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September 1998
Governance of Presbyterian Ministry Formation in the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand 1961-1997

Susan Margaret Jones

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand

August 2006
Abstract

This study of the governance of theological education examines significant policy and management decisions within Presbyterian ministry training in New Zealand between 1961 and 1997 in the light of Edward Farley’s integrated goal for theological education, *theologia*. Edward Farley’s argument that *theologia*, integration of theology (*scientia*) and theology (*habitus*), was fragmented from the first use of modern research university education as professional education for ordained ministry in the 1880s, provides a theoretical framework for analysing the influence of governance on *theologia* through its effect on institutional organisation, structure and curricula.

International unease about theological education is reflected in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation, though little sustained critical analysis is yet published in New Zealand. The period under study begins in 1961 when the Special Committee on Theological Training called for a Chair in Pastoral Theology to 1997 when the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand opened its Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies, later renamed the School of Ministry.

Criteria signifying recovery and/or fragmentation of *theologia* drawn from Farley’s arguments are searched for in the beginning of University theology at Berlin and the beginning of ministry formation in Dunedin, New Zealand. The intervening time till 1960 is similarly analysed. Governance decisions about Pastoral Theology in the first case study and governance decisions about University, church and theology in the second, are then assessed. Constant rearranging of pastoral theology programmes symptomises increasing fragmentation of *theologia* as does the creation of a Pastoral Chair. Pastoral theology is left with the integrative responsibility, rendering other disciplines more scientific as feared by some Theological Hall teachers. Outside the University from 1876-1946, New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation was still influenced by University expectations from Scotland and Berlin. After 1946, teaching within the University of Otago Faculty of Theology, Presbyterian teachers enjoyed considerable opportunities for integrated teaching. Fragmentation of *theologia* was therefore delayed and to some extent retarded. Increased University influence from 1992 meant these opportunities were lost. Finally, around the 1996 withdrawal of direct University engagement with Presbyterian ministry formation, formational goals were set for the Church’s new Centre of Advanced Ministry Studies. These aimed to integrate theology (*scientia*) and theology (*habitus*) retrospectively for ordinands after foundational theological education elsewhere. Earlier 1990s governance decisions affected achievement of these goals.

This work argues that between 1961 and 1997 most governance decisions in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation exacerbated existing structural fragmentation of *theologia*. Differing arrangements to alleviate this were attempted, and integration of (*scientia*) and (*habitus*) occurred for some students and at different periods. Structurally, however, the University-approved four-fold programme continued, making pastoral theology’s role remained ambiguous and *theologia*’s fragmentation inevitable.

While the New Zealand Presbyterian Church set its own ministry formation goals from 1961-1997, finance, prestige and educational philosophy prevented development of its own programme. Time and money were put into supporting University theology instead, and the University used to produce an educated ministry. It is now inevitable that the Church has to integrate theology (*scientia*) and theology (*habitus*) retrospectively for its students after theological education elsewhere.
Preface

Many other people and organisations have been involved in the production of this work.

First, I wish to thank my supervisors, most particularly Rev Dr John Roxborough at the School of Ministry, Knox College. He knows that he came into the work at a very important time. Rev Dr. Lydia Johnson has also been of great assistance. I also wish to pay tribute to Dr Ivor Davidson and Rev. Dr. Judith McKinlay who worked with me in the earlier stages of research and writing. We began this project together in the first year of the Department of Theology and Religious Studies and Madeleine Sim of that Department was always helpful, as has been Sandra Lindsay after her. Rev. Dr. Clive Pearson was also the main impetus for me beginning this work. Especially in the latter stages, I have been indebted to Professor Paul Trebilco, Dr Judy Bennett and Dr Charles Tustin. Garth Cant was also an encouragement at one stage of the thesis and his interest was important. All the above, of course, bear no responsibility for the end product.

I am grateful too for significant financial support from four institutions: The Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand awarded me its 1995 post-graduate scholarship which made this study a possibility. I hope this thesis is 'useful to the church.' I was also awarded a Federation of University Women Postgraduate Fellowship in 1997. The University of Otago awarded me its postgraduate scholarship for 1998 and 1999. Latterly a grant from the School of Ministry assisted in completing the work. I am grateful to all these funding bodies.

My research in the Presbyterian Archives, Knox College, Dunedin was greatly assisted by the expertise of the PCANZ archivist, Yvonne Wilkie, whose knowledge of PCANZ history was invaluable in making connections between different people, committees and events. Her assistance was unstinting. I am also grateful to Donald Cochrane, assistant archivist. Other key people were the Hewitson Library staff at Knox College, the staff who serve distance students at the Otago University Central Library, staff at Kinder Library, St John’s, Auckland and Marney Brosnan for the maps. The Research and Higher Scholarships staff at the University of Otago were also extremely helpful particularly in the latter stages of the work.

My family and friends have spent many hours encouraging, listening to and supporting me in many ways. Special thanks go to my husband Roger and my friend Trish Patrick.

Susan Jones
August 2006.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATS</td>
<td>Association of Theological Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANZATS</td>
<td>Australia and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOO</td>
<td>Book of Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CBMT</td>
<td>Community Based Ministry Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEM</td>
<td>Committee on Education for Ministry(^1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPE</td>
<td>Clinical Pastoral Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPT</td>
<td>Clinical Pastoral Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMC</td>
<td>Committee on Education for Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAFCS</td>
<td>General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAPCNZ</td>
<td>General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GAPCANZ</td>
<td>General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MCD</td>
<td>Melbourne College of Divinity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTB</td>
<td>Ministry Training Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MTC</td>
<td>Maori Theological College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZP</td>
<td>New Zealand Presbyterian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSP</td>
<td>Ordination Studies Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCANZ</td>
<td>Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCNZ</td>
<td>Presbyterian Church of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proc.</td>
<td>Proceedings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCCM</td>
<td>Special Committee on Church and Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCM</td>
<td>Student Christian Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCMWS</td>
<td>Special committee to study the future training, shape and maintenance for ministry of word and sacrament.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCTM</td>
<td>Special Committee on Training for Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOS</td>
<td>Synod of Otago and Southland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TC</td>
<td>Theological College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCC</td>
<td>Theological College Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TEE</td>
<td>Theological Education by Extension</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THC</td>
<td>Theological Hall Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VTH 1985</td>
<td>The Visitation to the Theological Hall and Education for Ministry Committee of the PCANZ which took place 7(^{th}) and 8(^{th}) August 1985</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) This is the same committee as the Education for Ministry Committee (EMC) - the committee was named differently in separate years' reports.
FIGURE ONE
MAP OF NEW ZEALAND

NEW ZEALAND

North Island

Northland
Wangarai
Auckland

Wellington
Marlborough

South Island

Christchurch

Stewart Island

Invercargill

Dunedin

Southland

Nelson

Marlborough

Wellington

Palmerston North

Nelson

West Coast

100
200
km

Source: Regional Boundaries 2002
Marny Brosnan - Department of Geography, UC.
FIGURE TWO
MAP OF OTAGO AND SOUTHLAND

Regional Boundaries 2002
Cartography: Marney Brosnan - Department of Geography, UC.
FIGURE THREE
DIVISIONS AND RE-UNIONS IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

Divisions and Re-Unions in the Church of Scotland

The Record of the United Free Church of Scotland, October 1929, 404.
Chapter One

Introduction

This introduction discusses the assumptions and methodological choices used in this thesis, and in particular how the issue of governance was chosen as a key to ascertain whether theologia was set up for fragmentation or recovered in theological education in the New Zealand Presbyterian Church\(^1\) during the period of the study.

The primary motivation in undertaking this research springs from my personal experience of ministry formation during part of this period. This period was formative for theological education as well as for students in formation at the time. As with other personal motivations, of course, dangers of subjectivity and lack of distance can skew perceptions, but wrestling with different points of view and the evidence of experience bring more clarity and definition to the area of study.

New Zealand Presbyterian archive material provided evidence of others’ points of view and experiences through the personal papers of teachers\(^2\) and other key churchmen,\(^3\) papers from the Senatus and committees associated with the Theological Hall (1876-1996), the Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies (1997) and the School of Ministry (1997-) . The Otago University Faculty of Theology (1946-1996) records held in the Hewitson Library and Presbyterian

\(^1\) From 1901 Presbyterianism in the whole of New Zealand was represented by The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (PCNZ). At the beginning of the period of this study that was the name used for the church, but in 1991, the word Aotearoa was added to refer to the church as The Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand (PCANZ). This was a bicultural gesture towards New Zealand’s indigenous Maori people whose original name for New Zealand was Aotearoa. This name change was not accompanied by any structural changes. Though both names refer to essentially the same church, the two terms will be used where historically appropriate in the relevant period.

\(^2\) Including William Hewitson, First Master of Knox College and teacher of English Bible, Professors S. Hunter (first dean of the Faculty of Theology), John Dunlop, Frank Nichol, Ian Breward, Peter Matheson, Clive Pearson.

\(^3\) Including Rev. Dr. James McGregor (former teacher at New College who emigrated to Oamaru, supporter of William Robertson Smith); Dr. James Gibb, (first Moderator of the united PCNZ in 1901); Rev. Ian W. Fraser (wrote full historical notes on his leadership of the process of women being ordained as elders).
archives were also helpful. Church newspapers, especially early editions, provided evidence of opinion and actual events. That this study deals with more than just a personal issue with theological education is borne out by these papers and the international theological education literature. This literature, which shows that deep misgivings about theological education have been current from the latter 1960s, will be reviewed in more detail in Chapter One.

New Zealand is a small country away from the mainstream of theological education, but many of the same pressures and issues experienced internationally arise in New Zealand. Presbyterianism, imported to New Zealand from Scotland in the nineteenth century, has historically valued university theological study as part of its ministry formation. This adds a specific and longstanding tension between university and church to the already complex process of ministry formation.

Primarily this thesis is concerned with ministry formation. Theological education is a broad field encompassing the teaching of the theological disciplines within higher education. Ministry formation takes place through the teaching of these disciplines and other church related formational activities. Many churches, including the PCANZ, use other higher education institutions, especially universities, to provide theological education for their ministers-in-training. Formational aspects of ministerial education remain the churches' preserve and responsibility.

This particular location of ministry formation, situated between the two institutions of church and university, is an underlying reason for the tensions explored in this thesis. While ministers in training benefit from academic treatment of theology, the vocation for which they are destined requires training and engagement with knowledge arising from a different epistemological basis than knowledge gained in university theological education. Ministry formators are faced with the task of assisting ministers in training to integrate these two types of knowledge, skills and experience. This epistemological difference, it will be seen, lies at the core of concerns about theological education and ministry formation.

The process through which this work has proceeded has thrown up important defining decisions and choices of focus. At first it was assumed that the required but absent ingredient

---

4 *The Evangelist* (1868-1878) was followed by *The NZ Presbyterian* (1879-1893) and then the *Christian Outlook* (1894-1899), followed by *The Outlook* (1899-1986) and *Crosslink* (1987-2001).
in ministry training was an adequate faith orientation integrated with academic work. Too academic an emphasis, it was thought, had disturbed the balance needed in the theological education of ministers whose vocational goal would be to inculcate and nurture faith in their congregations. This appeared to be endorsed by Edward Farley’s argument that theology since the early nineteenth century has been fragmented into the components of *scientia* and *habitus* through over-emphasis on the modern university research orientation within theological education. How to trace the history of personal formation, integration of studies and formation for ministry seemed to be the task. My expectation was that a failure of integration and especially of faith formation would be found in the ministry formation practices of PCNZ/PCANZ. It was anticipated evidence for this would be found in students’ or teachers’ papers. As it will be seen, however, this anticipation was disappointed.

