.23)

or

He is Lord X2
He is risen from the dead,
and he is Lord
Ev'ry knee shall bow
Ev'ry tongue confess that Jesus
Christ is Lord.

(Sound of Living Waters No.24)

There were some students of a more Anglo-Catholic persuasion who would unashamedly manipulate the community in this regard and before a service would openly discuss what chorus they would present, who would speak in tongues and who would interpret.

Glossolalia also occurred as an attempt to diffuse conflict situations, for instance, after a particularly difficult Common Room debate.

Therefore glossolalia may not be uncontrolled discourse in the sense that it happened at random

in the College, that it occurred spontaneously without any evocation or active encouragement. Glossolalia was uncontrolled in that it was dissimilar to the myths and doctrines of the faith which were present in the liturgy in a formalized manner. For some students the speaking in tongues lent the experiential dimension to worship which they believed was appropriate. For others it was an emotional cop-out, a form of escapism or a contrived act of emotionalism.

Glossolalia had previously been used as evidence of one's commitment as a Christian and employed to define who was inside and who was outside the Christian-fold. At one time Anglicans who did not speak in tongues and were not "Charismatic" were definitely viewed as second-class Christians, and during the 'hard' Charismatic period were not even accepted as Christians. While this may have been true in previous years at the College

it was no longer the case and thus the status of glossolalia as a central symbol of the community at the height of the Charismatic Movement's power and influence was, I believe, in the throws of being lost.

CHAPTER FIVE

RITUAL PRACTICE

Mary Douglas has stated that "ritual is pre-eminently a form of communication"¹ and this I believe to be true. In this chapter I shall be examining three such forms of communication - one, belonging to the community as a whole, the second, a significant ritual practice for some of the seminarians and the third, an act which was no longer frequently performed in the seminary and which I would classify as a "ritual of purity".²

Following Bernstein's linguistic analysis, Douglas draws on his categories of 'restricted' and 'elaborated' codes. Douglas states: "As I understand it, the differences between the two coding systems depend entirely on the relation

1. Douglas 1973 op. cit., 41

2. see M. Douglas: Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo.

Ark Paperbacks, London 1984, 2

of each to the social context".³ And here the three ritual practices which I shall examine may be similarly categorized. The Eucharist fell into the elaborated category in that all students participated in this rite and in that sense it transcended the fissures in the community whereas Lobola remained very much part of African Life and was not incorporated as a seminary practice, indeed one is tempted to say that it was hardly understood by those for whom it was not a prior cultural practice. Demon possession and exorcism was so infrequent during the research period that while it may have been in the elaborated area previously, it had perhaps been allowed to retreat into the restricted area and in this one instant only occurred amongst the Zulu students.

I understand ritual practices to be symbolic actions which are performative means of

3. Douglas 1973 op. cit., 44

communication and express the traditions, attitudes and values of the believers and are not only intensifications of life⁴ but in an economical way⁵ 'cancel and preserve on a higher level'⁶ that which belongs to the mundane.

And to participate in the Eucharist and be involved in sacramental worship means not only to affirm the life of the social group to which one belongs and "attempt to create and maintain a particular culture",⁷ it also means to enter the 'doors to the sacred' and be an actor in a hierophantic

4. J. Martos: Doors to the Sacred.

SCM, London 1981, 26

5. see Needham op. cit., 60-62

6. In both On Being A Christian (Fount/Collins, Glasgow 1978) and

Does God Exist? (Vintage, New York 1981)

Hans Küng uses the term "Aufheben"

when expounding the philosophy of Hegel.

The term can, I believe, be helpful to

sacramental theology in the sense that

what is mundane is transformed and

imbued with meaning on a new plane.

7. Douglas 1984 op. cit., 128

drama and enable one's own life and the life of the community to become meaningful, even to be located in an ultimately meaningful arena.

EUCCHARIST

Because Anglican priests are bound by the Daily Offices and many celebrate the Eucharist during the week,⁸ the liturgy would be understood as the 'work of the Church'; the primary task of the worshipping community in terms of its necessity and regularity, and indeed at the College the performance of the liturgy was central to the community's life.

8. This is encouraged by the bishops of this Province. For example, soon after Desmond Tutu was enthroned as Archbishop of Cape Town he stated in his first Ad Clerum (which, at the request of many priests, was subsequently published in his letter to the people of the diocese): "We want to encourage the tradition of a daily eucharist. There will always be one or two parishioners who can be counted on to attend. In any case the angels are always there as well as the 'cloud of witnesses'".

(Good Hope March 1987, 5)

Within that daily offering of worship, I believe that the Eucharist would most likely be regarded as more important than the offices in terms of its sacramental efficacy. The Eucharist was certainly a more elaborate act of worship than the daily offices.⁹ Up until the end of 1983 the Eucharist was celebrated daily but with the arrival in January 1984 of two (out of five) new members of staff it seemed that the evangelical priest/director of studies who had been a member of staff for some eight years, lobbied for the removal of a daily celebration of the Eucharist because he said that "some students came from parishes where this was not the practice". Therefore from 1984 the Eucharist was celebrated each morning excluding Mondays (except if a feast-day fell on a Monday) and although Saturday was the official day-off at the College, the Eucharist was celebrated in the morning for those who wished to attend.¹⁰

9. see Douglas 1973 op. cit., 26: "Ritualism is most highly developed where symbolic action is held to be most certainly efficacious".

10. Only two of the fifty-one respondents to the questionnaire objected to the regularity of the Eucharist at the College.

The reasons for the centrality of the Eucharist at the College are probably manifold although they would include: a reflection of the Anglo-Catholic nature of the Church in Southern Africa; the importance of the concept of "community" at St. Paul's¹¹ which was evident in this communal agape meal¹² and the teaching of the previous warden who it was said "discovered the Eucharist everywhere in the Gospels".¹³

11. see J.N. Suggit: Poetry's Next-Door Neighbour.

Rhodes University 1977. Professor Suggit had been warden of St. Paul's College before his appointment as Professor of New Testament Studies at Rhodes University and in this inaugural lecture emphasizes the "common life" which Christians must live.

12. see Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.

Faith and Order Paper No. 111.
W.C.C., Geneva 1982 14,
Paragraph D. 19

13. A good example of this is evident in:

J.N. Suggit: "John 13: 1-30: The mystery of the incarnation and of the eucharist" in Neotestamentica 19 (1985), 64-70

Symbols are the means of communication in ritual practice¹⁴ and therefore we need to ask what symbols were both evident and common to this community in the Eucharist? First, the full Eucharistic vestments were used by the celebrant; there were lighted candles, altar vestments, fully dressed chalice, missal stand and open missal on the altar; the credence table was equipped with ciborium, a cruet of wine and one of water, ablution jug, bowl and lavabo cloth. Each of the two officiants accompanying the celebrant were dressed in cassock and surplice and the rest of the students wore cassocks. Until August 1984 when the evangelical priest/director of studies left the staff, two priests preferred to wear cassock-alb and three-point stole and if the evangelical priest celebrated on a Saturday morning he would wear collar and tie. However, with his departure, the present chaplain, who up until that time also wore a cassock-alb and stole, changed to wearing full

14. Douglas 1973 op. cit., 60

Eucharistic vestments and in his preaching and teaching seemed to reflect an ever higher doctrine of the Eucharist, stating in one sermon that on appropriate feasts like Corpus Christi the students should "parade through the streets holding the monstrance high above our heads for all to see".

I believe that these outward signs of vestments and vessels were not only very much a part of the Eucharist but also central to an understanding of the priestly life. Because of the High Church emphasis on the necessity of the regularity of the Eucharist, those who attended the Eucharist on Saturday mornings were usually of a more Anglo-Catholic persuasion and would often express their annoyance both at the evangelical priest's non-use of vestments and the passing of the host and the cup by the congregation (this latter practice was the norm on Saturdays regardless of the celebrant). I would venture to say that a "properly constituted Eucharist" for the majority

of students was one in which all the above outward signs, symbols, vestments and vessels were used.

The cassock was an extremely important mode of dress for students and was bound up with the Eucharist in a significant way. It was the required clerical attire at meditation and Matins on Mondays, and at meditation and the Eucharist on Tuesdays to Thursdays and a surplice was worn over the cassock on feast days and on Sunday mornings. On occasions when the Eucharist was held at a different time of the day to its regularly scheduled time, due to a necessary change in program, there were always requests from students as to whether cassocks needed to be worn. Some students wore a scapular with their cassocks, others kept their cassocks on all day and wore them again to the evening office.

An incident occurred which I believe, serves to illustrate the importance of the cassock.

After a celebration of the Eucharist in mid-September 1984, a visiting bishop was presented with a College tie because it was his birthday and he wrapped this around his cassock collar. Despite the presence of the illustrious purple-cassocked visitor, this act drew additional attention to himself and students commented that this was "not the way to wear a tie" and that this was "inappropriate dress". Students were, it seemed, expressing disquiet at what seemed to be a mixing of one of the few garments which students as prospective priests were permitted to wear with something reserved for the laity - a common tie. It needs to be noted that those who wore their cassocks outside the obligatory occasions were mostly black students or others of an "Anglo-Catholic" persuasion.

Although there was extemporary praying during all the services, this seemed to form a vital part of Eucharistic worship and it was extremely rare for students who were officiating not to allow time

for such praying. The chaplain, while not making a public announcement concerning this matter, was known to complain if the responsible officiant did not permit time for extemporary praying. Those who were not so kindly disposed to such praying (usually the more Anglo-Catholic students) would use other written prayers or would read an extract from a devotional work for the duration of time allotted to the prayers. On an ordinary weekday the Eucharist lasted about forty-five minutes and between ten and twenty minutes would be used for open praying. An Anglo-Catholic student once remarked: "I can't stand it when the prayers take fifteen to twenty minutes and the sacrament is dispensed with in about eight minutes!"

There was an art to extemporary praying and certain specific words were used when discussing this type of praying. People would speak of "feeding into" the prayers either a text from the Bible or some appropriate words. The officiant was to "direct" the prayers ensuring that they did

not become too diffuse and therefore in his introduction the officiant would inform students that they were to pray in a certain number of "areas". He would then proceed to list a number of themes or subjects "around which" the prayers had to centre. Subsequently the task of the officiant would be to ensure that people conformed to his instructions and he would "open" and "close" each "area" with a prayer or with a suitable introduction and conclusion. The prayers would usually be concluded with the following words:

"Father we know that you are good and that you hear all those who call upon you; give to us and to all men what is best for us so that we may glorify you through your Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, who is alive and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit, one God, now and for ever".

(Conclusion to Prayers C in Liturgy 1975)

or

"Heavenly Father
whose Son Jesus Christ has promised
that when we meet together in his name
he is here among us
and that if we agree about any request
we have to make you will grant it:
Answer our prayers, most merciful Lord
as may be best for us
granting us in this world the knowledge
of your truth
and in the world to come the fulness
of eternal life;
through Jesus Christ our Lord".

(from Morning Prayer in Liturgy 1975)

But it particularly needs to be noted that these
extemporary prayers were not always offered in
obedience to the instructions given by the
officiant or "on the spur of the moment". For
while it is conceivable that the officiant was
directing the prayers according to his own

purposes, it was certainly evident that the "black caucus" at the College used the prayer-time in order to make certain political or ethical statements or to vocalize a complaint they had about the staff, white student attitudes or about college-life in general. Hence there was manipulation of this prayer-time which constituted a claim to own the "legitimate" interpretation of the relevant issues. For example, on the one hand, grave dissatisfaction may be expressed about military conscription in general terms, while on the other hand, the specifics, relating to one of the students (already a priest) acting as the chaplain to the local army base or that the sons of students were undergoing national service, were raised and prayed about. But silence was also effectively employed during the period allotted to extemporary praying, and on occasions regular intercessors were not heard after an unpopular decision had been made by the warden, or a uniform silence was evident from the "black

caucus" members if one of their sponsored proposals was defeated at a College meeting.

In extemporary praying a division was evident between black students and white students. In this instance the white students were most frequently of an evangelical/charismatic middle to low church persuasion and their prayers were most often about the spreading of the Gospel, the salvation obtained through God's gift of his Son who died for the sins of the world or about the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Only one "coloured" student regularly contributed to such prayers. The blacks who prayed (including the "coloureds") offered intercessions which were, for the most part, of a political nature and while at times such prayers would be covert in the sense of issues like the removal of the "scourge of apartheid", for those suffering exploitation and oppression, for the unemployed or for those banned or detained without trial;

at other times the praying would be overt, with direct references to Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, the A.N.C., "Terror" Lekota, Archie Gumede, the U.D.F., C.O.S.A.S., the P.A.C. etc.

On occasions this led to one white student leaving the chapel and only returning after the prayers and the exchanging of "the peace" were concluded. Dissatisfaction was often expressed by other white students either at breakfast directly after the service or later in the day during a lecture-discussion. At a College meeting one white student was publicly accused by "black caucus" members of being insensitive to the "direction" of the prayers and of "hi-jacking" the prayers.

It certainly appeared as though this type of praying was a necessary constituent of the Eucharist and the Offices. How much it was felt that these services were incomplete if extemporizing did not take place was evident in the chaplain's concern about this matter and also

the fact that he reinforced this in his teaching of "Worship" at the College. This type of praying was also carried over into small-group meetings in the College: whether the Friday morning prayer-groups, the Mission Team meetings or the Pastoral Module sessions. All these would include a period set aside for extemporary praying.

There is a further factor of some importance which applies to worship, namely hymn-singing. Choir practices were compulsory (much to the frustration of some students) and all services (except the Saturday Eucharist and the evening office) were accompanied by selected hymns -- selected by the student officiants for the week, submitted to the choir-master and practised at choir practice prior to the officiant's duty week. Perhaps it was the belief that worship was impoverished without the singing of hymns which often caused a student to present a hymn if a somewhat "awkward" silence occurred during the

prayer-time in the liturgy; if at the offertory
the selected hymn was too short and the vessels
were still being prepared or even after the
reception of the sacrament as the priest stood
at the altar in silence. Again, on Saturday
mornings at the so-called "said" Eucharist, it
was not uncommon for a student to present a hymn
during the prayers or while the vessels were
prepared for the consecration. There did not
seem to be either a racial or a churchmanship
divide on this issue.

Amid the extemporary praying and the hymn-singing,
the waning charismatic image of the College was
enforced through the use of choruses during the
prayers to facilitate the "speaking in tongues"
by students and with which I have already dealt.

Central therefore to the ritual practice of this
community was the Eucharist and the Daily Offices,
although the former was, I believe, viewed as a

more significant and certainly more efficacious act of worship. Both types of liturgy were legitimated by various accretions - hymn singing, extemporary praying, vestments, candles etc. All the students participated in these performances of the 'work of the Church' while on the underside, a subtle battle was being fought to own, possess and control the liturgy. For the arguments about the interpretation of the Eucharist appeared to be embedded in the extemporary praying by students, whether a cassock should be worn to services and hymns needed to be sung or tongues heard. In partaking of the bread and wine, was one primarily aware of sharing this act with the angels and saints and the whole tradition of Christendom or were these ritual practices only contemporary political acts? Were the Eucharist and the offices merely rituals which affirmed the beliefs and experiences of the social group or was the Holy Spirit present and involved?

I would venture to say that for most students the Eucharist had sacrificial overtones in the sense that this was "the symbolic presence by anamnesis of the unique atoning sacrifice of Christ".¹⁵ For some this meant a relatively internal "pietist" interpretation so that in eating the flesh of Jesus and drinking his blood there may occur an indwelling and intermingling -- 'he in me and me in him'.¹⁶ For others the aspects of 'proclamation' and 'foretaste of the heavenly banquet'¹⁷ were vitally important. But there did seem to be the emergence of an opinion that "the fundamental meaning of this memory is in Christ's total giving of himself to others; it is the place therefore, where mission and the creation of human solidarity simultaneously begin ... (and thus) ... 'the altar

15. Moltmann 1974 op. cit., 43

16. Liturgy 1975, The Prayer of Humble Access

17. see Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry op. cit.,
14-15, Paragraph E:
The Eucharist as Meal of the
Kingdom.

of the Eucharist leads directly to the higher altar of the poor and oppressed ..."¹⁸

Thus there appeared to be a movement away from the Western "psychologizing" of the Eucharist and an attempt to "earth" this rite in the tradition of Liberation Theology. And because the Anglican Church has long maintained a silence on eucharistic interpretation, licence has been given to conflicting notions in this respect. I believe that the extemporary praying and the use of vestments, especially the wearing of cassocks by students illustrate the differing perceptions of this rite and the claim to "know" what it means. Eucharistic understanding would also be evident as to whether one was going to "Mass", "The Eucharistic" or "Holy Communion". What has been said of extemporary praying, the use of vestments, hymn-singing and the speaking in tongues also relates to the offices although there was not the same conflict concerning both the interpretation and the function of the

18. Cochrane op. cit., 233-234

Eucharistic rite.

Because the type of warfare explored above was discharged within the liturgical arena, it retained a restrained quality. During the period under review, there were no wholesale protests or walk-outs, although, I do believe that this occurred at the height of the Charismatic Movement's influence in the late seventies and I have already noted one such occasion.¹⁹ The calculus of rising tension within the liturgical context had a reciprocal function in that it was both a reflection of the conflict outside this arena as did the tension within the ritual area spill over into other areas of seminary life.

LOBOLA

While the liturgical practices explored above fell into Douglas' 'elaborated' category, Lobola remained within the 'restricted' realm and although

19. see pp. 129-130

this was an important issue for the community it did not seem to evoke common participation or understanding. The passing of bride-price or bride-wealth is a part of African life which directly impinged upon the Church because it is a matter with which priests in rural areas would have to deal and perhaps diocesan synods and provincial synods called upon to legislate about.

Lobola is one of the aspects of the "elaborate negotiations between the families of the boy and girl"²⁰ who wish to be married. Although still paid in livestock, it is more usual these days for payment to be predominantly made in cash. Traditionally, in some societies, there are various rights associated with the passing of the bride-price²¹ and while this is perhaps not as prevalent today, the payment of lobola

20. C. Murray: "Sex, Smoking and the Shades: A Sotho Symbolic Idiom" in M.G. Whisson and M. West (eds.): Religion and Social Change in Southern Africa. Anthropological essays in honour of Monica Wilson.

David Philip, Cape Town 1975, 61

21. E.J. Krige: "Traditional and Christian Lovedu Family Structures" in Whisson and West (eds.) op. cit., 131

is still extremely important in African society. Therefore lobola not only "played" as Cochrane states, but plays "an important part in the manners of social relations as well as in the redistribution of wealth".²²

The matter arose in the seminary as the result of two students who were to marry and had to pay lobola. Both needed financial assistance, but for one student, the money demanded was far beyond his means and therefore this was informally discussed as well as prayers offered daily during the liturgy for about two to three weeks in order that this student might find the means to pay his lobola.²³ While there seemed to be general agreement that the lobola had to be paid, this did not appear to

22. Cochrane op. cit., 34

23. I do believe that some diocese assist their candidates as I was told happened in the former case. However in the latter case, additional help was needed over and above the diocesan contribution.

generate a new comprehension of the matter, particularly for those students who were unfamiliar with the custom. The questionnaires showed that on the whole black students believed that lobola was a "good and fair" system, a few students "did not know" and outside the black sample, by far the majority rated it "bad and unfair" while the interviews revealed similar racial grouping responses: that it was anything from "a good system"; "based on respect"; "making those two families one" through "I don't know"; "it happens and that's it"; "someone taking a wife" to "a system of bartering"; "I find it quite offensive"; "idea of slavery, buying and selling people".