At an early stage it was felt important to research the Scottish roots of New Zealand Presbyterianism. A search for evidence of the balance of faith and academic learning in Scotland prior to 1840 became a trawl through centuries from the 1560 Scottish Reformation to the 1848 Free Church-led migration to Dunedin. This provided useful orientation and background, but became too diverse. It confirmed, however, the foundational and fundamental place which university education took in the formation of Presbyterian ministry from the beginning of Reformed Protestantism in the sixteenth century. University teaching and values were a major influence on ministry and the church. A natural, pre-existing Scottish valuing of education combined with reforming zeal at the Reformation so that the education levels of ministers in the newly Protestant Church of Scotland rose markedly after 1560. Two centuries later, the high value placed on university standards in theological education for ministers in the Free Church of Scotland was obvious in aspirations expressed at

---

5 “...within half a century or so it was rare to see in a pulpit a man who was not a graduate.” Gordon Donaldson, *The Faith of the Scots* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd., 1990), 74.
the time of the opening of New College, Edinburgh. The Free Church leaders wanted New College to rival the universities. Later commentators claim it did more than that. These two influences on the founding of theological education within the New Zealand Presbyterian scene, and the continuing valuing and hegemony of university education in the Western world, set a pattern of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation which has continued to revolve around university education wherever possible. Recurring debate within the New Zealand Presbyterian Church over the predominance of academic work in ministry formation might be thought to reflect lack of universal acceptance of this, but it may also suggest, not dissatisfaction with the inclusion of university education per se, but lack of accompanying integration of other aspects of ministerial formation. This debate, occasional as it was, and sharply focused on Assembly reports and debates, did not delve into the deep structures of theological education to find the root cause for this dissatisfaction.

Edward Farley has critiqued the North American debate on theological education for the same lack of depth. Anecdotally, debate about ministry formation in the New Zealand Presbyterian church seemed to become a stand-off more related to a theological divide between conservative and liberal leanings. Concern about lack of practical training tended to accompany an evangelical desire to spread the faith. Valuing of academic work tended to coincide with a liberal theological view. Sometimes this was so before individuals encountered university education and sometimes this was a result of it. As will be seen, debate about Presbyterian ministry formation did not reach the level of the epistemological requirements of ministry formation but tended to express itself as requests for more time on

---

6 "... There is no substantial difference between the Theology taught in a College, and the theology taught in a Church. Only in the preparation of minister ... it is necessary that it should be taught in the forms of a science, and receive an academic treatment in the hands of academic men ... The great object ... is that our pupils may learn to understand this Bible, and to handle it aright in plying the hearts and consciences of men. It is to teach them how best to wield that instrument ... that they may know how they should bring the Word of God ... to bear, and that with convincing power, on the minds of the people, and, in pressing home for their acceptance the tidings of salvation." Thomas Chalmers, at the laying of the foundation stone of New College, Edinburgh. Hugh Watt, ed., New College Edinburgh: A Centenary History (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946), 2-3.

7 "The essential was the immediate establishment in one of the University centres of a theological college with, as a minimum, a curriculum equal to that provided in any of the four Divinity Faculties and library facilities to replace what had been lost." Ibid., 9.


the acquisition of practical skills. This argument supports Farley’s complaint that when professional education of clergy became the province of the university, the private, domestic domain was left with only unreflected piety. It also supports his analysis that pastoral theology was a casualty of the fragmentation of the holistic theology he names *theologia*.

Edward Farley, who has already entered the conversation, deserves greater introduction. In the 1980s Farley’s *Theologia* emerged as a seminal work in the North American theological education literature. Farley defined *theologia* as “the knowledge of “God and divine things” as given in written revelation, the Scriptures.” He claimed the only way forward in the crisis in theological education being much debated in the 1980s was to deal *theologically* with the cause of the disease rather than only with symptoms such as overcrowded curricula. Farley’s identification of the cause centred on the use of Enlightenment-paradigm university theology for professional education of ministers from the founding of the first modern research university in Berlin. He argued the result of this governance decision was fragmentation of a previously holistic *theologia* into theology (*scientia*) in the university and theology (*habitus*) in the private domain. Farley’s thesis suggested a resonance existed between the high valuing of university education in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation, the author’s dissatisfaction with the piecemeal fashion of her own ministry formation, and Farley’s argument that fragmentation of *theologia*, caused by the professional model of ministry education in the nineteenth century modern research university, was the root cause of dis-ease in contemporary theological education.

The time frame in which Farley’s theory will be tested in the context of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation within an appropriately narrow historical range has been defined as 1961-1997. This period covers most of the last four decades of the twentieth century and is the period where international discussion on theological education was most vigorous from Charles Feilding’s *Education for Ministry* to the Plowshare Institute’s *Changing the Way Seminaries Teach*.

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Early in the research process, it had been expected that fragmentation or otherwise of theologia would be visible in papers of former ministry students and theological staff. While the period of history under study is relatively recent, a number of deposits in the New Zealand Presbyterian Archives are relevant and available. The collections relating to both the Theological Hall and School of Ministry contained records of meetings and programmes.\textsuperscript{14} There are also Otago University Faculty of Theology papers from the period when the Presbyterian Church was the main supplier of teachers for the Faculty.\textsuperscript{15} General Assembly papers offered a view on how the wider church reacted to the task of theological education of ministers.\textsuperscript{16} Personal papers offered some opinions on events. Papers of ministers and lay people associated with church committees sometimes shed light on church events and reports.\textsuperscript{17} Committee and Assembly reports and proceedings provided a view of official deliberations and decisions.\textsuperscript{18}

Neither personal papers nor official records, however, provided a full or complete enough account of what actually happened in the classroom or within ordinands' hearts and minds. Church documentation of decisions made about ministry training and formation provided the most consistent framework of developments across the four decades. This discovery provided an important insight. What the church decided about the structures of its theological education of its ministers was a significant influence on events at the Hall and thereby an influence on fragmentation or recovery of theologia. This in turn was decisive in the quality of the formation of its ministers. If a programme structure does not further fragment theologia, there is more likelihood that ministers in training will gain an holistic theological understanding.

\textsuperscript{14} This included the proceedings of the Senatus, proceedings of several standing committees, such as the Education for Ministry Committee and the Theological Hall Committee

\textsuperscript{15} Early papers from the time when Hunter was Dean are available, also some references in the papers to the time when Matheson and Rex were Dean.

\textsuperscript{16} Not only did this include proceedings of General Assemblies but also some papers from special committees appointed by Assembly to review theological education at frequent intervals. (See Appendix C.)

\textsuperscript{17} Letters gathered by Ian Breward for Jack Bates offer these, also Ian Fraser's historical notes on the ordination of women elders.

\textsuperscript{18} These consist of the reports, recommendations, overtures, and agendas of Assemblies, and also the minutes.
This discovery led to an important connection with two factors concerning Farley's work. First, Farley’s argument for the need of a governing paradigm essentially focuses on governance-type activities: arrangement of studies and organisation of programmes. Second, writers responding to Farley’s *Theologia* suggested frameworks under which *theologia* could be recovered through suggestions about curricula, design and delivery of courses, contexts of study and other aspects of theological education which were also the province of governance. Their suggestions include governance decisions both in policy, administrative aspects of theological schools, and at the educational/pedagogical level.

This strongly suggested that the quality — good or poor — of governance decisions was key in exacerbating the fragmentation of *theologia* which Farley claimed already existed, or in contributing to its recovery. Whether or not students or staff contribute to the fragmentation of *theologia* after governance decisions are made, they cannot contribute to its recovery if the governance decisions have already set the ground work for its fragmentation. Also, if governance decisions are set so that the possibility of the recovery or integration of *theologia* is maximised, it follows that the approach of staff and students within that institutional culture is more likely to be oriented towards recovery rather than fragmentation.

The effects of governance decisions on *theologia* in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation is therefore the focus of this thesis. Farley's argument focuses on the appropriateness or otherwise of modern research university theology being the main framework of ministerial education. This is why one of the two case studies discusses governance of the changing relationship between the New Zealand Presbyterian Church and the University within the period under study. Farley also names the ambiguity and anomalous position of pastoral theology as a side effect of the fragmentation of *theologia*. Therefore the focus of the second case study is governance of pastoral theology/practical training within New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation.

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21 For example: Joseph C. Hough and John B. Cobb, *Christian Identity and Theological Education* (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985); and Kelsey, “A Theological Curriculum About and Against the Church.”
This emphasis on governance also addresses in part Farley’s call for a governing paradigm.\textsuperscript{22} The ‘governing paradigm’ needed is not a one-size-fits-all ecclesiologia but a governance culture which has as its goal preservation of theologia within and for ministry formation. Another important side effect is that if theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) can be kept integrated, nervousness within the church about lack of application, skill acquisition or ministry experience will be allayed, since ministers in training will graduate with a theological understanding and a reflective praxis which will assist them to better employ the skills they have learned in a variety of ministry situations.

It will be seen that writers in the literature who call directly or indirectly for repair or recovery of theologia maintain that this is the responsibility of the institution. Individual students cannot be expected to work against a flow of a ministry formation programme which offers only a fragmented theologia and do all the integration themselves. Those responsible for the governance of the institution are responsible for providing time, space, programmes and mentors which will assist students to achieve integration (theologia). This thesis therefore focuses on governance decisions as one location where it can be judged whether or not concerns about theological education similar to Farley’s have materialised in New Zealand and, if so, whether they have been addressed. Also, those with specific applied theology/pastoral theology concerns such as eco-, public, contextual or feminist theology and missional theological education will find there is a space within theological education where their emphases can be integrated if habitus aspects are fostered in theological studies.\textsuperscript{23} If this is possible, it can be assumed theologia is less fragmented than elsewhere.

The research methodology of this thesis is historiographical, that is, it traces the history of an event or concept. It is specifically about the history of the concept of theologia. In that sense, it is a theological historiography since it traces the fortunes of a theological concept, theologia. While the content may be theological, however, the method is historical. The choice of the period 1961-1997 for this historiography is deliberate because it is contemporaneous with a vigorous phase in the current international theological education debate. The use of Farley’s argument from the 1980s provides both a retrospective and forward-looking framework for analysis of New Zealand Presbyterian pastoral theology.

\textsuperscript{22} Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education,” 111-112.
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid., 108.
immediately prior to and from 1961 to 1996 and the analysis of the governance relationships between the University of Otago and the PCANZ, especially in the 1990s. Again, the New Zealand situation finds a resonance in the international literature; it is significant that governance appeared as a topic in *Theological Education* in 1994, exactly midway through the 1992-1996 agreement between the Otago University and the PCANZ.

Farley's work in North America did not cause or have necessarily any effect on what happened in New Zealand. His book was acquired by the Hewitson Library but taken out by only one reader – at the time, the current Principal, Frank Nichol. The purpose of this thesis is to ascertain whether a theory Farley developed from within his own North American context applies in the completely different New Zealand context at about the same chronological period. A crisis in theological education of the type Farley defines as occurring in North America may not necessarily mean the same crisis occurred in New Zealand theological education. However, in both contexts dependence on university-taught theology provides a large part of Reformed Protestant ministers' formation. Certainly, if the use of modern research university-taught theology in ministerial formation has resulted in fragmentation and lack of integration since 1810, any necessary warning for New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation is overdue.