Here, I believe, is a clear illustration of prior experience and symbolic pre-apprehensions informing the meaning of the term used. More than that however, I would agree with Mary Douglas that ritual acts such as the passing of bride-wealth

of marriage both for the community and for the individuals involved. Again, for most of the other students this aspect of African life was not a part of their prior experience and therefore did not form a symbolic pre-apprehension. But more than this, the recognition of the deep-seated nature of symbolic pre-apprehensions was evident both in the black assumption that the money must be found without necessarily questioning or challenging the concept or custom, and also in the willingness of the other students to pray and perhaps give generously in this regard without changing their beliefs. And therefore this term was owned and possessed by a section of the community and while it informed the life of the College, it came into direct conflict with the prior experience and symbolic pre-apprehensions of numerous students. It must be stated that lobola was very often one of the first aspects of African life which the missionaries sought to abolish²⁶ and this may have been significant in

26. see Krige op cit., 131

Cochrane op. cit., 34

the hesitation on the part of black students to discuss the matter. On the other hand, the fact that the staff did not encourage debate in this regard may reveal that the opinions of the "descendants" of the white missionaries have not changed.

DEMON POSSESSION AND EXORCISM

While the previous chaplain was on the staff, I was told that the practice of exorcizing demons was a regular occurrence, however during my two years at the College I was only aware of one exorcism (in late October 1984) which took place after the Eucharist one Friday evening. This was not a highly publicized event, but having heard of it I decided to attend as an observer. The event occurred as follows: The warden, three other students (two Zulus and a Tswana) and the demon-possessed student (a Zulu) gathered in the chapel. The exorcism process began with the "possessed" student sitting on a chair near the front of the

chapel and the four others (the three students and the warden) laying their hands on him, the warden opening the session with a prayer. The warden then asked one of the Zulu students to command the demon to speak. The possessed student then began speaking in Zulu and proceeded to get up, the others attempting to restrain him. It was believed that the demon was speaking and causing the student to move. The "possessed" student rose from the chair and although constrained by the other students proceeded towards the altar and lay down on the sanctuary steps. One of the Zulu students was crying as the warden repeatedly commanded the demon to depart "in the name of Jesus of Nazareth". The "possessed" student moaned loudly for a few minutes while the warden continually repeated his command. When the moaning stopped, thanks and praise were given to God for the exorcism of the demon. While there were only six people in the chapel, news of the event soon spread to the rest of the

community and it became evident that a small number of students were aware of the proposed exorcism and had been praying for the expulsion of the demon.

I believe that the incident serves to display the type of environment that seemed to have been present during the tenure of service of the previous chaplain. Then, however, it appeared that such exorcisms were carried out in the chapel in the presence of the whole College, more exclusively as in the incident above, or even privately in the chaplain's office. Because of the irregularity of the manifestation of demon possession and the practice of exorcism, it is difficult to know how to interpret these phenomena. When demon possession and exorcism were regular occurrences at the College they could be understood as patterns of disorder and the subsequent rituals of purity.²⁷ This solitary act of exorcism is probably best explained relative to its context.

27. see Douglas 1984 op. cit., pp2 and 94

Just prior to this event, a senior white priest with the additional authority of being an archdeacon in the diocese, had visited the seminary in order to speak to the students about his pastoral work in Mdantsane (a black township outside East London). He explained that one of the major aspects of his priestly duties was the exorcising of demons and this may have evoked the response among the staff that demons may be possessing some of the students with whom there were problems and difficulties because many students consulted staff members as spiritual directors and counsellors. There was however another event which may have acted as a catalyst in this regard. About two weeks before the exorcism, a Clergy School had been held at the College, to which various senior priests in the Province were invited. At one of the College Meetings during this period, a major conflict arose in the presence of these visitors when the warden was challenged to take

action and allow the College to be involved in the local township situation during the unrest. The meeting did not end amicably, instead there was a sharp division of opinions between the black students and the warden and staff. This conflict simmered for some time but the demon possession may have been understood as illustrative of this disharmonious state of affairs and the exorcism as an effort to restructure relations and re-establish order.²⁸

28. For a description of demon possession and exorcism in the Anglican Zulu context, see Shorten 1985 op. cit., 41-43

CHAPTER SIX

COMMUNITY

In this thesis I have been questioning the assumption that religion is the 'social cement' which binds a society or a community together. In the research material explored above, it was evident that there was much conflict and tension in the seminary and that while attempting to follow the way of the Carpenter of Nazareth, this Christian community could not escape from the dissension and disharmony exhibited in our world and of which I wrote in the opening pages of this dissertation. Thus it is difficult to agree with Durkheim who, although he predicted that society would become more differentiated and highly specialized, nevertheless believed that one of the resulting factors of this diversity

would be "the 'cult of man' - a cult in which the human individual, idealized, would be worshipped and held sacred"¹ and that this would provide social integration.

In this work I have proposed that the stealing back and forth of sacred symbols; the use, abuse, manipulation and exploitation of symbols is central to the very nature of religion and therefore inevitably, conflict and controversy is endemic to religion. But conflict is only evident in relation to consensus and the conflict in the community must be measured with reference to the complex procedures of negotiation which occurred.

Having already dealt with the Eucharist in some detail it remains necessary to emphasize that this rite made its intended double statement for the community, which was "to endorse and express the

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1. F.R. Westley: The Complex Forms of the Religious Life. A Durkheimian View of the New Religious Movements. Ph. D. Mc Gill University, Canada 1978, 5

existing fellowship of (the) group ... (and) ...
 to cut across that dimension with the wider claims
 of catholicity, by making (this) group at one with
 the universal fellowship (koinonia) ..."2 This
 rite was never enacted as a private mysterious ritual
 but was always the same act being performed by the
 Church universal. It was the one thing which this
 community did most regularly and yet it was not the
 exclusive property of this local group. Rather
 it was owned by the whole Christian community and
 while for those of an Anglo-Catholic heritage, it
 identified them with the faithful across the twenty
 centuries of Christian worship, certainly for all
 the seminarians this act united them with all those
 of the household of faith around the world.³

2.M. Marshall: Glory Under Your Feet. The
challenge of catholic renewal
today. DLT, London 1978, 57

3. see J. Martos: The Catholic Sacraments.
 Michael Glazier Inc.,
 Delaware, U.S.A. 1983, 226

HEALING

But there was an act more exclusively owned by the community and which for white Christians became prominent in the seventies with the rise of the Charismatic Movement, while for black Christians has been a significant feature for some time.⁴

This was the act of healing which "bulks so large in the New Testament"⁵ and which St. James in his letter commands the followers of Jesus to perform: "Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the Church and let them pray over him ... And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up ..."⁶ And although the ministry of healing was also apparent in the Church at large, particularly during the popularity of the Charismatic Movement, it was no

4. see R. Shorten 1987 op. cit., 32-33
also see R. Shorten 1985 op. cit., 41

5. M. Wilson: "Foreward" to M. West:
Bishops and Prophets in a
Black City.

David Philip, Cape Town 1975, vii

6. St. James 5:14

longer as regular an occurrence except in isolated instances. Rather, the ritual of healing was something which this community did; it became a means of definition and featured during the liturgy as well as in small groups and informal gatherings.

I shall relate four of the many incidents of healing in the community. The first occurred during the extensive school boycotts in the local townships of Grahamstown. Some of the black students had, for the political reason of "identifying with the struggle" sent their children to these schools in preference to the two local Church schools. But because of the boycotts their children were not receiving tuition and this caused tension and some bitterness in the community. One of the lecturers was overcome with enmity for whites because of the suffering they caused, and in the time of open prayer during the Eucharist, he burst into tears and left the chapel and the warden followed him.

Both returned and the warden asked that "hands be layed upon him" and that those students who would like to participate in this act come forward while the rest of the College remained in their stalls to pray. After this healing ritual had been completed during which there was considerable wailing from other students as well, "the peace" followed and there was general embracing and the exchange of affection because the anger and bitterness had been dissipated and wholeness restored. The second incident relates to a couple who were experiencing dissension in their marriage and it was common knowledge that the wife had been extremely hostile to them coming to College in the first place. Both of them were called forward at a service and prayed for in order that "bitterness, resentment and anger" may cease and that there may be "happiness and joy in their home". The third occasion also relates to a married couple who did not have any children because it was discovered that the

sperm-count of the husband was not sufficiently high enough. He was to see a specialist in Port Elizabeth but just prior to his appointment, he was prayed for with the fullest confidence that God would intervene and it would be discovered that when he went for this consultation a miraculous cure had been enacted. The final incident refers to the physical healing of a student who was suffering from considerable back-ache. Again, hands were laid on him and he was prayed for in order that his back-ache may cease and that he would have peace and contentment and be enabled to participate in the life of the community once again.

All these incidents serve to illustrate that the rite of healing was not the isolated individual act of attempting to heal any one person from his physical affliction or any two people who were having difficulty in their marriage. Rather all

these acts were reintegrative occurrences⁷ and served to heal the community and to challenge those in need of healing about their commitment to the community.⁸ The "black caucus" ensured that the tension in the township readily impinged upon the life of the seminary and that the turmoil experienced in the township was most acutely felt in the College. Thus the College was in some disarray when the socio-political situation was conflictual. In order to re-establish an equilibrium, the first type of healing act

7. see M. West : Bishops and Prophets in a Black City.

David Philip, Cape Town 1975,122

8. see D.L. Gelpi S.J.: Charism and Sacrament. A Theology of Christian Conversion.
SPCK, London 1977,209

" ... an apostolic ministry of faith healing has as its object the healing of the community as such. Not that an apostolic ministry of faith healing does not seek to effect the healing of individuals. Rather, it seeks to effect the healing of individuals by challenging them to a public reaffirmation of their commitment in faith to the universal Christian community".

referred to above which was followed by the exchange of "the peace", enabled the community to experience itself as a united group once more. Again the family situation and the raising of children was an obvious reflection of the life of the seminary itself as a family, and therefore conflict in the homes of individual seminarians could be both a reflection of the conflict in the community and also engender turmoil in the community. And if a student was physically afflicted he would not be able to participate in the life of the College and thus the community would be impoverished.

Thus the ritual of healing was primarily addressed to the community and resulted in the release of emotional pressure and tension both for the individual and the group because no single conflict or illness or infirmity was isolated from the whole. This appears to be consistent with anthropological evidence where, for instance, Katz observed that

those who benefit most from the rituals of healing among the !Kung were the members of the community as "all receive the protection of healing"⁹ and Eliade suggested that the main purpose of shamanic healing was "to ensure that the spiritual equilibrium of the entire society is maintained".¹⁰ Not only were the rites of healing in the College consistent with these findings but as evidence for this, the results of prayers for healing were never examined. In other words, because the community "felt" whole once again, the release of a particular student's back ailment was no longer of consequence. In fact the ache in the back of one student was merely a symbol of the ache in the community and through prayer and the laying on of hands and the release of emotional pressure, the communal suffering and affliction,

9. R. Katz: "The Painful Ecstasy of Healing" in Psychology Today,

Vol. 10 No. 7, 1976, 85

10. M. Eliade: Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (tr.)

W.R. Trask. Princeton University Press, Princeton 1964, 237

which was the concern of all the students, was relieved. Thus for the College, healing rituals were social activities which engendered and endeavoured to create the experience of wholeness and equilibrium for the community which was vital to its effective functioning. Here was the purposeful manipulation of individual instances of disease, their appropriation as symbols of the problems affecting the community and the subsequent employment of these symbols in expelling the conflict in the community and therefore the infirmity of the individual was no longer important. It was because the whole business of healing affected and shaped the life of the community so significantly that this matter was explored here rather than in the chapter on ritual practice.

WIDER PERCEPTIONS

The relationship between the seminary and the wider society can be analysed on three levels. First,

with respect to Grahamstown, one always felt that the local inhabitants became rather defensive when hearing that one was a student at St. Paul's College. In discussing this with fellow students we came to the conclusion that this was not because we as trainees exuded a religiosity or holiness, but rather because an image had been projected that those in training thought themselves to be the righteous remnant, the only real God-fearers who lived on the hillside of this evil and corrupt city. The city-dwellers (be they Christian, Anglican etc. or not) were viewed as the "compromisers" who had no prophetic vision and did not take Christ's message seriously enough.

While this view of both the students and the city-dwellers may be somewhat overdrawn and seemed to be on the decline especially during the research period, it was nevertheless still remarkably prevalent. Where does such a perception come from? It appears to have emerged as a result

of the considerable influence of the Charismatic Movement during the seventies and was encouraged by both the previous chaplain who was on the staff at the College from 1976 to 1983, and the previous director of studies who was employed from 1976 to 1984. The former was said to have an uncanny ability to sense when someone was spiritually/mentally or physically ill or "under the control of the devil" and would confront the particular student and this would (so I was told) lead to a confession, repentance and a request for healing. He practiced exorcism and related incidents of demon-possession would reach the city. Satan and his demons were being exorcised from students and if this was the case in a theological institution how much more the world needed to be exorcised! The latter priest was of an evangelical persuasion and in his preaching and teaching presented a vision of the Church as the "purified" people of God. Thus the task of the student was to ensure that the gospel of salvation was carried into the lives of the lax and lazy city-dwellers. On a hierarchy

of important life concerns the gulf between the Church as the first priority and all the other issues in daily living for the seminarians was an extremely vast one. Out there in the city, the Church was merely one important concern in a whole variety of others. It was known that some of the city's priests were suspicious of the seminarians because they seemed so distanced from the ordinary day to day affairs and demands of parish life and the needs of parishioners.

If the relationship between the College and the local city could be classified as a "religious" one, the relationship between the seminary and the general South African scene would be classified "political". Most of the discussion about the wider society centred on the need for liberation from the apartheid regime and the means to attain that freedom. The most usual question was: What was the Church doing in the situation in the country? It was ensured by "black caucus" members that various U.D.F. spokespersons visited

the College, that addresses were given by informed people on the education crisis, the sporting controversy and that students were familiarized with the suffering experienced by the majority of citizens of South Africa. While the local townships formed the locus of attention with respect to these issues they were never viewed as isolated from the larger situation. The oppression and violence experienced there was merely illustrative of the oppression and violence in every township throughout the land.

In terms of the context beyond South Africa the seminary perspective was "issue" related. The "resurrection controversy" sparked off by the remarks of Professor David Jenkins in England was one such issue but a bomb-blast in Northern Ireland which may have killed or maimed people was less significant in the sense that these were common occurrences in South Africa. The College did not appear to lend much attention to the situation outside South Africa and hence discussion about

"pollution" or "nuclear warfare" was virtually non-existent and certainly, the prayers during the liturgy lacked this broader dimension.

CONFLICT AND CONSENSUS

The violence and disharmony which has perhaps become the primary characteristic of life in South Africa inevitably encroached upon the community. Some of the students were conscripted to undergo national service (or their sons were), there was an awareness that people should be segregated in terms of where they could live (although this was ignored at the College), there was a "schooling controversy" which caused considerable anguish because even at the two Anglican Church schools special permission had to be obtained for black children to attend these schools and many students came to the College from situations of oppression and exploitation. Thus the seminary was a microcosm of the wider South African dilemma

in an immediate way.

The complex processes of negotiation and collective bargaining involve attempts to manipulate and employ symbols and the clearest example at this with respect to the South African scene was carried out by the "black caucus". This body, which was led by single "coloured" students, identified itself with the struggle for liberation from the oppressive and exploitative policies of the South African Government and were extremely articulate in this regard. Their forthright claim to "own" the necessary discourse and interpret the Bible, the myths and doctrines of the faith and the central eucharistic rite from their own perspective was most evident at College meetings, in the few formal debates concerning socio-political issues and during the liturgy.

The first incident which I shall relate focuses on the manipulation of the entire community to

the "black caucus" perspective and the subsequent employment of these 'acquired' symbols by the community. The second occasion concerns the endeavour to sway the community to the "black caucus" point of view but being temporarily blocked by the warden. However this second situation may reveal a stage on the journey from the sectional ownership of sacred symbols to persuading the wider group that this one interpretation was the "correct" one.

The former incident relates to a matter which for some years had been raised as the first major Common Room issue: whether or not the College would participate in sporting events against local teams and if so, where such events would take place. The conflict centred around whether students would play sport at "permit" institutions (later simply called "apartheid" institutions) such as the local university or schools, or only use facilities available in the

township and ratified in this respect by SACOS.

The acute nature of the conflict was intensified because various students were studying at Rhodes University and numerous students had children at local schools, including the two Anglican Church schools which were also regarded as "permit" (or were then in the process of becoming "quota")

institutions. It is important to note that this matter had, for the most part, become one of purely academic concern because for some time the Common Room had resolved that the College as a College (that is, as a collective group) would not participate in sport unless it took place in the township with SACOS approval. Owing to the lack of facilities in the township only one game of soccer was played during the research period.

Therefore what the issue amounted to was the gradual manipulation of the community by a small group of mostly "coloured" students who ensured that over a number of years a fairly high degree of consensus had been reached in this regard. This issue was subsequently employed as an exercise in

orientation, particularly for the new students.

It is in keeping with this conclusion that when this issue was discussed, most of the students who entered the debate in order to respond to the "black caucus" proposals were first year students.

Because this sporting issue was perceived as part of the wider South African struggle -- there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society -- the above situation illustrated that sectional interests were universalized through the manipulation of a concatenation of discourse like "oppression"; "exploitation"; "76" (referring to the Soweto Uprising); "apartheid" etc., and the employment of such terminology in the liturgy. It must be maintained that the community had reached a high degree of consensus on this issue and could be said to be of a "common mind". But the following must also be borne in mind. Any current apprehension of discourse, perceptions of ritual or socio-political perspectives do not have the deep roots which prior experience and

pre-apprehended symbols have. Therefore while there was comparative agreement, conflict remained relatively high precisely because of the clash between currently apprehended symbols and pre-apprehended symbols. And therefore, with reference to the above issue, not only was there the manipulation and exploitation of discourse and ritual practice in order to reinforce this one perspective but, perhaps I can venture to say, the stealing of symbols also occurred. This sporting matter was never closed but rather seemed to involve the stealing back by white students of the apprehended terms and using them to illustrate, for example, an intensification of exploitation and oppression through limiting the sport that could be played to the availability of facilities in the township; the lack of compromise with the local university and schools who were in any event sympathetic to the "black cause"; and to display the plural nature of South African society by stating that to agree with the "black

caucus" would merely render other group claims obsolete. Although this stealing process was occurring and manifested itself in subsequent debates, the community appeared to be in relative agreement in the period under review. Here was a vivid example of concurrent consensus and conflict. However the "black caucus" then began making moves to thwart individual students from playing sport at "permit" or "apartheid" institutions. This did not receive support from white students, especially the older married white students who were very much "supporters of individual initiative" (according to the questionnaire) and viewed this as an encroachment on their personal liberty. Nor did the matter receive overt support from the warden.

The second incident referred to centres on the local townships of Grahamstown (called by students "the township") which had been the scene of much unrest, continued police and army presence, the

barricading of streets, the bombing of councillors homes etc. and there was a concerted effort by the "black caucus" to enable this situation to become a common symbol of oppression and thereby ensure College involvement.

The first time that the matter formally surfaced was in late 1984 at a regular College meeting when one of the "coloured" leaders of the "black caucus" expressed his dissatisfaction that the College was doing nothing about the repression in the township and that some form of communal solidarity and support should be shown.¹¹ The warden replied that due to an already extended commitment the College as a unit would not become involved in this situation but for those students who were involved or wanted to be involved, the College supported them. Two other black students spoke urging communal engagement and the matter was then formally closed.