Key terms in the work are theologia, ministry formation and governance. For the definition of theologia, we depend on both Farley's interpretation of his concept and on subsequent writers who have sought to pick up the concept and run with it. Some have found the concept of theologia a slippery one. It does have fuzzy edges, which arise from its complexity and its basis on a different epistemology. This thesis uses theologia in two ways. One use is as a macro concept. Under this understanding of theologia, if possible, the total reform of ministerial education which Farley suggests would restore all theological teaching to an holistic approach where theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) are integrated. A second possibility is theologia being used as a micro-concept. Under this understanding, theologia is recovered when one ordinand or one year's class of ordinands reaches an integrated place where it has been possible, even retrospectively, to integrate what has been learned scientifically in academic theology with principles of Christian and ecclesial practice for individuals and ministers.
Some may see theologia and its fragmentation as the old dislocation between theory and practice. It is partly that. However, Farley’s definition of theologia goes deeper than accepting theory and practice as separate entities requiring integration. Theologia, he claims, is the original state of theology where the ‘theoretical’ or scientific aspects of theology already had a habitus dimension.\(^{24}\) The theory/practice divide is in fact the product of theologia’s fragmentation, in Farley’s view.\(^{25}\) Theoretical theology is only half itself without its habitus aspects included in its teaching.

Further, habitus has a greater sense than ‘practice’ or ‘practical’. Often within a training model of ministerial education, practice or practical refers to the acquisition of practical skills for ministry: conduct of baptisms, presidency of communion, visiting techniques, administration competencies or rudiments of counselling. Habitus has more a sense of the personal habit or Christian discipline of the individual. When theology (habitus) has been inculcated the individual has acquired more than practical skills, she has acquired wisdom or sapience. Acquired skills are then more ably applied to the pastoral situation since the wisdom gained and the faith formation achieved has formed a minister who fits the ministerial vocation in the fullness of the sense of that word.

In Christian theology, this sapience, wisdom or habitus includes and revolves around faith in God. This is a major reason why the university system, working to Enlightenment ideals, leaves theology (habitus) out of its teaching to comply with its ideal of rational, disciplined, orderly, and usually empirical, critical research. As a prolonged and contemporary debate discusses, this ‘subjectivity’ of Christian theology (which is presumed to entail personal commitments) sits strangely within university education which calls for an ‘objective’ approach to disciplines that are also claimed to require no personal commitment.\(^{26}\) Whether universities are as uncommitted as claimed in this argument is part of the tension in this debate.

Ministry formation is the preferred term for the preparation of ministers in this thesis. This may seem to cause anachronisms at times. Until 1997, New Zealand Presbyterian preparation

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\(^{24}\) Farley, Theologia, 31.

\(^{25}\) Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education,” 102-106.
of ministers was more frequently called ministry training and had a training rather than a formation orientation. Ordinands were trained in both academic and practical skills. Where integration happened (as it did, frequently), it was not always an overtly stated goal, nor was it usually named in the programme requirements or course work. In this sense the thesis could be accused of projecting the thinking of the latter end of the twentieth century back into history.

However, Farley’s argument suggests if an integrated *theologia* was the original goal of ministerial education and if the last two centuries of ministerial education have failed in this goal, then ministry formation is the most appropriate term to use, indicating as it does that formation is always the ultimate pedagogical goal of excellent ministerial education. Of course, in citations the word ‘training’ will be left in place. Where necessary, the distinction between formation and training will be noted, but for the sake of both consistency and clarity, ministry formation will be the term used most often.

Governance is the third key word. To govern is to exercise delegated authority to manage an institution’s resources in a way which mutually benefits all in the organisation because it achieves the organisation’s goals or mission. Those who govern can influence and direct, but also is responsible for the control of the organisation. Different levels of governance can be considered to operate in ministry formation. Policy-makers, board members, or directors or trustees of theological schools are commonly assumed to be the only governance level of theological education. Their restraint and curbing of directions within programme design, or in the ways in which theological education is delivered, can encourage, at any one time, a more scientific approach to theology, a praxis orientation towards theology, or an integration of both.

Within the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand governance has operated at the denominational level through various standing and special committees and a Ministry Training Board, which were responsible at different times for the work of the Theological Hall and, for a short time, the School of Ministry. (See Appendix A.) After the period of this thesis, from 1999 until 2005, the Equipping the Leadership Policy Group advised the Council of Assembly and the General Assembly on policy oversight of the School of Ministry. This

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26 This debate about the proper location of theology and religious studies, whether in the university or not, is explored in detail in Chapter One. Farley is one of the commentators on this issue: Edward Farley, “The Passion of Knowledge and the Sphere of Faith: A Study in Objectivity,” *Theological Education* 25/2 (1989): 26-28.
Group developed new policy for approval and reviewed existing policy. This Policy Group was disbanded in 2005 and replaced by a Leadership sub-committee also reporting to the Council of Assembly. Decisions related to any significant policies in place are made by the Council of Assembly and ultimately by General Assembly.

Governance-style decisions are also made at the educational/pedagogical level where the Principal and teaching staff operate the year’s programme, making what could be called second-order governance decisions within national policy frameworks for delivery of courses and for the institution’s programme structures. This work will include this level of educational governance where necessary since often it is classroom delivery of courses which determines whether or not theologia is fragmented or recovered. It is, however, this level of governance which has proved most elusive, both in literature and archives.

One advantage of utilising church governance decisions which are recorded in ‘black and white’ in minutes and agendas is their clarity and apparent reliability. While they state how people should behave, however, they may not reflect what actually happened. This applies at both governance levels. A church based governance decision may seem to be one which leads to further fragmentation of theologia, but in the way it is implemented in fact, or by whom, theologia may be recovered in the carrying out of the decision. This can also be true at the educational level. A staff decision about delivery of courses may seem to promise recovery of theologia, but actual delivery may fragment it for that class.

Farley’s critique of Schleiermacher’s decision about theology at Berlin reveals another important historiographical principle. Schleiermacher’s intent was not to fragment theologia. His intent was to develop the best type of ministerial education he could. In his view this was through the university. He may not have been able to discern how differently the modern research university would come to treat theology. Consequences of a decision or action are not necessarily consonant with the intent of the person making that decision or action. It will be seen, for example, that the intention of those who were promoting the pastoral theology professorship was to increase the amount of practical training ordinands received. A consequence may have been that theologia was further fragmented by this decision and so the practical training they desired rendered less useful.

27 The Council of Assembly is an executive Council which carries on the business of the Assembly between its biennial meetings.
The period of study of this thesis is significant to its two concerns. 1961 has been chosen as a starting point because in that year a Pastoral Theology professorship was recommended for the New Zealand Presbyterian Theological Hall. Previously practical aspects of training had been divided up between professors who taught the main disciplines of Bible, history and theology. This was not the first time such a professorship had been suggested but the first time it would come into being, though not until 1969-70. According to Farley, the status and acceptance of pastoral theology is a barometer for the state of theologia. How pastoral theology/practical training was designed into the curriculum and how it was valued there offers a window into whether theology (habitus) is integrated with theology (scientia) or whether the practical nature of pastoral theology is used as a bridging subject to the other theological disciplines, which are able to thereby remain only theoretical.

The end date of the period under study reflects the other case study focus of this work, the relationship between the University and the Presbyterian Church’s ministry formation programmes. 1997 was the first year of a more distant relationship between Church and University than had been the case since 1946. The Presbyterian Church’s connection with University aims and aspirations had varied greatly from 1876, when the original Presbyterian Theological College opened separately from the University. From 1946 to 1992, the Presbyterian Church played a key role in financing and teaching University theology in the Faculty of Theology, Otago University, sometimes in concert with other denominations. From 1992 to 1996, the University took a greater funding role which gave it the power, after a review, to disestablish its Faculty of Theology in 1996 and open a new University-appointed Department of Theology and Religious Studies. In the resulting vacuum, the PCANZ created a Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies which opened in February 1997. The Centre was later renamed and remains to the present the School of Ministry. This institution was planned to follow foundational theological studies completed at a number of higher education providers with a two year formation-focused ordination studies programme.

The work is introduced in Chapter One. Next, Chapters Two and Three review the local and international theological education literature to see what best informs this thesis. The literature on theological education is internationally distributed but patchy in its visibility and depth. Chapter Four focuses on a description and critique of Farley’s arguments about theologia and writers who have responded to his challenge for its recovery. Chapter Five
provides an historical background which compares and contrasts Farley's perception of the university connection in ministry formation at the University of Berlin in 1810 with early ecclesiastical and civic decisions about theology in Dunedin from 1848 to 1881. This background is extended from 1946 to 1961 in order to describe the complexities of how New Zealand Presbyterian polity affects ministry formation programmes by mapping the territories of General Assembly, Senatus, special and standing committees and the Ministry Training Board.

Chapters Six and Seven are the central case studies of this work. First, in Chapter Six, the way pastoral theology has been governed within New Zealand Presbyterianism is discussed as a symptom of the fragmentation or otherwise of theologia. Farley argues that division of theological disciplines, so that pastoral theology is separated out, fragments any existing integration of theologia, despite the goals of those proposing the change. The remaining disciplines are left with theology (scientia) as their only province while the professor of pastoral theology had sole responsibility for theology (habitus). Whereas previously scientia and habitus had been somewhat integrated, at least through the same person taking both scientific and sapiential aspects of the ministry course, they were now separated both by course arrangement and by the use of different teachers. Some of these dangers are named in comments made by those governing ministry formation programmes who initially resisted the pastoral professorship.

In Chapter Seven the relationship of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church with university education is analysed to see whether it contributed towards fragmentation or recovery of theologia. Here it is seen that initially, while theology was not in the university, the church had sole responsibility for both scientia and habitus aspects of ministry formation, though, following Scottish protocols, these responsibilities were split between the theological college and the presbytery. The theological encyclopedic form of the 1881 curriculum showed influence from modern research university ideals, perhaps through the first professor's time in Berlin. From 1946, in the Faculty of Theology, because of its governance structure, the Presbyterian Church had significant influence over curricula, teaching appointments and pedagogy. Fragmentation of theologia may have been considerably delayed as a consequence during this period. Signs of tension between university standards and church preferences could be seen developing in the 1970s and 1980s, and, from 1992 to 1996, tension between
theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) was most evident as university funding brought with it university research standards.

Chapter Eight concludes the work. It will be seen that if the New Zealand Presbyterian Church continues to depend on university theological education as part of its education of its prospective ministers and cannot fund this itself, New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation will always be in the position of integrating scientia and habitus retrospectively. This retrospective integration moves against the generally high opinion in New Zealand society of the value of university education as it is presently structured. To achieve it, the New Zealand Presbyterian Church needs to make governance decisions which are courageously intentional about recovery of theologia in its ministry and create a theologia-friendly culture within its ministry formation programmes.
Chapter Two

Literature Review Part One:

New Zealand, Australia, Britain and Canada

It is unusual to divide a literature search geographically. In the case of this work, this division springs from the contextual interest of the work’s approach, using New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation as a case study within the international theological education scene. A contextual approach makes the first search for a compatible literature within the immediate surrounds: New Zealand, and then Australia. Since a study of theological education sits within the domain of higher education, it might be thought that countries with a common origin would provide the most relevant literature in the published literature. Britain was the originating country for the colonisation of New Zealand, Australia and Canada. It will be seen however, that the British, Australasian, and Canadian theological education literatures all offer an eclectic rather than deeply analytical collection of books and articles. In each of these countries, because of the location of ministry formation more within church colleges than within universities, analysis of the problems within theological education and within ministry formation are sparse in the public literature.