11. see pp. 170-171

I believe that here was the beginning of the mobilization of the community, the attempt to enable a sectional symbol to emerge and become a ubiquitous symbol for the College. And this was quite successful! As violence and oppression increased in the townships so scholars who were being pursued by the police were often housed at the College and would be seen at meal-times and occasionally in the chapel, all at the invitation of "black caucus" members. The warden was also persuaded to allow some of these scholars to address the College on the schooling situation. As a result, other progressive community leaders were invited to inform the seminary about the oppressive situation, police violence, the reason for the boycotts of city shops and businesses etc. The prayers in the liturgy were increasingly centred around the unrest and violence in the township, and this, I believe, served to infiltrate the "black caucus" perspective and evoke a response. When towards the end of 1985

(almost exactly a year after the matter had been formally raised for the first time) I conducted a series of interviews, there was general consensus that the word "township" meant inter alia: "unemployment", "apartheid", "violence", "suffering", "people being shot at random" and this consensus was evident whether the interviewee was white or black, oppressed or not. By the time I left the seminary there was still no "College" involvement in the township but I suspect that the situation is different now especially in the light of continued state repression unless the State of Emergency has prevented any such action.

In the above case, sectional symbols, prior experience and symbolic pre-apprehensions were manipulated, exploited and employed by a part of the community and became more widely owned. It is important to note that in contrast to the sporting issue which had over the years followed the pattern of initial orientation, the conversion

of terms surrounding the issue into common parlance, the community reaching a high degree of consensus and then the resurfacing of conflict as the discourse and symbols were stolen and used by individual groupings again; the township issue had not yet reached that stage. By late 1985 orientation had taken place, the term was part of the common parlance and although the point of relative agreement had been reached the matter had not yet resurfaced formally.

Here was a powerful and authoritative symbol awaiting employment. In the light of the previous issue, it would not be foolish to predict that when and if the latter issue resurfaced formally, the debate would lead to formal and communal agreement, then to action and finally to the stealing back by groups of the apprehended symbols, and the sectional use of these symbolic structures once again. In one sense this stealing of symbols is tragic because it paralyses

the community especially if the power-blocs are of relatively even weight. If this were the case, civil conflict would follow unless a more dominant authority sought to impose the manner in which matters "ought" to be understood.

However, there again the situation where symbols are dictatorial instruments would result in the imposition of an interpretation which would not (most likely) be communally acceptable, hence tension and potential conflict would remain high because even that imposed comprehension would be stolen and used by various aggregations once more. An even more distressing concomitant factor of this imposition of authority is that groupings tend to adopt this autocratic strategy and use such a defensive and prescriptive method of relating, which only serves to cause advanced conflict and suspicion and enhances the locked-in status of separate group identity and belonging.

Once an issue is allowed to become part of the "elaborated code" as in the case of "the township" controversy (and in contrast to the earlier lobola case), it confronts the participant to challenge and inspect his previously held values and to assess them accordingly.¹² But it is not a simple procedure to liberate oneself from the authority of one's deep-rooted pre-apprehended and apprehended symbolic conceptions and configurations, but rather one's prior dispositions are modified - hence the stealing of symbols continues!

AUTHORITY

Together with the desire to be ordained went a cost - the cost of submitting to the authorities which, in this case, was the staff of whom the most powerful was the warden. These persons assessed one's vocation, one's suitability to be ordained a priest and recommended to the relevant bishop accordingly. The staff

12. see Douglas 1973 op. cit., 190

endeavoured to shape the life of the College as widely as possible and to contain conflict in the community. Hence the warden would not permit a 'student's representative council' despite such a request from a number of seminarians. Through the exercise of power, the attempt was made to prevent students "from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accepted their role in the existing order of things ... as divinely ordained ...".¹³ It was constantly emphasized that students had come to the College in response to God's call and that this "call" was to be tested by those placed in authority over them. 'in the Lord', therefore the pressure to comply with those in authority was considerable. The weekly College meetings were used by the warden to re-emphasize his sole authority and that of the staff or to re-establish this authority if it had been questioned. If it was felt that there was a spiritual torpor in the

13. S. Lukes: Power: A Radical View.

Macmillan, London New York, 1974, 24

community, the warden would deliver what was known as, "a fireside chat". This occurred during the Eucharist and was a "gentle" attempt to persuade students of the importance of prayer, meditation and bible reading.

The Church is an hierachical institution in which the priest is under the authority of the diocesan bishop and this was reflected in the seminary. Therefore while seminary life was at times a vortex of dissension and disagreement, if those in authority believed that the level of conflict was too high there was the possibility of such drastic action as expelling the instigators. Hence the boundaries of the battlefield on which the war was fought to own symbols were drawn (or could be drawn) by the staff at the College or by the warden alone. Although the endeavour by those in authority to contain conflict and assuage tension through, for example, a healing ritual was not always successful, students were aware that

ultimately their continued tenure at the College
was reliant upon staff approval and acceptance.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SYMBOLIC WARFARE

The noise of the battle in the valley becomes increasingly distant as we climb the hillside, turn and sit down in the long grass. Below us the war continues and with fascination we observe the conflict, the rising tension, the intermittent intervals of negotiation and the few ensuing moments of agreement and harmony when the guns are silent. And the passer-by, drawn by the cacophony of explosions and the reverberations of battle, is surprised to discover that those in the combat zone are participating in "symbolic warfare", engaged and involved in the complex nature of religion.

The research community was a battlefield, a combat zone in which symbols were claimed, appropriated

and tenaciously clung to; an arena in which symbols were used, abused, manipulated, exploited and stolen, and where symbols were the subjects of negotiation. The community was, I believe, representative of the complexity and diversity of South African society and the broad nature of Anglicanism, its comprehensiveness and multifariousness, did not serve to mitigate conflict as may well be the case in a tradition with a more powerful magisterium.

In the area of discourse, the very apprehension of the Bible type-cast a student as an Evangelical, Charismatic, Anglo-Catholic, Liberationist or Liberal. And although the Bible was accepted as one of the three corner-stones of Anglicanism and was authoritative, it was employed in different ways and thus dissension surrounded the manner in which it was regarded and used in lectures, discussions, during the liturgy in sermons and prayers, and in everyday life. There were those students who quoted from the

Bible in order to justify the ownership of property and material possessions; others quoted from the Bible to justify a life of poverty believing that material goods ought to be distributed among the poor and dispossessed, while still other students did not appeal to the Bible in this manner but merely regarded it as the symbolic story of God's unfolding love for mankind. But the Bible as a corpus of literature occupied a central place, a position from which students were not requesting its abdication. Rather, the increased conflict lay in the extrapolations and interpretations of particular myths and doctrines and specific practices and rituals.

With regard to myth and doctrine, two of the areas dealt with seemed to produce relative consensus and therefore they acted as symbols of unity. These were the myth and doctrine of creation and that of the resurrection. Although the story of creation was not accepted as literally true, the doctrine of

the providence of God was affirmed by all students. In contrast, the resurrection story was rigorously defended as literally true and indeed, the tomb was empty. Jesus had risen, and in St. Paul's words: "he appeared to Cephas, then to the twelve. Then he appeared to more than five hundred brethren one time, most of whom are still alive, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James, then to all the apostles. Last of all ... he appeared also to me".¹ The resurrection became a powerful symbol of the unity and orthodoxy of this community.

As already noted, the Virgin Birth was not a widely contested issue but rather illustrated how those who disagreed about the nature of the Church or the reception of the sacrament, were united to defend this belief although from different premisses - the Evangelicals, 'because the Bible says so' and the Anglo-Catholics, because of the prominence of Mary in the Catholic tradition.

1. 1 Corinthians 15: 5-8

The emphasis on contextual theologizing had a significant impact on the doctrine of the Incarnation and the theories of the Atonement. While some students sought to focus exclusively on the philosophical and ontological questions, an ever growing number of students perceived the problems and puzzles surrounding the Incarnation and Atonement as existential. As Francis Young puts it, with regard to the Incarnation the "'fulfilment of prophecy' cuts no ice as an argument in the current intellectual climate and present expectations of a cataclysmic End of the World are grounded not on hope in God's intervention but on secular pessimism" while in terms of the Atonement "the 'penal substitution theory'... continues to have evangelical appeal; but for many inside and outside the Church it has proved increasingly unacceptable, if not positively offensive".² Hence in the South African situation, the doctrine of the Incarnation was affirmed because "we need to know that (God)

2. F. Young: "The Finality of Christ" in M. Goulder (ed.): Incarnation and Myth: The Debate Continued, SCM, London 1979, 185

has been subject to the limitations of human nature which are the necessary conditions of pain being for him what it is for us".³ But suffering was communal rather than individual and thus salvation was not perceived as God's grace offered to a solitary person but rather as a gift to the human family as a whole, with special emphasis on the oppressed and exploited as God's favoured children. These were controversial issues which affected other areas of seminary life and were, for example, contested in Eucharistic interpretation and the political involvement of the College. However no amount of enthusiasm for the academic issues concerning the Incarnation or Atonement could erase the crucified Christ from the hearts and minds of those in the community because this tortured figure was visible in the lives of some of the students and continually presented in the "awareness programme" conducted

3. B. Mitchell: "A Summing-up of the Colloquy: Myth of God Debate" in M. Goulder (ed.): Incarnation and Myth: The Debate Continued, SCM, London 1979, 240

by the "black caucus". This suffering and oppression was also evident in the city centre of Grahamstown because the lack of industrial development had resulted in widespread unemployment, poverty and a highly politicized black population.

One of the most powerful and evocative acts in the community was that of glossolalia and perhaps at the height of the Charismatic Movement's influence it performed a vital unifying function, but during the research period it was sectionally owned and was increasingly viewed as indicative of political "neutrality" and pietistic theologizing. Its relative demise was concomitant with the resignation of Bill Burnett as Archbishop of Cape Town because the movement had lost its most powerful advocate and Burnett's replacement, Philip Russell, was known to be unsympathetic to the charismatic cause. Michael Nuttall, when Bishop of Pretoria, was heavily involved in charismatic renewal but was translated

to Natal and thus succeeded Russell in a rather low-Church diocese in which the Charismatic Movement had not been encouraged by the former bishop. Another protagonist was lost from the bench of bishops when Godfrey Ashby left the Diocese of St. John's (Transkei) to enter academic life once again. Symptomatic of the waxing at the grass-roots level of black theology and the waning of the Charismatic influence, was the forthright repudiation of remarks made by the president of the 1979 Provincial Synod (Archbishop Burnett) which condemned liberation theology, by the then principal of St. Peter's College in a South African theological journal.⁴

During the research period, the accretions of the Charismatic Movement did not appear to be the spontaneous expressions of faith and communal solidarity as was the case in the late seventies. In the period under review these conditions appeared controlled, almost imposed and certainly

4. see S. Dwane: "Christology and Liberation" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No.35 June 1981, 29-37

evoked by the authorities as an attempt to diffuse tension and create a 'feeling' of togetherness. Its effectiveness seemed progressively limited and it was starkly evident that glossolalia was sectionally owned, rather than the property of the whole community. With the current emphasis on black theology and the cause of liberation for the oppressed, one may suppose that there is even less charismatic influence at the seminary now than there was during the research period.

The area of discourse disclosed that conflicts about interpretation were conflicts concerning the appropriation of symbols and here dissension and agreement centred around tangible, aural and 'visible' aspects of the faith. The Bible could be held, pointed to and read from, while the myths and doctrines of the faith were exemplified in terms of their social contexts - this suffering woman was the suffering Messiah on the cross; or in the mobilization of the oppressed in the

townships, we were witnessing a gradual enactment of God's providence and the coming of his Kingdom;⁵ or in the death of your husband lies the resurrection and hence the promise that you will be reunited with your loved one. Similarly glossolalia could be heard and seen as the tongue-speaker reached a trance-like state. Thus in the area of discourse there were 'visible' symbols that could be contested, contradicted and fought over. Evidence for the employment of these symbols and their effectiveness were obtained in the experiences of everyday life.

This was not the case in the analysis of ritual and in some of the aspects of community life. Here we were dealing with the pre-apprehended and apprehended status of symbols and thus in certain instances the symbols were somewhat limited by prior experience. Lobola was a clear

5. see J. Hofmeyr: "An investigation of the Ethical Dilemma of Christians in South Africa" in Journal of Theology for Southern Africa, No. 55 June 1986, 31-41

example of a situation where prior experience and the location of one's childhood could restrict the possibility of entry and the subsequent acceptance of a significant aspect of African life. While lobola was the property of a section of the community, the healing ritual was owned by the seminary as a whole. This latter rite was invaluable as an act of re-integration and engendered communal solidarity and purpose in the face of strife and discord. According to my information, in previous years the exorcism of demons had functioned parallel to and simultaneously with the services of healing. For the duration of this research, the ritual of exorcism occurred only once, and on the one hand could be interpreted as an incipient attempt at re-alignment because the healing ritual was ineffectual. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that the exorcism may have been performed

because it was believed that this was the most appropriate solution to the problems and difficulties of the particular student involved.⁶

The 'sporting' and 'township' issues probably best indicate the conflict and consensus nature of symbols. In terms of both these extremely volatile matters, the inculcation, agreement, manipulation and stealing of symbols occurred. But these issues were also the subjects of discussion and negotiation and hence the "black caucus" would at times retreat and accept a compromise rather than allow their proposal to be defeated. Alternatively, if a proposal was rejected, the disappointment was often expressed during the prayers in the liturgy either vocally

6. see Shorten 1987 op. cit., 38 and 40. Shorten notes the importance of confession in the Zulu tradition and it may be that the lack of emphasis on sacramental confession at the College led to this instant of exorcism. Therefore the exorcism could be interpreted as a cathartic experience whereby the sin of one individual was expelled.

or by employing silence, and thus the symbolic warfare had merely switched arenas. In this alternative arena the complex process of conscientization would begin once again.

With regard to authority students were aware that they were in residence at the pleasure of the warden and his staff and that the primary purpose of attending the College was to be accepted for ordination. Therefore the cost of any opposition to the staff had to be carefully calculated, because the perimeters of battle could be unilaterally imposed if the dissension and conflict was viewed as ultimately destructive of the community's life.

On the battlefield within this arena of symbolic warfare in which symbols were sectionally employed, used, abused, manipulated, exploited, stolen and negotiated about, stood the central rite of the Eucharist. In theatrical terms, this rite

occupied centre stage and was the one drama in which all the seminarians acted. And yet the Eucharist was not exempt from the reverberations of war and the conflict about vestments, the importance of wearing a cassock, extemporary praying, hymn singing, the lack of silence, what this rite was called, how sacrifice was to be understood etc., were all attempts to own this central sacred symbol. But unlike the healing ritual which was the property of the College, the Eucharist, despite the contention concerning interpretation and performance, linked this one isolated eastern-cape community to the worldwide Church and beyond that to the cloud of witnesses who were now worshipping before the heavenly throne.

The Eucharist allowed the things of daily sustenance to become sacred, thereby sacralizing the family meal, the bread and the wine on the table at home tonight. It encouraged communal

solidarity in the midst of differences of opinion, dissension and discord because it contained a cry for "peace" which could only be offered by turning to one's neighbour and saying: "Peace be with you". The Eucharist sought to remind the participant that even in the turmoil and conflict and at times, the seeming despair of life, it was still possible to recognize him in the breaking of the bread⁷ and therefore the fundamental relationship between the Church and Jesus remained one of anamnesis⁸ - this is his body and blood on the altar today. Here was something that mitigated the disintegration caused by the symbolic warfare which I believe to be endemic to the very nature of religion. As Tracy states: "In the paradigmatic moment of Eucharist, memoria redeems by uniting with hope and promise, nature heals by joining paradigmatic history" and in this moment we realize and accept that "only the paradigmatic is the real",⁹ that the only path for the Christian

7. see Lash op. cit., 201

8. see N. Lash: Theology on Dover Beach,
DLT, London 1979, 145

9. Tracy op. cit., 383

is one of radical obedience to the father and self-sacrificial love for one's neighbour.

The Eucharist defied appropriation and contained meaning which will only be uncovered when we no longer merely have a glimpse of God but see him face to face. Here was the negotiated symbol, the one symbol which the Church down the centuries had endeavoured to place at its centre and the one which the Church of this Province with its Anglo-Catholic tradition had inherited.

It has been the central contention of this thesis that religion is about symbolic warfare - the use, abuse, manipulation, exploitation, appropriation and stealing of symbols. But it is my belief that religion is not merely a battle ground and thus exclusively functions as a medium of disintegration, it also involves the process of negotiation whereby agreement is reached concerning the employment, function and understanding of symbols. Therefore,

in the midst of the contest to own symbols and the conflict about ownership, the complex activity of collective bargaining occurs. Indeed, Tracy is correct when he writes of the 'experience of understanding' that "from the beginning to the end of our journey to understand we find ourselves in a particular linguistic tradition (primarily our native language) which carries with it certain specifiable ways of viewing the world, certain "forms of life" which we did not invent but find ourselves, critically but really, within".¹⁰ And it is precisely this critical dimension that must remain and condition our lives and our investigation and interpretation of 'living meaning', because if "we write, paint, sing and dance primarily to conserve culture, we kill something - the communication, clarification and elaboration of new meanings and insights".¹¹

10. Tracy op. cit., 101

11. N.C. Manganyi: "Culture and Identity: The Tyranny of the Symbolic" in Looking Through The Keyhole. Dissenting Essays on the Black Experience, Raven Press, Johannesburg 1981, 70

And now comes the real warning which speaks of the terminal illness and ultimate sin of clinging to symbols and attempting to possess them: "We do not develop and consolidate culture and identity this way: we impoverish whatever has since come into being".¹² Symbols are not artifacts or material possessions but the interior configurations which shape the ways of relating and expressing a personal and social history in an arena which comprises numerous symbolic combinations. We are not defending our culture and identity by manipulating, abusing or stealing symbols, rather it is atrophying, in fact, it is dying. But perhaps this is the tragedy of South African society; perhaps it is the tragedy of the Church. Truth is not just "two-eyed" as John Robinson said it was,¹³ it is, in fact, multi-faceted. Instead of recognizing and acknowledging the manifold ways of being human, and of contributing to the well-being of our multiplex South Africa and participating in

12. Ibid., 70

13. J.A.T. Robinson: Truth is Two-Eyed,
SCM, London 1979

procedures of negotiation, symbolic configurations are resolutely retained and thus our symbols, rather than being liberating, become the chains that bind us in a perpetual slavery; in fact, they become the idols bolstering rigid self-concepts and pre-determined communal perceptions. Perhaps our symbols are closer to the surface and more tenaciously defended in the intolerably distressing and fearful situation prevailing in our land.

The transformation of bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus in an upper room nearly two thousand years ago, on a night which was different from all other nights, has placed at the centre of the Christian community the Eucharist with its theological gift of forgiveness, its historical contribution of continuity down the centuries of faith and human experience, and its sociological emphasis that the 'human form divine is the face of the family of man'.¹⁴ To share

14. J.A.T. Robinson: The Human Face of God, SCM, London 1972, 243

in the Eucharist means to participate in an iconoclastic act - the shattering of the claim to hold the one and only valid interpretation of symbols - and thereby receive liberation from the desperate and defensive grip that has enabled these symbols to become idols, because this rite is not the property of the local group but the possession of the Church which is "the sacrament or sign of intimate union with God and of the unity of all mankind".¹⁵ The Eucharist challenges attempts to confine, contain or define it, for while its ultimate meaning rests in the sphere of the sacred, here we need to seek explanation in theology, history, sociology, philosophy, psychology; in great Cathedrals in the midst of incense and echoes of Mozart's "Coronation Mass", in the 'basic communities' of South America with homebaked bread and insipid local wine, in huts and homes and headquarters of revolutionaries.