The New Zealand Literature

Within New Zealand, theological educators publish mainly in their discipline areas, and literature providing full analysis or theoretical treatment of theological education is sparse. This means that it has not yet been given a thoroughly theoretical treatment as elsewhere. This also means that theological education as a distinct area of interest has not yet become a sub-discipline in its own right in New Zealand. It is therefore all the more important that New Zealand studies which scrutinise theological education as an entity in itself are now begun.

From the point of view of this work – ministry formation – the task becomes even more important as mainstream Protestant church numbers decline, and with them, the funding for good quality ministry formation. In such times poor decisions can be made in the name of
economy. Even less has been published in New Zealand concerning ministry formation. This reflects the overloaded programmes of many ministry formators combining formational duties with church and university obligations. Three factors may account for lack of publications in the area of ministry formation: lower research expectations held of those forming ministers for the church, lack of scholarly rewards for such publishing within church theological colleges, and scarcity of publishing vehicles which welcome specialised perspectives of ministry formation with its appropriately less academic focus.

In New Zealand, tertiary theological education has a foot in at least two camps. Since it is theological education, it has a functional connection with the churches where it is increasingly informing lay people who enrol for university papers or degrees in theology. Traditionally, in some denominations, its main purpose has been to provide a theological framework for the training of clergy. Debate about theological education within the churches has sometimes been vigorous but not always visible outside the denomination. Debate may not even get into written form within the denomination since the entire discussion within committees or policy groups or between teaching staff in church colleges is often not recorded. Only the end result, a policy, programme, or curriculum, is the visible outcome, frequently unaccompanied by detailed rationale for the position arrived at. Thus theological educators may state that much discussion and thought was put into a programme change or a new direction, but there is little written evidence of those discussions though they may have been robust, learned, well-resourced and sustained. Non-denominational colleges which nevertheless have a church-oriented focus also conduct internal conversations influenced by what is marketable as well as what is theologically or educationally sound. Again, discussions within non-denominational boards or staff emerge as finished products rather than as written debate or discursive articles.

The other camp in which theological education has a foothold is higher education, traditionally the domain of the universities. Academic rewards for publishing stimulate research first into discipline areas and then perhaps into basic principles of theological education.

1 In New Zealand, Knox Theological Hall and latterly the School of Ministry (Presbyterian), The College of St John the Evangelist (Anglican), Trinity College (Methodist) and Carey College (Baptist) are the main Protestant theological colleges.

2 Non-denominational but evangelical in emphasis, The Bible College of New Zealand has fundamentals which they use to direct their work. They have extensively marketed certificate, diploma and degree level theological qualifications since the advent of the New Zealand Qualifications Authority.

3 NZQA has granted degree-conferring status to other educational providers since 1990.
education. It is to be expected that the greater volume of written debate emerges from this arena. When academic rigour is paramount, conflict in epistemological and practical interests of church and university may not be fully explored in this literature, however. In the North American scene, the Association of Theological Schools has provided a focused forum where the intersection of theology and education is the crux of the matter, and debate within this forum has flourished in the last four decades of the twentieth century. Here, where theological education has become a disciplinary interest, it is well represented in the literature.

A range of writing in different genres associated with church and ministry, and sometimes ministry formation, does exist within the New Zealand scene, however, and here history, comment and some analysis of theological education within New Zealand can sometimes be found. This body of literature includes theses at Masters and Doctoral level; some are written specifically about theological colleges and theological teachers, others analyse issues within the churches or concerning churches, and another group of dissertations comment on ethnic groups within New Zealand and their experience of church and theology. One report on a survey of ordained women reflects a gender interest.

Historical works also make a contribution, setting the scene for present-day theological education and ministry formation. The history and status of theology, church and university

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are also addressed in books and articles. Within this group a small and specific set of published works address historical aspects of theological education through histories of particular colleges or more general church histories. General histories specifically relevant to the origins of Presbyterian ministry formation in New Zealand include histories of the University of Otago and of Otago itself.

A genre well-used by New Zealand theological scholars is the *festschrift*, commemorating respected teachers within both New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation and University theology and religious studies. Their wide range of essays adds to the theological education literature within both Australia and New Zealand. Usually one or two essays in each volume


relate to specific issues concerning theological education and/or ministry formation – for example, Sarah Mitchell’s “Inhabiting the Landscape: Community Based Ministry Training in Aotearoa New Zealand, 1991-1999.” A subset of this group contributes part of the international debate on the role of theology and religious studies in the University. The occasional biography adds to this wide-ranging literature among which references to and analysis of theological education may be found or inferred. Taken together, these historical works provide a context for this study, sketching as they do the theological, ecclesiastical, educational, cultural, historical and political contexts in which governance decisions about theological education and ministry formation were made.

Journal articles contribute in a somewhat piecemeal fashion to the New Zealand literature’s discussion on the activity of theological education. Some offer varying degrees and aspects of theological and historical analysis. The recent emphasis on church growth has produced works of church statistics and analysis of these trends.


The literature in New Zealand is notable for the lack of public, published dialogue between academic scholars. Rather, the literature tends to consist of individual contributions cast out into academic waters. Rarely do specific responses come back, except in the search for a New Zealand theology, where writers do draw on previous writers’ works. Whether this lack of interaction is due to innate colonial politeness, pressure of time, or the relatively small size of the academic specialities in Australasia (so that the academic gene pool is limited in any one discipline) is hard to say. These individual contributions, however, whether answered in the literature or not, raise within the New Zealand context most of the major themes found in the international literature: contextuality of theology, location of theology and religious studies in the university, accountabilities and expectations, integration/formation, postmodernism, sexism, and multiculturalism.

The same year the American Association of Theological Schools published its first issue of *Theological Education*, the Principal of the Theological Hall described the New Zealand view of theology as something “regarded as a professional interest or private preoccupation of a small group who may know what it is all about, but are expected to keep it to themselves.”

While New Zealand theologians and historians are, surprisingly, considering New Zealand’s isolation from the rest of the world, numerous and capable, a local flavour to theology was at the time, in Nichol’s opinion, somewhat lacking. He also considered that changes of structure to better suit the New Zealand situation are also not encouraged by the churches.

Nichol queries, however, whether a truly New Zealand theology can be more than “a mere reflection of attitudes which are at home in North America, Great Britain or the continent of Europe…” In the pursuit of the identification of a national identity, Nichol believes theology could show the way if it were not “one of New Zealand’s least indigenous activities.” It is significant Nichol should be asking such questions in the southern hemisphere at a time when the contemporary debate on theological education was beginning in the northern hemisphere. Each suggests a degree of inquiry which later observers now

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19 For example, Peter Matheson summarises some of the writers attempting to create a New Zealand theology who have dialogued with each other. Peter Matheson, “The Contours of Christian Theology in Aotearoa New Zealand,” in *Mapping the Landscape: Essays in Australian and New Zealand Christianity*, ed. Susan Emilson and Williams W. Emilson (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 267-268.


21 Ibid., 48.

22 Ibid.
place at the beginning of the transition from modernity. The quest for a distinctively New Zealand theology has been piecemeal since Nichol’s 1966 challenge.

Maurice Andrew has been persistent in asking the question and in the 1980s defined New Zealand theology as that done “by New Zealanders aware of and committed to New Zealand life, but above all committed to the interpretation of God for New Zealand life which commitment by definition includes life with other peoples.” He found that New Zealand articles written by lay people or ministers rather than professional theologians had a people focus: “They are trying rather to give an intelligible expression in words of the efficacious/withering presence of God as they understand it through, for example, practical implications, emotions, wrestling with illness, musing on the Maori contribution to Pakeha, social and political action act[sic].” He emphasises that peoples of a particular region may need a distinctive way of interpreting universals or principles in theology. Neil Darragh is another who has made the attempt to approach a New Zealand theology and encourages New Zealanders to theologise for themselves. Catholic scholar and priest Gerald Fitzgerald described in 1988 the way in which even liberation theology must be applied differently in different cultural contexts when he delivered the Burns lectures at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

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24 Ibid.


New Zealand-born Clive Pearson\(^{27}\) identifies an increasing readiness to deal theologically with the realities of living in Australasia without its own ‘cultural cringe’.\(^{28}\) He cites Catholic theologian Neil Darragh as “naming the ambiguity between continuity and discontinuity with our theological origins.”\(^{29}\) From his present location in Australia, Pearson suggests ‘down under’ as an organising metaphor for a contextual theology.\(^{30}\) Not only does it colloquially suggest location, but also suggests the postmodern position of the church as no longer being ‘on top’, as suggested by Australian poet Les Murray. A further connection with the ‘down under’ metaphor he draws is with the privileging of those ‘below’ with a bias towards the margins.\(^{31}\) Pearson concludes:

> For those who wish to stand on their own two feet at this end of the earth, for Christ’s sake, then there is an urgent need to explore the Christological agenda in the light of these antipodean latitudes and longitudes. Faith in Christ in these locations might then bear a more authentic postmark and no longer be viewed as a transplant that failed to take adequate root in new soils and cultural climates. Following Christ down under could possibly then add a fresh new angle to the contemporary global debate on faith and context.\(^{32}\)


\(^{29}\) Ibid., 307.

\(^{30}\) Ibid., 312.

\(^{31}\) Ibid., 313-4.

\(^{32}\) Ibid., 315.
In 2000 Matheson described the contours in New Zealand theology at the turn of the millennium. He characterised the church in the 1960s as unable "to sustain difficult theological dialogue" and so a drift to polarised positions developed along with "one-issue theologies." He notes that a popular touch in some New Zealand theologians' writing may be significant and touches on the tension between absolutising the local and selling out to international voices. He notes enhanced professionalism in theology in the present and greater encouragement of scholarship, enhancing international connections and rendering theology "less domesticated." While Matheson notes a lack of system in the approach to theologising in New Zealand, he nevertheless concludes: "A tradition is beginning to emerge, to develop its own leafy branches, and even to get its roots right down to the water table. It will survive the drought and salty winds of present rigours."

That a tradition of New Zealand theology is growing is indicated by Neil Darragh’s attempt in 2003 to write about method in New Zealand contextual theology. He argues that while contextuality might be considered important in theology it is no excuse for contextualising theology poorly. While contextual theologising is not analysis of theological education per se, these articles reflect the theological and cultural milieu in which New Zealand society is situated at the present time. There is an increasingly widespread cultural self-awareness. Ministers need to be theologically astute in handling the tensions inherent in contextual

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33 Matheson, "The Contours of Christian Theology in Aotearoa New Zealand." Breward's successor, Peter Matheson, is arguably the most internationally published scholar who taught at the Theological Hall. His major research interest lies in Reformation history. Matheson's historical analysis of the early New Zealand Presbyterian church and its roots in the Free Church, however, assists understanding of the first engagement with Presbyterian ministry formation in New Zealand. In his archived papers, Matheson's comments on contemporary moves within the University of Otago from his position as Dean of the Faculty of Theology give a glimpse into staff opinions and attitudes towards the changes being promoted in the 1990s. Peter C. Matheson, "A Time of Sifting": Evangelicals and Liberals at the Genesis of New Zealand Theology (Dunedin: Presbyterian Historical Society of New Zealand, 1991); Peter C. Matheson, The Finger of God in the Disruption: Scottish Principles and New Zealand Realities (Dunedin: The Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand Synod of Otago and Southland, 1993); Peter Matheson, ed., The Catholic Presbyterian; Peter C. Matheson, From Scotland with Aroha: Exploring our Presbyterian Heritage (Wellington: Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1988); Peter C. Matheson, "1840-1870 The Settler Church," in Presbyterianians in Aotearoa, ed. D. McEldowney (Wellington: The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990), 15-42; Peter C. Matheson, "The Teaching of Church History," Pacifica 3 (1990): 251-256; Peter C. Matheson, First Church of Otago: The People's Church 1849-1998, written at the invitation of the Office Bearers of First Church (Dunedin: First Church of Otago, 1998).