15. W.M. Abbott S.J. (ed.): The Documents of Vatican II. Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, Geoffrey Chapman, London 1967, 15

In this project I have sought "interpretive access" to the community at the centre of the investigation and attempted to elucidate and clarify the living meaning of the seminarians 'from the inside'.¹⁶ In so doing I encountered what Habermas calls "symbolically prestructured objects"¹⁷ which are the expressions, the consolidation of these expressions in books, art-works and traditions, and the institutions and systems of persons belonging to a particular 'lifeworld'. This 'lifeworld' is similar to what I labelled 'symbolic preapprehensions' because it is composed of the cultural heritage of preceding generations and "remains at the backs of participants in communication. It is present to them only in the prereflective form of taken-for-granted background assumptions and naively mastered skills".¹⁸

16. J. Habermas: The Theory of Communicative Action.
 Vol.1 Reason and the
 Rationalization of Society.
 Translated by T. Mc Carthy.
 Beacon Press, Boston 1981, 112

17. Ibid., 107

18. Ibid., 335

In contrast to a reliance upon sacred things
-- such as the Eucharist -- Habermas
builds his sociological theory upon the hope for
a rational interaction between human persons.
He understands 'rationality' as a "disposition
of speaking and acting subjects that is expressed
in modes of behaviour for which there are good
reasons or grounds".¹⁹ And this rationality
is most evident in a "decentred understanding
of the world"²⁰ in which one's own claims are
contested, debated and there is some controversy
on the path to consensus. To reach the stage
of "communicative action" in which "the
agents involved are coordinated not through
egocentric calculations of success but through
acts of reaching understanding"²¹ entails
passing through the fires of 'argumentation'

19. Ibid., 22

20. Ibid., 134

21. Ibid., 285

until "all participants harmonize their individual plans of action with one another".²² But "communicative action" is not a state of eternal well-being, rather, the arena in which validity claims are critically appraised results in "a diffuse, fragile, continuously revised and only momentarily successful communication in which participants rely on problematic and unclarified presuppositions and feel their way from one commonality to the next".²³ Thus we 'groan in travail' whether selecting or rejecting propositions which may enhance the possibility of

22. Ibid., 294

also see T. Mc Carthy: The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas. M.I.T. Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England 1978, 290-291: "If the presupposition at the basis of both forms of communicative action (that is, consensual and understanding oriented) ... is suspended, the involved parties are faced with the alternative of ... raising communication to the level of argumentative discourse ... (which) ... represents the possibility of reaching agreement through the use of reason ..."

23. Habermas op. cit., 100

"communicative action" or when kneeling in silent devotion before the blessed sacrament, the body and blood of Christ.

To return to the subjects of this study, if those who were Anglicans would assimilate their subscription to the via media and its comprehensive nature, this Church would, in Michael Ramsey's words which I used earlier, 'by its very brokenness point to the universal Church wherein all have died'. Symbolic warfare is endemic to the very nature of religion and will not abate, but to recognize the opportunities available in the complex procedures of negotiation and collective bargaining will ensure that conflict is matched by consensus, war by peace. Therefore symbolic warfare will enrich our lives with unheard of possibilities and unknown aspirations and involve a critical reflection and refinement of our individual and collective symbolic worlds which we understood now, 'through a glass darkly'. To cease to be

infirm and crippled, yoked to our own symbolic conceptions and configurations would entail the freedom found in recognizing the interdependent and interconnected nature of human living in a universal theatre of symbols. We will have crucified the old order only to rise, a new creation, and adopt an expanded vision.

Indeed, Jesus was right: 'It is in losing your life that you will find it'.

APPENDICES

RESEARCH INVESTIGATION INTO VALUE ORIENTATIONS AND
COMMUNICATION POSSIBILITIES

This questionnaire is anonymous.

SECTION A

1. AGE: _____

2. SEX: Male
Female

3. ACCORDING TO GOVERNMENT RACIAL CLASSIFICATION, ARE YOU ...

White
'Coloured'
Asian
Black

State what, eg. Xhosa, : _____

4. STATE YOUR CITIZENSHIP: _____

5. COUNTRY AND PLACE OF BIRTH: _____ (Country)
_____ (place)

6. COUNTRY OF PARENTS BIRTH: _____ (father)
_____ (mother)

7. LANGUAGE PRESENTLY SPOKEN AT HOME: _____

8. LANGUAGE OF PARENTS HOME: _____

9. OTHER LANGUAGES SPOKEN AND READ: Spoken Read

_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

10. MARITAL STATUS: Single
Married
Divorced
Widow or Widower

11. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN: Yes
No

12. HIGHEST EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS: _____

Give details: eg. Teacher Diploma - Junior School
B.SC. Engineering

14. AS AN ANGLICAN, WOULD YOU (very Broadly) CLASSIFY YOURSELF AS
 PREDOMINANTLY: Tick all the appropriate boxes

Evangelical	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anglo-Catholic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Charismatic	<input type="checkbox"/>
Low Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
High Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Middle of the Road	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. RELIGION AND DENOMINATION OF YOUR FAMILY:

_____ (Religion)
 _____ (Denomination)

16. WHAT WAS YOUR OCCUPATION BEFORE YOUR PRESENT STATUS:

17. DID YOU LIVE AND WORK IN A RURAL OR AN URBAN AREA:

	Urban	Rural
LIVE	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
WORK	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

18. FROM WHERE DID YOU OR DO YOU DRAW
 YOUR OPINION OF HOW LIFE IS IN
 THIS WORLD. INDICATE THE THREE MOST
 IMPORTANT IN ORDER OF PRIORITY BY
 WRITING 1,2,3 IN COLUMN 'A'.

FROM WHERE DID YOU OR DO YOU DRAW
 MOST OF YOUR VALUES CONCERNING
HOW LIFE SHOULD BE LIVED.
 INDICATE THE THREE MOST IMPORTANT
 IN ORDER OF PRIORITY BY WRITING
 1,2,3 IN COLUMN 'B'.

Sources:	A	B
Parents	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
School	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Church, Priest, Bible	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Colleagues at home or work	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Radio, newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Work experience	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Leisure experience	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION B

We now move onto a fairly lengthy section and so take a deep breath and answer each question with care. We remind you that this questionnaire is anonymous.

1. REGARDLESS OF HOW RELIGIOUS YOU THINK THAT YOU OUGHT TO FEEL, HOW RELIGIOUS DO YOU FEEL THAT YOU ARE:

Not at all religious

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----	----	----

 Very religious

2. REGARDLESS OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE DO YOU FEEL THAT THE WORLD (as a complex of events, environment, nature, people, etc.) IS:

Moving in cycles or rhythms (seasonal)

Slowly feeling its way forward

Blindly moving forward

Moving firmly to a destiny

Static

Confused and meaningless

3. SOME PEOPLE ARE PREPARED TO SACRIFICE A LOT OF THE QUALITY AND PRESENT EXPERIENCE OF LIFE FOR THEMSELVES AND THEIR COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE LONG-TERM BENEFITS FOR THEIR OWN AND FOLLOWING GENERATIONS; OTHERS BELIEVE THAT THEIR MOST IMPORTANT TASK IS TO IMPROVE AND MAINTAIN THE PRESENT EXPERIENCE OF LIFE INCLUDING PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS. WHERE DO YOU FEEL THE MOST MEANINGFUL BALANCE FOR YOU WOULD BE. PLACE YOURSELF ON THE SCALE:

Almost entirely

present quality

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Almost entirely

future goals

4. HOW MUCH DO YOU FEEL THAT THE ANGLICAN CHURCH CAN IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN OR FOR:

The World	Not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	A great deal
Africa	all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
South Africa		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Your Community		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Your family (including brothers, sisters, etc.)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Your own life		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

5. HOW MUCH DO YOU THINK ANY EXISTING POLITICAL ORGANIZATION CAN IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN:

The World	Not at	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	A great deal
South Africa	all	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Your community		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Your life		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

6. ONE'S UNDERSTANDING OF GOD IS SHAPED BY THE BIBLE, TRADITION, PERSONAL THEOLOGIZING, INTERACTION WITH OTHER PEOPLE etc. RATE YOUR PERSONAL UNDERSTANDING OF GOD ON THIS SCALE:

Unorthodox	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Biblical and orthodox
------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	-----------------------

7. THERE ARE MANY DIFFERENT SITUATIONS WHICH MIGHT HELP US TO FEEL CLOSE TO GOD. SOME SITUATIONS ARE PRIVATE; SOME ARE CORPORATE; SOME ARE CONCERNED WITH FEELINGS; SOME WITH BELIEFS. PLEASE BE AWARE OF THESE DIFFERENCES AND IF A SITUATION IS NOT APPLICABLE TO YOU, MARK THE n/a COLUMN OTHERWISE '1' MEANS THAT WHILE IT COULD HELP SOME PEOPLE IN YOUR POSITION, IT DOES NOT PARTICULARLY HELP YOU FEEL CLOSE TO GOD AND '7' MEANS THAT IT HELPS YOU TO FEEL CLOSE TO GOD AS ANYTHING COULD:

Consider all the situations below and say for each one how much it helps you to feel close to God.

a) When you are confronted by beauty
or grandeur eg. stars on a clear
night; music; art

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

b) When working for or with an active
group for the betterment of your
fellow men

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

c) When studying and thinking about
God on your own in your study

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

d) When being informed about new
discoveries in science, technology
or medicine

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

e) When in silent meditation or
contemplation thinking yourself
to be in the presence of God

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

f) When you are on your own saying
the Office or reading your Bible

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

g) When listening to a very good
sermon

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Please remember that you are considering how close you feel to God in each
situation:

h) Hearing that someone close to you
is mortally ill

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

i) When discussing with your colleagues
what the right ethical action would
be in a particular situation

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

j) When confronted by significant aspects
of human life, eg. the birth, someone
close to you is getting married, seeing
children at play

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

k) When you feel that nothing in the
world is going right for you

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

- l) When hearing of the death of a fairly close man or woman (family or friend) who was old and had experienced a fulfilled life
- m) When attending any group or meeting in which the presence of God is believed to be powerfully felt
- n) When seeing someone help a child or an old sick person, or showing kindness to the sick or deprived
- o) When meeting with your spiritual director, priest, prayer-partner
- p) When participating in corporate worship
- q) Being together at a formal meeting or meal with your colleagues
- r) When fulfilling a duty required of you (eg. assist at the altar, be a server, etc.)
- s) When meditating before the reserved sacrament