34 Matheson, "Contours of Christian Theology," 266.

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid., 268.

37 Ibid.
theology. These works are important reminders of the need for contextualising ministry formation in this country.

Another debate discusses differences between religious studies and theology in New Zealand universities. From the 1960s into the 1980s, the difference between study of religions and theology was canvassed as religious studies departments began to emerge. Albert Moore describes the primary aim of religious studies as “adding dimensions to one’s life and thought through contact with world religions.” The role of Religious Studies and Theology in the University is discussed in several essays from the 1985 festschrift for Colin Brown, influential in development of religious studies at Canterbury University. Lloyd Geering argues strongly that religious studies teachers bracket their own beliefs in the teaching of other religions, approving of this as the proper way to act in a secular university. Paul Harrison disagrees with Elizabeth Isichei’s contention that many religious studies teachers are “still under the sway” of Christian theology, using Colin Brown as an example who “has always been scrupulous about keeping his faith and his scholarly work separate.” Both these arguments highlight the expectation that faith has no place in university theology. Isichei’s paper which Harrison critiqued raises the methodological questions in Religious Studies, highlighting its

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39 The beginning of religious studies departments in New Zealand universities had occurred just before Albert Moore started lecturing at the University of Otago in Phenomenology of Religion. A Religious Studies department had already begun at Canterbury. Nichol, “Theology in New Zealand,” 47.


45 Harrison, “Precept and Practice,” 23.
dilemma in being a “subject field” drawing on several academic disciplines. In this respect, Religious Studies shares a problem with Pastoral Theology.

Only three New Zealand scholars could be said to discuss ministry formation as an entity. Graham Robinson argues for a professional view of ministry formation. Douglas Pratt distinguishes between ministry formation and theological education, and Sarah Mitchell proposes a conceptual model of ministry formation. Ministry formation as professional education was not only Schleiermacher’s idea but also prevalent in North America where it was advocated by the influential Rainy Harper and Reinhold Neibuhr. This influence can be seen in Graham Robinson’s 1968 inaugural lecture when he arrived as lecturer in Christian Education at the Theological Hall straight from completing his doctorate in the United States. Robinson claimed theologically oriented ministry training did not prepare students to “do anything beyond be an academician.”

We have realised this limitation and tried to remedy it by tacking on “practical work” this has been done in a somewhat haphazard way without re-thinking the total programme of the Theological college with the result that the Practical Training fits very awkwardly in the curriculum and is for many an interruption: a nuisance.

Robinson recognises that the Presbyterian tradition of containing theological education and education for ministry in the same institution developed valuable unity. He argued, however, the Hall was actually a “professional school of Christian ministry” and should be named so. Professional education, Robinson argues, should include knowledge of both tradition and the contemporary world, competence in ministries, personal realisation of potential and Christian commitment all synthesised into “an integrated performance of ministry.” Robinson’s ideal was “experience-centred education” where practical and academic were integrated, this to be achieved through individually-tailored supervised field work programmes in which experience is reflected upon in weekly workgroups on Christian Ministry. Robinson’s ideas were not incorporated into the programme at the Theological Hall and he was not appointed as the


48 Ibid.

49 Ibid., 55.

50 Ibid., 56. The students in Robinson’s ideal programme would ask questions about the heritage of the church, themselves, their people they will minister with and the gospel. In order to achieve this he recommends a group life Laboratory, a programme of field education and individual programming, so that the student can integrate understanding of the heritage of the church, to humankind and contemporary society, and practical training.

51 A letter by Robinson from America, where he was completing his PhD, asking for changes in the Christian Education courses he was to teach was not received well and Robinson was told it was usual to teach the
first Professor of Practical Theology when the position was advertised soon after. His paper, however, is one of the few published articles by New Zealand theological educators which deals directly with the philosophy of ministry formation and the shape of a curriculum designed to achieve integration.

The 1990s brought a cluster of relevant articles each approaching theological education and ministry formation in different ways. Another rare discussion of theological education and ministry formation comes from Douglas Pratt, lecturer in Religious Studies at the University of Waikato, who discusses “Academic Accountability and Ecclesial Expectation in Theological Training.” He sees ministerial formation utilising theological education as one element within it, naming the combination “theological training.” He names theological training as needing to hold a balance between “the autonomous academic integrity of a theological education and the expectations of the church for clergy who have undergone an appropriate vocational formation.”52 While Pratt argues theological thinking is important for all undergoing theological education, in ministry formation, theological thinking must be integrated with “the formation of vocational style,” lest “academic aridity” results.

Furthermore, ministry, as the point of interface between Church and Society, needs to be a two-way affair: the bringing to bear of theological understanding upon contemporary issues; and the bringing to bear of contemporary insight and understanding upon theological reflection and theologically informed action.53

Pratt cites North American David Kelsey’s contention that the linkage of ministerial formation and theological education is problematic. He distinguishes theological education as an intellectual exercise, the academic study of theological disciplines, open to anyone with an interest in pursuing such, concerned with content and critical reflection. On the other hand, ministerial formation is “a broad ranging, life-shaping process involving “a process of personal and existential grounding.” It includes “acquisition of both practical skills and guiding sensitivities” and “spiritual formation.”54 Pratt concludes the relationship between the two is “symbiotic and asymmetrical.” Theological education does not necessarily require or involve ministry formation, but ministry formation requires theological education: “An


53 Ibid., 99.

54 Ibid., 100-101.
appropriate grounding in the academic disciplines ... is absolutely necessary to the sustained exercise of the vocation of ministry.”

A more conceptual approach to the complexities of ministerial formation is contributed to the literature by Sarah Mitchell. This model goes beyond the purely academic and situates spiritual formation at the heart of the process, placing high value on integration. Mitchell proposes integration of what she calls the contextual circle, learning square and spiritual triangle, held together by a connecting axis which becomes “a spiral of input followed by reflection and action” as her model of ministry formation. Within the contextual circle are found church tradition, personal and community culture and personal experience, “a sea” of contexts out of and within which ministry formation develops. Mitchell’s learning square combines more than theological education, including also partnership studies, critical/analytical tools and practice of ministry. Mitchell names spiritual formation (represented in the triangle placed in the centre of the model) as ‘the focus of all ministerial formation.’ In Mitchell’s model, this includes spiritual journeying, supervision and theological reflection. The model connects context, learning and spiritual formation by coordinating axes of public/private worship and personal/community life. Mitchell describes the diagram as “messy” once the spiral of integration is added to all the figures, but argues that beginning with chaos is a common pathway in faith development. “A model of ministerial formation which integrates in this rather messy and chaotic way, may well offer vision, hope and creativity for the church of the twenty-first century.” While this article describes important elements of a ministerial formation, it does not move towards how context, learning and spirituality are grouped into classes, field education or workgroups to actually achieve integration. At the level of this article the model remains conceptual.

55 Ibid., 105.
57 Ibid., 12. “Any kind of ministerial formation which takes mission seriously needs to offer students opportunities not only to cross the boundaries of difference in their lives – but also to learn how to work in partnership with people who are different from themselves.”
58 Ibid., 13. Mitchell describes spiritual journeying as dealing with the inevitable faith crisis which needs to be supported by spiritual direction so the student continues to journey and does not “close down the opportunities to explore.”
59 Ibid., 14.
Peter Matheson could be said to have developed a pedagogical method which used academic theological education to enhance students' "personal and existential grounding." Wanting to teach so theological education is not relegated only to "ever fussier foot-notes" but becomes rooted into the student's life, Matheson used the dramatic technique of role-play in Church History classes. He recognises church history can leave students untouched culturally or spiritually, prejudices un-challenged and theological understanding of the church's past inadequate. To assist understanding of the people and "hiss and hurt and warmth" of historical events, Matheson argues: "We have to allow history to be invasive of our heart and imagination as well as of our mind." He describes group enactments of historical events in church history classes which earned 50% of the assessment grade. In an echo of Pratt's concerns, this method for Matheson brings formation and critical scholarship together.

For theologians studying the truth always shades into doing the truth. Formation and critical scholarship walk hand in hand. Such role-plays are as serious as all true play is ... Far from being too "simplistic" for tertiary education, they are, in reality, both more demanding and more effective pedagogically than more conventional methods on their own. Again, this article is a rare, if not unique, example of pedagogical experimentation and description in the New Zealand theological education literature.

Postmodernity does not make any frequent appearance in New Zealand published works of academic standard although discussions about its effect on the church and its mission, often using American church growth sources, are frequent within church circles. Societal change constitutes a context for ministry formation as it affects the world in which the church and ordinands will worship and serve. Matheson introduced the issue of postmodernism with the Ordination Studies class at the School of Ministry in 1997 with the following rationale: "Practical ministry, to be effective, must be accompanied by personal development and spiritual growth on the one hand, and by a realistic appreciation, on the other hand, of what sort of world we are going into." Postmodernism is introduced as being "...about living

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60 Matheson, "The Teaching of Church History," 251.
61 Ibid., 252.
62 Ibid., 255-6. Matheson notes that marking the group exercise is difficult for the teacher, as not just dramatic ability of scripts form the whole which is to be assessed.
63 Ibid., 256.
64 Peter Matheson, unpublished introductory lecture for the Ordination Studies Programme at the School of Ministry, Dunedin (Second Semester 1997), 1-3.
with a variety of competing, or at least alternative worlds.” It is a period in which “we have become very conscious that we construct the world we live in.”

Not all scholars agree postmodernism is a unique and new development. Rosaleen Bradbury argues that postmodern ideas are much like the “initial ‘romantic’ reaction to Enlightenment modernity.” The object of her critique is Susan Adams and John Salmons’ *Mouth of the Dragon*, arguably the most substantial integration of postmodernism and ministry in the New Zealand literature. Adams and Salmon describe postmodernism as:

...new diversity of approaches ... a positive appreciation of difference and the opportunity for people and perspectives which were ignored or excluded from the previous framework to have a place and make a contribution. At the same time this diversity and pluralism leads to a sense of fragmentation...and localisation."

Adams and Salmon pursue the issue of postmodernism and the church, rewriting the Nicene marks of the church in the process. Writing for the popular magazine audience, in a different genre, Anglican vicar Selwyn Dawson typifies postmodernist philosophies as resulting in “a bleak minimalist framework which leave little room for warm-hearted belief.” Dawson, however, notes that theologians are “more modest, less ready to work on the assumption that Christians alone know the truth,” a wider attitude commonly attributed as a symptom of the postmodern appreciation of difference named by Adams and Salmons.

In a postmodern scene, the Other becomes a conversation partner, but this is not achieved without some accommodation of the centre to those traditionally more marginalised. Gender and race influence theological education. New Zealand analysis of the context in which churches and ministers will serve includes critique of sexism in language and symbol. In 1990, three women scholars imaged theology as a jigsaw. They advocated complete dissembling and re-building of the puzzle. “The resultant jigsaw puzzle may not be totally

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65 Ibid., 3.
68 Ibid., 31.
69 Ibid., 86.
70 Ibid.
familiar to all, but it will eventually be inclusive of all.  

The aim is that this re-assembling will result in power not solely concentrated in the hands of men but held by women and men together.

This call for inclusivity is echoed by Philip Culbertson's paper on the implications of multiculturalism for pastoral theology. He identifies a lack of appropriate print resources which speak to the multicultural mix of more introverted students in New Zealand theological colleges who come to ministry formation and theological education lacking self-awareness and skill in expressing emotion. Culbertson calls for faculty from Maori and South Pacific Islands and adaptation of models from America or Britain, especially CPE where confrontation by a Caucasian supervisor can be offensive. He describes multiculturalism as "a journey of process and, as in other journeys, we may sometimes lose our way." He also names New Zealand and its churches as under great stress, the increase of which he sees as having implications for pastoral effectiveness. Reconciliation and Guidance are two qualities he cites as key for Christian ministry in a "multicultural society in stress," arguing that bi-cultural commitment requires repeated re-affirmation. Culbertson sees the theology of 'otherness' utilised in his college's Pastoral Theology as an attempt to increase comfort levels in a multicultural church. He deplores the lack of serious attention to pastoral theology which addresses the major area of ministerial and lay interaction in the church. Culbertson sees international lack of clarity over the role of pastoral theology being focused once local contexts are addressed.

From another genre, historical analyses from different settings illustrate the context for present ministerial formation. While New Zealand historians have tended to ignore the religious dimension, Allan Davidson pays attention to religious influences. His image of the New

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73 Ibid., 184.

74 Ibid., 190. Here Culbertson cites the work of William Clebsh and Charles Jackle.

75 Another Presbyterian historian, Allan K. Davidson is also a graduate of the Theological Hall. He teaches at the Anglican College of St John the Evangelist in Auckland and at the time of writing is Director of Postgraduate Studies at the School of Theology, University of Auckland. Davidson's interest in the history of the South Pacific region is valuable to more than just this work. His work in religious history often includes focused
Zealand native *totara* and imported pine illustrates influences of Maori and Pakeha in nineteenth-century Aotearoa New Zealand. New Zealand churches have a mixed missionary and colonial legacy. A contemporary response to a move towards partnership is expressed, in the Anglican scene where Davidson teaches, as a tripartite structure. Structural accommodation to cultural difference and partnership is less overt in Presbyterian church culture.

Presbyterian history, especially in Otago, had a heavy influence on the development of Presbyterian ministry formation, as will be seen in Chapter Four. Peter Matheson describes the Presbyterianism brought to this country as “the religion of a sub-culture.” He argues that Presbyterianism remained ethnocentric with a narrow cultural base and a doctrinal base unadapted to the new situation, and he critiques the founding Otago Presbyterians as sponsoring a narrow educational curriculum, isolated from a broader Catholic outlook and intellectually weak in theology.

In a word, Presbyterians became non-conformists, still activist and Bible-oriented, but each clutching their own hygienic individual communion glass, increasingly focused on their own personal faith and morality, happy to be a denomination, not a church.

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76 Davidson, “New Zealand History and Religious Myopia,” 216. Here Davidson argues that a generalised absence of religious references in much New Zealand historical writing ignores significant influences in the shaping of NZ history. He questions whether New Zealand historians “allow their own secularity or ideology to cloud their vision.”

77 The three *tikanga* represent Maori, Pacific Island and Pakeha streams in the Anglican Church.

78 While now the PCANZ has a Maori Synod and Pacific Island Synod, these are not mainstream to the structure of the church as are the Anglican *tikanga*.

79 Matheson, “Presbyterianism,” 53.

80 Ibid., 59.
Christianity then in its majority expression in Otago began as a transplanted sub-culture, that of Scottish Free Church Presbyterianism. This only represented one aspect, albeit a lively one, of the broader Church of Scotland tradition. If we were able to recognise that, we might be able to credit it with the strengths it undoubtedly had – its dynamism, single-mindedness, concern for education and scholarship, and commitment to the whole of community life – without pretending that it ever represented the social consensus of Otago.\(^8\)

Matheson writes here to counteract some sesquicentennial hype as well as a longstanding impression that the Dunedin settlement was primarily Free Church in its community as well as its church ethos. It is within these origins, whether Free Church or Church of Scotland, but definitely Presbyterian, that New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation began.

Connected with the rise of interest in a New Zealand theology is development of the New Zealand sense of identity. Davidson writes of the twentieth century emergence of the New Zealand identity out of the country’s involvements in the two world wars. Church identity, however, was, he argues, still heavily influenced by the northern hemisphere right up until the 1960s. In the latter twentieth century, New Zealand identity relied less on religious identity and more on sporting prowess.\(^8\) Davidson, however, traces within the movement towards New Zealand’s present anti-nuclear stance the contributions from Christian activists for peace as an example of Christians working successfully within a postmodern, secular society.

Until the mid-1960s New Zealand thought of itself as a Christian nation, and the churches often acted as though they were the sole preservers of Christian culture which they believed the whole country should embrace. Slowly and painfully churches have come to terms with their marginal status and the post-Christendom age in which they live. The example of the move to a nuclear-free country points to the way in which churches and Christians contribute from within their own world to the much larger society of which they are a part. Churches and Christians cannot presume to speak for the whole, but they have spoken effectively in ways which have contributed to the shaping of New Zealand identity and its culture and at some points brought the gospel to bear on its life.\(^8\)

Elsewhere, Davidson canvasses changes for New Zealand theological education in the 1990s from growing acknowledgment of the importance of the Treaty of Waitangi\(^8\) to a diversity of theological publications and increase in educational opportunities for theological study through the “unprecedented ecumenical influence” of the New Zealand Qualifications

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\(^8\) Davidson, *Aotearoa New Zealand*, 45.

\(^8\) Ibid., 46.

\(^8\) Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*.

\(^8\) Ibid., 184-6.
Authority,\textsuperscript{86} to the changes in provision of ministry formation at St John’s College and in Otago with the development of the new University Department of Theology and Religious Studies\textsuperscript{87} with the consequent move of Holy Cross Seminary to Auckland and the increasing tendency of writing and art to reflect New Zealand motifs and religious themes.\textsuperscript{88} Like Matheson, Davidson concludes there has been failure in reaching original ideals.

Christianity in Aotearoa represents the diversity of influences, traditions and churches that were brought to New Zealand in their missionary settler/colonial, migrant moulds. The remoulding of Christianity has often been a slow and painful process as churches have come to terms with their failure to shape New Zealand society exactly according to their own specifications.\textsuperscript{89}

Even more specifically, a historical description of context offers a view of the relationship between the Catholic and Presbyterian churches and the University from the 1970s. Peter Norris’ history of Holy Cross College, Mosgiel documents the Catholic side of Otago University’s Faculty of Theology from the late 1960s until the formation of the new Department of Theology and Religious Studies at Otago University at the end of the 1990s. From his account emerges a view of the importance of formation in Catholic training of priests, and the tensions which therefore resulted with greater accessibility to academia. The high value placed on church-based priestly formation is notable in an assertion during the negotiations for Holy Cross to join the faculty, that “one did not have to have a degree to be a priest and that there could be very good priests without degrees.”\textsuperscript{90} For the Catholics, becoming part of the Faculty when the B. Theol. degree was introduced in 1972 meant that lay people, including women, could study in Holy Cross classes.\textsuperscript{91} Norris’s history adds the Catholic view of the fortunes of theology at the University of Otago, especially immediately prior to the dissolution of the Faculty of Theology in 1996.

Norris also overtly notes something not often acknowledged in the public domain, that the University was “gaining a free faculty, as the participating Churches were paying the salaries

\textsuperscript{86} Ibid., 188-9.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., 189.

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid., 190.


\textsuperscript{91} Ibid., 98.
of the lecturers." The University did, however, expect high qualifications and regular publications from the teaching staff. Questions of balance and integration of the academic programme were also an issue for the Catholics. The strains on staff who were expected to maintain "academic credibility and yet also fulfil church obligations" are also obvious. The resulting busyness of the atmosphere at the seminary was not thought by some to be conducive to "proper living nor to that education of the whole person that is the purpose of the seminary."

Norris notes the similarity between tensions named by Davidson as affecting St John's College in 1984 and those at Holy Cross: older students, sharing the campus with another theological college, and women and non-Europeans in theological education. At the same time these issues were important at the Theological Hall, Knox College, as they were in North America. According to Norris, this similarity suggests that the colleges were struggling with tensions "related more to the wider social changes affecting the whole of New Zealand society."

Tension [between staff] centred mainly on the relationship between academic standards and personal formation. The two came to be seen as opposing rather than complementary ideals. Some individuals with concerns about either ideal were perceived as downgrading the other. ... What part did academic extension play in the formation of priests? Was it possible to have priests who could not express themselves in the language of today? Was it possible to have priests who did not have an active prayer life? These questions were still alive at the close of the College as were concerns about the quality of both academic and spiritual formation.

This New Zealand account of Catholic formation provides a case study of the effects of the unease regarding theological education which was known internationally. That the tensions represented here were also present in North America suggests they were related to social changes which also affected theological education elsewhere in the western world. When it was formally recognised at Holy Cross that not all staff members were involved directly in formation, the impression could be gained that the academic work was only tangential to

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92 Ibid., 99.
93 Ibid., 100-101.
94 Ibid., 104.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid., 105.
97 Ibid.
98 Ibid., 130.
priestly formation. With only some exceptions, those involved in academic teaching found the expected level of publication difficult to achieve. That some lecturers within the Faculty were also declared off-limits for seminary students indicates that for the New Zealand Catholic Church critical scholarship was only allowed to go so far.

Theology in the Australasian context was the focus of the new millennial *festschrift* for Ian Breward, which included essays by several former New Zealand Presbyterian colleagues. Ruth Page ends her consideration of Culture and Gospel with her hope for the western church:

> But what I hope would be possible for a western church taking postmodernism seriously, while still caring for the traditionalists in its midst, would be a church at least partly loosened up; one less concerned with efficient organisation and more concerned to encounter the desire for spirituality with the possibility of Christian spirituality; one less concerned with an ordained minister in every parish and more concerned to make spiritual companionship available; one which is unfazed as people come and go, and casual about counting beads.

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99 Ibid., 131.

100 Ibid. Norris also includes comment on the University Review which led to the formation of the present Presbyterian School of Ministry and this account will illuminate the brief history in Chapter Four. The removal of Holy Cross to Auckland which occasioned the writing of this history gives an unusually public illustration of the tensions within theological education in the Catholic Church.


An ideal such as this has implications for ministry formation. If parishes are to be less concerned with one minister per parish, and if coming and going is to be the norm, ordinands need to be formed differently for such a church.

The Australian Literature

In the late 1990s, Australian literature focused on theological education was slight – mostly comment in church newspapers and journals. A synchronicity of interest in the dynamics of theological education catalysed by increasing connection with university theology has since stimulated writing in this area. Again, debate and analysis is shallower than in North America for the reasons given above for New Zealand. General histories, Breward’s history of Australasian churches and Bruce Kaye’s history of Australian Anglicanism, like the general New Zealand histories, treat theological education as a side issue. They deal, however, primarily with the rise and decline of denominational institutions such as theological colleges as an historical chronology of buildings, staff, libraries and students rather than at a theological or educational level. Within this eclectic literature, some of which spans both sides of the Tasman, comment on both theology’s place in or out of the university and the role of pastoral theology has been made at various times.