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

n/a	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
-----	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

If there is any situation in which you feel particularly close to God which is not listed above, please state what this is:

8. NOW THE QUESTION IS: WHAT IRRITATES YOU?

HOW UPSET DO YOU FEEL WHEN YOU HEAR OUTSIDERS CRITICIZING ONE OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS:

- a) Young people
- b) Men as a group
- c) Supporters of individual initiative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

How upset do you feel when you hear outsiders criticize one of the following groups:

d) Your family	Not at all upset	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Very upset
e) Speakers of your home language		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
f) Workers		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
g) Your country of birth		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
h) Supporters of social justice		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
i) Black people		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
j) Women as a group		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
k) The business world		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
l) Homosexuals		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
m) Your nation/state (ie. the political entity)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
n) South Africa (ie. the country people and culture)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
o) Professional people (ie. lawyers, doctors, teachers)		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
p) The group of your 'racial classification'		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
q) Your present local community		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
r) People who are educated		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
s) The community from which you came		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
t) People who are wealthy		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Remember that you are considering how upset you feel when outsiders criticize one of the following groups:

u) Radicals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
v) Liberals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
w) Conservatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
x) White people	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
y) People of European origin	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
z) People of the Third world	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
aa) People of Southern Africa	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Your consideration is how upset you feel when outsiders criticize one of the following groups:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| bb) | People with university degrees | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| cc) | People who are materially comfortable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| dd) | Jews | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| ee) | Hindus | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| ff) | Buddhists | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| gg) | Muslims | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
- Not at all upset
- Very upset
- hh) As a Christian, how upset do you feel when you hear an outsider criticize:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| i) | The Anglican Church | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| ii) | Your theological college | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| iii) | Catholics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| iv) | Protestants | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| v) | Rhema or Christian City | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| vi) | Anglo-Catholicism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| vii) | Evangelicalism | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| viii) | The Charismatic Movement | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| ix) | Healing services | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| x) | White South African Anglicans | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| xi) | Black South African Anglicans | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |

If there is any other group/s criticism of which you would find particularly upsetting, please name them:

9. PLEASE READ ALL THE FOLLOWING FIVE DESCRIPTIONS AND THEN EVALUATE THE LIFESTYLE OF EACH:

'1' means that you rate the lifestyle low, '7' means that you rate it very highly.

Please read all the descriptions before rating any of them.

PETER is a real family man. He works hard, is very moral and takes good care of his money. He is not concerned for his community or the outside world.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

PAUL works in his local community, caring for old people and organizing the local youth group. He works a full day. He is not very political and sometimes his family is neglected.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

PATRICK is a good employer and treats his customers fairly. He pays good wages and helps customers who run into difficulties over payment. He is one of the boys; he drinks a bit and flirts with women. He seldom looks beyond his immediate environment.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

PIPPIN is a very aware of injustice in society. He works tirelessly for social change and to expose corruption. He hates to see the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer. He leads a rather wild private life with wine, women and song.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

PHILIP has a vision of peace and brotherly love for all mankind and therefore he feels awkward when he has to take sides in local or national issues. He tirelessly tries to persuade people to accept his vision. He has little sympathy for traditional moral values.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

10. IF YOU HAD TO STATE A SINGLE PREFERENCE IN QUESTION 9 WHO WOULD YOU SAY HAD THE BEST LIFESTYLE:

Peter	<input type="checkbox"/>
Paul	<input type="checkbox"/>
Patrick	<input type="checkbox"/>
Pippin	<input type="checkbox"/>
Philip	<input type="checkbox"/>

11. AS AN ANGLICAN, WHAT DO YOU FEEL THE ANGLICAN CHURCH OFFERS YOU SUCH THAT YOU REMAIN A MEMBER:

- a) The Church itself _____

- b) In your local community _____

- c) In your country and the wider world _____

SECTION C

For your patience and care up to now, thank you. You are entering the home-straight; so stretch, breathe deeply and please answer the remaining questions with care. We remind you that this questionnaire is anonymous.

1. IF YOU LEFT THE ANGLICAN CHURCH, WOULD YOU JOIN THE:

Roman Catholic Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Methodist Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Congregational Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Presbyterian Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Baptist Church	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (state which)	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. DO YOU FEEL THAT THEOLOGY IS YOUR TASK OR THE TASK OF EXPERTS:

Your task	<input type="checkbox"/>
Experts task	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. OF PRESENT POLITICAL LEADERS (Jailed, banned, in parliament, etc.) WHO WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE LEADING SOUTH AFRICA:

4. HOW DO YOU RATE THE PRESENT THREE-CHAMBER PARLIAMENT:

Completely	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very
ineffective	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	effective

5. WOULD YOU SAY THAT CHRISTIANITY AND DRINKING/SMOKING ARE:

	Drinking	Smoking
Compatible	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Incompatible	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
The question is irrelevant	<input type="checkbox"/>	

6. IF AN OLD MEMBER OF YOUR FAMILY DIES, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT HE/SHE:

Becomes an ancestor	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goes to heaven whether he/she was a <u>Christian or not</u>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goes to heaven if he/she was a Christian	<input type="checkbox"/>
Goes to hell if he/she was <u>not</u> a Christian	<input type="checkbox"/>

7. AS A PRIEST, IF AT A FUNERAL THE FAMILY REQUESTED THAT THE COFFIN REMAIN OPEN:

You would find this disturbing but allow it

You would not allow it at all

It would not present a problem to you

8. WHETHER YOU ARE BLACK OR WHITE, WOULD YOU RATE WHITES AS SOCIO-POLITICALLY:

Apathetic

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Aware and involved

9. IF YOUR HOME LANGUAGE IS OTHER THAN ENGLISH AND THE LITURGY WERE SAID IN YOUR HOME LANGUAGE WOULD YOU FEEL:

Very uncomfortable

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Very comfortable

10. DO YOU THINK THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S POLITICAL FUTURE WILL BE SOLVED BY:

Violent means

Non-violent means (ie. despite township rioting, by negotiation)

11. DO YOU SEE PRODUCING ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN AS A:

A serious moral sin

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Not sinful

12. IF A COLLEAGUE WERE ARRESTED BY THE SECURITY POLICE WOULD YOU IMMEDIATELY FEEL:

View the matter in an unemotional manner

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Emotionally concerned and angry.

13. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT DEMONS EXIST:

Yes

No

Perhaps

14. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT GOD PHYSICALLY HEALS PEOPLE WHEN THEY HAVE HANDS LAID ON THEM AND/OR THEY ARE PRAYED FOR:

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Yes

15. DO YOU THINK THAT LOBOLA IS A GOOD AND FAIR SYSTEM:

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Yes

16. DO YOU THINK THAT THE BISHOP OF DURHAM'S VIEWS ON THE RESURRECTION ARE HERETICAL:

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 Yes

17. WHERE WOULD YOU CLASSIFY YOURSELF POLITICALLY:

(Tick as many as appropriate)

Conservative

Liberal

Radical

Supporter of the present system

Supporter of an extra-parliamentary group or party

Supporter of a political party participating in the present parliamentary structure

18. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE S.A.D.F. SHOULD BE EMPLOYED IN CURBING URBAN RIOTS AND/OR UNREST:

Yes

No

If deemed necessary by the authorities

19. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE S.A.D.F. PERFORMS A VALUABLE FUNCTION IN GUARDING THE BORDERS OF THIS COUNTRY:

Yes

No

20. IF YOU GOT MARRIED TODAY AND WERE ABLE TO PLAN A FAMILY, HOW MANY CHILDREN WOULD YOU HAVE:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8 plus
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	--------

21. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT USING ANY INSTITUTION'S ACADEMIC FACILITIES WHILE BOYCOTTING THEIR SPORTING FACILITIES IS CONTRADICTORY:

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 Yes

22. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IS POLITICALLY ACTIVE ENOUGH:

No

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
---	---	---	---	---	---	---

 Yes

23. WHAT IRRITATES YOU MOST ABOUT YOUR PRESENT INSTITUTION:

(Mark the answers 1,2,3 -- where '1' is the most irritating occurrence)

Chapel	
Meals at college	
College meeting	
Prayers in the Liturgy	
Eucharist	
Offices	
Meditation	
Lectures	

If there is something not listed which you find extremely irritating please state what it is: _____

APPENDIX 11INTERVIEWS

Fifteen interviews were conducted at the seminary between August and October 1985. The sample was determined by those who were prepared to be interviewed but the attempt was made to obtain a representative group. The interviews were conducted in the researcher's room; they were tape-recorded and then transcribed in full by hand. Each interview lasted anything from fifty minutes to two hours.

INTERVIEWEES (in chronological order of the interview)

1.	"Coloured"	Male	36 yrs.	Married
2.	Black	Xhosa Male	34 yrs.	Married
3.	Black	Xhosa Male	32 yrs.	Married
4.	Black	Malawian Male	25 yrs.	Single
5.	Black	Zulu Male	24 yrs.	Single
6.	White	Male	44 yrs.	Single
7.	Black	Xhosa Male	32 yrs.	Single

8.	White	Male	21 yrs.	Single
9.	White	Female	28 yrs.	Single
10.	White	Male	28 yrs.	Married
11.	"Coloured"	Male	26 yrs.	Single
12.	"Honorary White"	Maritian Female	24 yrs.	Single
13.	"Coloured"	Male	43 yrs.	Married
14.	"Coloured"	Male	37 yrs.	Married
15.	White	Male	26 yrs.	Married

In an attempt to discover what could be common symbols for the community, the following questions were asked:

1. "What comes into your mind/what images emerge when you hear the word ...
 - a) 'Father'
 - b) 'Brother'
 - c) 'Sister'
 - d) 'Capitalism'
 - e) 'Socialism'
 - f) 'The Township'"

Subsequent questions included:

2. "What are your views on the political situation in South Africa?"
 3. "Please offer your views on the Anglican Church, its role; its past; its present and its future".
 4. "What are your views on lobola?"
 5. "Why are you a Christian?"
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