Australian colleges developed a different relationship to both theology and the universities than in New Zealand, though the theological pathways of the two countries intertwine considerably. Initially, in both countries, the model of theological education with no formal connections with universities, developed in the colonial United States, was useful. In Australasia, Ian Breward names the College of St John the Evangelist, Auckland, New Zealand as the theological college with the “longest continuous history.” The first Australian colleges in Hobart and Sydney were founded in 1846. Presbyterian theological


105 Breward, *History of the Churches in Australasia*.


108 The Anglican college founded by Bishop Selwyn in Waimate (north of Auckland) in 1843.
education began with tutors and then Ormond College in Victoria, Australia.\textsuperscript{109} A mix of British and American models was used in Ormond's early organisation.\textsuperscript{110} The "determined secularism" of the University of Melbourne stood firm, but in 1910 an act of Parliament granted degree-awarding status to the Melbourne College of Divinity (MCD). "Run with amazing economy, the College was a pioneering ecumenical venture in distance theological education which served both Australia and New Zealand."\textsuperscript{111} A BD was established in Sydney University in 1936 and at Otago University in 1946.\textsuperscript{112} This lack of initial university connection has meant that publishing on theological education is sparse in Australia as in New Zealand since church teachers have church obligations to fulfil and churches traditional have made few demands that their teachers publish.

The Australian and New Zealand Association of Theological Schools (ANZATS) began in 1968.\textsuperscript{113} Higher demands from countries receiving missionaries forced Bible Colleges to upgrade,\textsuperscript{114} and after Vatican II new ecumenical arrangements were possible. In 1969 the ecumenical United Faculty of Theology began in Melbourne. Breward describes the Jesuits joining with their library, in 1972 as "...creating the first ecumenical faculty in Australia, where almost all classes were integrated except those required for ministerial and priestly formation by the participating churches."\textsuperscript{115} An ecumenical B.Theol. began at Otago University in 1972 and Roman Catholics were included in the MCD.

In the 1970s North American Doctor of Ministry degrees provided a distance option for Protestant clergy. Also, "[i]nstead of tacking pastoralia onto academic subjects, pastoral studies became a discipline area in its own right through pioneers like Griffin in Melbourne. It was no longer acceptable to use supernumeraries to teach pastoralia..."\textsuperscript{116} MCD's own

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid., 12.

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid., 13.

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 16.

\textsuperscript{112} The University of Queensland also introduced a BD in 1953. Ibid., 16.

\textsuperscript{113} Again, very close to the first publication of \textit{Theological Education} and the more public face of the ATS in North America.

\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., 17.

\textsuperscript{115} This model was followed in Sydney, Brisbane, Adelaide and Perth during the 1980s. Ian Breward, \textit{A History of the Australian Churches}, 202.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., 18.
Master of and Doctorate in Ministry have been developed since. Across the Tasman, Otago University also has offered a Master in Ministry since 1990.

The Australian arrangement between the churches and the universities has changed considerably recently. In 1991, Mark Brolly documented the end of the "historic estrangement between theological education and publicly-funded universities in Australia." The occasion for this was increasing affiliation of church theological colleges with Australian state universities. Brolly cites Harold Pidwell, MCD Dean, as attributing the delay in church-university affiliations to the churches. "[T]he universities, he said, had waited 'until the churches got their act together.'" Pidwell still firmly separates the secular role of the University and the religious role of churches in theological education, declaring it would be inappropriate for the Australian state universities to be seen to be preferring one religion.

Contextual changes attributed as influences over this development include increasing international recognition accorded theological teachers, increasing search for answers not provided by science and technology and a deeper, more substantial interest in religion throughout Australia. Not unconnected was the added advantage of state funding now being available for theological students. For whatever reasons, Brolly concludes: "Theological studies have emerged from the seminaries and colleges into a new, uncertain, exciting era that is unlikely to leave studies in the sacred or the secular untouched."

Pidwell's observation that the common colonial history of New Zealand, Australia and the United States brought with it an "insistence on the separation of church and state" is endorsed by Don Chambers' 1980s description of Ormond College as "an historical by-product of that great confrontation between 'the old 'paths' of European Presbyterian faith and

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117 Religious affairs reporter for The Age.


119 Ibid. This does mirror the New Zealand scene, where it was the formation of the National Council of Churches in 1941 which was instrumental in the eventual forming of a Faculty of Theology at Otago University, Dunedin.

120 Pidwell's former experience in the affiliation of church colleges with universities had been gained in New Zealand with the Auckland Consortium of Theological Education, which also joined the MCD.

121 Ibid., 37.

122 Ibid., 32.

123 The Theological Hall in the state of Victoria for first the Presbyterian Church in Australia and then the Uniting Church in Australia.
tradition on the one hand, and a powerful emerging colonial culture whose secular liberalism deeply mistrusted a religion which looked backwards to the golden age of Eden."124 Like other Australasian theological colleges, Ormond College in Melbourne began its theological work without the benefit of university theology. Even then, Chambers comments that "...the Church at large has constantly to be jogged out of its apathy, if not antipathy to the needs of theological education ... not a few of the dour Scots laymen [sic] regarded an advanced theological education as a work of the devil, and a threat to their 'simple faith.'"125 Ormond's combination of university residential hall and Presbyterian Theological Hall126 employed a mixture of British and American models.127 Ministry students completed university qualifications then studied theology in the Church's Hall. The Hall achieved well from 1881 to the end of the nineteenth century, "despite the higher 'wastage' among ministerial candidates having to work out their intellectual salvation in a secular university..."128

The effects on academic freedom in theology under church governance (as opposed to university governance) showed at Ormond. The founders carefully avoided heresy in the nineteenth century, keeping the Westminster Confession central. Scottish controversies129 over biblical criticism developed vigorous opposition to German critical method, teachers introducing it being attacked in the religious press.130 Chambers notes the debates over Darwinism but comments: "Acquaintance with such debates was fundamental to a generation of trainee ministers who had to make Europe's ancient faith meaningful to a declining church membership in an increasingly secular society."131


125 Don Chambers, Theological Teaching and Thought in the Theological Hall of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria 1865-1906 (Parksville, VIC: Theological Hall, Ormond College, 1967), 5-6.

126 Now the Uniting Church of Australia.

127 Ibid., 105. Ormond's mixture of residential and theological purposes served as a model for the later Knox College in Dunedin where the New Zealand Presbyterian Theological Hall was housed.


130 Chambers, "Theological Hall," 108.

131 Ibid., 110.
It is significant that in Australia, as in Dunedin, New Zealand, it was the Presbyterians’ own church teachers who mediated religious controversies and heresy trials to the church’s prospective ministers alongside their university education. The high standard of theological teaching at Ormond meant Ormond could submit candidates for Edinburgh University’s BD degree in 1900. Without a national Presbyterian Church this standard was not uniform, however. In contrast, Ormond students found the teaching of ‘practical theology’ inadequate at the turn of the century. Prior to World War II, Ormond College still followed Hodge’s curriculum divisions. “Practical theology remained the Cinderella area, tacked on to the Old Testament Professor’s load.” Development of practical training was resisted in the 1920s and the idea of a fourth Chair incorporating practical training was dropped in 1928, professors integrating practical training into their existing roles. Such faculty resistance to stand-alone practical theology would also be seen later in New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry formation.

After the formation of the Uniting Church of Australia, a 1988 study of ministerial formation in the continuing Australian Presbyterian Church identified greater need for attention to preparation for the pressures of ministry, practical training and development of personal skills for dealing with conflict situations and the stress of the ministry. Women had been admitted to the Victorian Theological Hall in 1973 and greater enrolment of women in 1989 increased demand for “appropriate literature for the study of all the issues incorporated by feminist theology.”

132 Ibid.
133 Ibid., 111.
134 Exegetical, systematic, practical and historical theology.
135 Chambers, “Theological Hall,” 115.
136 To teach Church History, Ethics and Practical Training.
137 Ibid., 115-117. This type of resistance will be seen in the New Zealand case study regarding pastoral theology.
Differently expressed but cohering views on theological education and ministry formation are found in church based publications. Ken Manley highlights tensions facing theological colleges in both serving Baptist churches and exercising a “prophetic task” so they are “at the growing edge in terms of relevant patterns of ministry.”

Economist Roy Webb advocates a combination of theological college and university in ministerial formation, provided both exercise the highest levels of openness possible; while Francis Foulkes warns against intellectual pride, describing theology as “…both an academic study, and also one that can enlighten us to ultimate meaning and purpose, and that not just for the personal life, but for our culture, our society and our world.” He advocates residential ministerial formation in a theological college. A deeply human exercising of ministry which requires trust in one’s own ordination, and therefore a good sense of self as minister, is the call of Dorothy McRae McMahon. Such an exercising of ministry would require good formation and deepening self-awareness.

In the late 1980s, a new federal plan for higher education which had not considered the special case of theological education threatened to disrupt ecumenical arrangements which were working well in Colleges of Divinity in Sydney and Melbourne. The Dawkins plan proved to be a catalyst for colleges analysing what it was which was important in theological education and in ministry formation. As a beneficial side-effect, openings for lay people in university theology could “only benefit the future of the Church.” Catholic universities now aspired to their own theology faculties.

Robert McIver’s case study of Avondale college offers a bird’s eye view of Australian theological education in general: “…the need to extend intellectual horizons beyond the

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143 Ibid., 107.
boundaries of one particular denomination, stresses from new ideas, earlier exclusion from degree-granting status, negotiations with a range of accrediting bodies, sourcing teachers and finance. Perhaps, like Avondale, theological education in Australia also stands at a crossroads, at a place where there are difficult challenges yet unparalleled opportunities."147 Neil Ormerod, commenting on the Dawkin plan for higher education, predicted in 1994 that "seminaries may simply become formation houses, dealing with personal development and pastoral skills"148 and that "Only those colleges with strong support from their church constituencies, or those who are able to form proper, funded links with universities will survive in anything like their present form. The only alternative would be to carve out small niche markets..."149 His words proved prophetic for the PCANZ in 1996-7.

Broadly formational concerns are discussed by a group of writers in their own way. Key words and phrases for these scholars are character, ongoing formation, reactance, experiential learning, transformation and learning contracts. In the light of changes in higher education, Anglican canon James McPherson distinguishes between theological education and ministerial formation. He looks for character, commitment and ethics in "ministerial professionalism."150 He favours ministers being regarded as professionals, but also views formation of character and spiritual formation as essential. McPherson further argues for continuing professional development of clergy.151

Colleen O'Reilly, a key staff member of MCD, describes the transition towards ministry as "one of mythic and archetypal proportions."152 She identifies tension points in ministerial formation over scriptural interpretation, relevance of theology, spiritual formation and understanding of ordination. O'Reilly also calls for ongoing formation. "Ordination, and the beginning of work as a minister is not the end of the story. As a teacher and shaper of

149 Ibid., 6.
151 Ibid., 6.
ordinands I have always hoped that people enter ministry committed to being life-long learners and taking the responsibility for their own ongoing formation."

From a Uniting Church College, Graham Hughes contrasts academic excellence with doxological excellence, arguing that, without the latter, the former is "...arid, turgid, profoundly less than satisfying; indeed, it is arguable that left to itself, cut off from the ameliorating effects of this other kind of excellence, academic excellence ultimately betrays the theological enterprise." By doxological excellence Hughes means the ability to translate the theology which is studied in the classroom into authentic praise in the chapel. This is another theological educator placing the outcome of theology alongside academic theology, in this case the leading of worship with care and knowledge of the tradition. Hughes’ reaction to lack of respect for the liturgical tradition of the church seems to arise from careless student attitudes.

In a similar vein, Andrew Dutney discusses reactance in response to required attendance in theological colleges and courses. This hinders progress in formation. One of the few Australasian writers who acknowledge the North American literature on theological education, Dutney declares his particular interest in the educational effect of reactance on the teaching/learning process. Dutney analyses the effects of compulsion. Reactance to loss of freedom in choice of college or courses commonly results in attempts to reassert the lost freedom, aggression, attempts to exploit loopholes in the programme, inciting of others to recover a lost freedom and increased attraction to excluded behaviours. These are normal responses to loss of freedoms and all are found in ministerial candidates. Theological colleges can minimise these predictable effects of reactance.

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153 Ibid., 29.
155 Dutney’s term ‘reactance’ means psychological resistance to requirements of formation programmes.
156 Dutney cites compulsion as one of four reasons for tension within theological colleges. The three other tension points are: An ideology of call which suggests that call alone is enough and no education in ministry is required; a memory within the church of times of crisis in theological education and the “phantom” nature of rumours about college teachers. Andrew Dutney, “Don’t Let Them Change You’: Psychological Reactance and Theological Education,” *Uniting Church Studies* 5/2 (1999): 5-7.
157 Ibid., 10.
Two solutions argued by Dutney concern governance. One: church colleges should strive for a mixture of voluntary and mandated students for a more positive atmosphere. The second: that a side-effect of continuing ministry formation can be acquainting ministers with how theological education has changed since their initial formation, so they will promote it positively to recruits. The hope is that “[r]ather that the remembered gate-keeper, barring the way to ministry, the college will begin to be experienced as a partner and companion in ministry.”

Dutney alludes to Farley and other North American writers on theological education, and Douglas Purnell begins his articles on experiential learning with his interpretation of Farley’s high expectations of pastoral theology as linking the theological disciplines. Purnell and his Pastoral Theology colleagues at United Theological College (UTC) aim for “Reflective Pastoral Practice ... a disciplined reflective practice.” In this practice ministerial identity issues are addressed and the ability to attend and theologically reflect. Imagination is employed through journaling, human sculpting and art work to which disciplined reflection is applied. This both models the procedure for students and helps them deal with their issues so they can be present to those with whom they will minister. Purnell describes pastoral theology as involving “...both the ethical imperative to care and the concern to discover the meaning within an event and to name the experience of God within the event,” and as “intimately linked” with the other theological disciplines; he argues pastoral theology is “...formed by and informs those areas of study.”

Similarly, Stephen Pickard calls for theology to be a “transformative discipline.” Space for experience to enter the “theological equation” is seen by Pickard to be essential if theological

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158 Dutney has earlier acknowledged that the schooling of ministers in the Scriptures, creeds and confessions, as required in the Uniting Church Basis for Union, is a life-long task, of which only the essential groundwork is done in theological college. Andrew F. Dutney, “Theology and Function: The Ministry of the Word in the Uniting Church in Australia,” Scottish Journal of Theology 39 (1986): 114.


160 This would seem to be a misunderstanding of Farley’s thesis. Farley argues that pastoral theology is left with the task of linking the disciplines, as least as far as ministerial candidates are concerned, but he argues this is an impossible task and is a symptom of the fragmentation of theologia.


162 Ibid., 253.

163 At the time of writing a colleague of Purnell at UTC.
education is to be "genuinely theological in the future." G Greg Elsdon also grapples with the frequently asked question, "Should theological education be 'academic' or 'practical'?" Along with previous writers, Elsdon holds theological education and ministerial formation as distinct. True theological education for him includes participation and commitment, so theological study allows growth in Christian faith: "Personal and corporate transformation is fundamental to theological education." He describes the theological educator as a tour guide, "introducing others to the beauty and the mystery of the landscape." The requirements for a contemporary theological education, he argues, are: "disciplined examination of the Christian scriptures...," exploration of the tradition, "spiritual and personal development...development and acquisition of skills and disciplines necessary for effective leadership and communication both in the church and in the wider community." Like O'Reilly, Elsdon expects an ongoing commitment to learning to result from this kind of theological education. Practical information is also found in the literature about the use of learning contracts in field education, another formational tool.

Other writers are more critical of curricula, though Ormerod's call for a systematic theology of ministry would also fund adequate formation of aspiring ministers. He claims such a theology would clarify the misunderstanding that only ordained ministers participate in the mission of the Church. Bruce Kaye argues that the current construction of theological curricula is "no longer appropriate to the circumstances in which we find ourselves." He describes the Anglican dilemma of inheriting a theology designed for the public domain which is increasingly relegated in Australian society to the private. Kaye argues that theology needs to

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166 Ibid., 34.

167 Ibid.

168 Ibid., 36-37.


be “Faithful, Useful and Accessible”\textsuperscript{172} and proposes that the outline of such a theology will be moulded by the realities of that society. After an analysis of plural society, he proposes that new discipline areas will emerge. Some he suggests are public rhetorics of society such as the rhetoric of the marketplace, of measurement, environmentalism, feminism and individualism.\textsuperscript{173} As to method, the curriculum in Kaye’s view should develop the public Christian discourse, the Christian person and be about communicating the ideas.\textsuperscript{174}

In general terms, therefore, I want to suggest that the curriculum ought to be defined in terms of the institutions and the rhetoric of our plural society, and that the method ought to be diverse and interactive in such a way that it cultivates both the Christian discourse in the public arena, and also the life of the Christian persona and community.\textsuperscript{175} Kaye argues this because he believes the former approach, out of Christian truth, came from a clericalised, privatised position. This, he claims, defeats the “life principle” in theology. Kaye’s second model “sees theology as part of the way in which we live in plural modernity;” thereby, he argues, it makes theology more accessible and useful to lay people whose vocation in within societal structures.\textsuperscript{176}

Three more writers critical of ministry formation curricula advocate future-facing emphases in ministry formation; future studies, marketplace concepts and leadership studies. Paul Inglis agrees with Kaye, when he calls for theology to come out of retreat and join the cultural change. He blames the lack of links which are being made between academic theology and the Australian experience on Australian’s love for and “commitment to a European brand of the faith” and lack of “futures-oriented theological discussion.”\textsuperscript{177} He argues that

Theological education ... has to have an opportunity to grow outside the seminary and theological college and it has begun to do so to meet the emerging demands of new audiences, and, for its own credibility, to provide a response to the changing social fabric which is threatening the continuation of mainstream Christianity and the natural shift of the mission field to the congregation.\textsuperscript{178}

\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., 208.

\textsuperscript{173} Ibid., 210

\textsuperscript{174} Ibid., 211.

\textsuperscript{175} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{176} Ibid., 214.


\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., 7.
Inglis argues that futures studies' tools will help prepare the kind of minister needed in the early twenty-first century. He predicts a ministry shift from "theological expert to pastoral technician, someone who doesn't define the limits of what can be achieved but instead responds to the needs of the congregation by calling on and capitalising on the local talent." Inglis emphasises futures solutions must arise holistically out of congregational contexts. He advocates tools and learnings from Futures Studies for future ministers, their teachers and their librarians.

Similarly, Karl Faase advocates marketplace concepts for the church. His description of church-as-marketplace includes being "a. Committed to and driven by the gospel, b. Specifically targeted, c. Multi-faceted, c. Accessible and Convenient, d. High community profile." Such a church needs particular kinds of leaders and Faase suggests that, as well as "the indispensable gifts of spiritual leadership and biblical competency," other skills are required: "Setting and casting clear vision, Communication, People-management, Change-management, Organisational strengths, Strategic planning, Staff development and management, Community consciousness, Community connections." Faase also argues that present denominational structures do not now operate in support of this kind of ecclesial change, but that those who run those structures can choose to have a new role in this changing church environment. Again, governance decisions would be required to make this adjustment, especially governance decisions about how ministers were to be formed in the future.

In contrast to Faase, Geoff Thompson emphasises the theological in leadership formation. "Formation would thus involve deliberate attention to helping students develop a theological framework deep and mature enough to enable them to be authentic and competent theological leaders of the church's worship, witness and service." He observes that ministry students bring many skills, but little practice in theological leadership. He critiques methods of

179 Ibid., 10.
181 Ibid., 5-6.
182 Ibid., 7.
delivery such as apprenticeship approaches, outsourcing and on-line learning\textsuperscript{184} and argues that Leadership Studies could benefit the Uniting Church of Australia.

The use of the qualifier ‘transformational’ for leadership indicates that practising and learning such leadership is a formational activity. Transformational leadership both improves the situation and transforms “expectations within a culture and the wider social pattern.”\textsuperscript{185} It emphasises movement and therefore change.\textsuperscript{186} It thus helps the church ask questions of itself. Like Future Studies, Rodney Smith contends that Leadership Studies brings its own literature and tools which can be useful to the church. It not only promotes one best leadership model, but a transformational leadership which can apply in many different situations, for various leaders and leadership contexts.\textsuperscript{187} This author does not link Leadership Studies only with ministerial formation, but deems them useful for the whole church. Leadership development using the literature, he identifies, is however an obvious candidate for pre-ministry formation programmes as well as in continuing ministry formation.

Robert Banks’ curricular contribution, following Farley’s argument on the fragmentation of \textit{theologia}, is more comprehensive. His posited solution is a missional model of theological education which

places the main emphasis on theological \textit{mission}, on hands-on \textit{partnership} in ministry based on interpreting the tradition and reflecting on practice with a strong spiritual and communal dimension. On this view theological education is primarily though not exclusively concerned with actual \textit{service} – informed and transforming – of the \textit{kingdom} and therefore primarily focuses on acquiring cognitive, spiritual-moral and practical \textit{obedience}.\textsuperscript{188}

Banks has a foot in both camps as it were. He is the executive and academic director of Macquarie Christian Studies Institute (Sydney, Australia) and as senior international fellow at

\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., 41-42. While apprenticeship runs the danger of parochialism, it also has the advantage of theologising within the context of ministry. He finds outsourcing to be flawed, as it underlines a marginalisation of theology from the centre of the life of the Uniting Church of Australia, and on-line learning as not allowing the depth of theological formation he maintains is necessary, since theological formation is essentially a social practice.


\textsuperscript{186} Ibid., 10.

\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., 13-14.

\textsuperscript{188} Robert Banks, \textit{Reenvisioning Theological Education} (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), 144. The italics Banks has used in this quote are to provide comparison with other models which Banks has just described in the text. In the other models different words appear in place of those italicised here. For example, what Banks calls the classical model, in his view, has a main emphasis on theological formation instead of mission and looks towards the acquiring of cognitive wisdom as opposed (by Banks) to obedience.
the De Pree Leadership Center, Fuller Theological Seminary. His book is reviewed by North American academics and those are the ones he thanks for their help. If this can be called part of the Australian literature, it is a unique piece of Australian scholarship engaging in a sustained manner with Farley's call for a new governing paradigm in theological education. When Banks begins to make suggestions for an altered, missional theological education, he appears to argue that pedagogy and curriculum alone will not achieve his goals of producing servant leaders with a missional approach to their ministry.

Banks cites Robert W. Ferris, who maintains pedagogy and curriculum make only a secondary contribution to the formation of servant leaders. They call for theological schools to state their commitment to training for servant leadership by giving preference to those students who show "higher levels of a servant minister." Only then should the college engage in curriculum revision and search for teaching methods suiting the helping professions. Though Banks does not develop this point with governance language, Ferris' solution suggests that changes in attitude and approach at the governance level are what is necessary for missional (or any other) intentions of college or church to be realised. The seven changes for theological education suggested in a survey in Banks' own seminary all require action at governance level if they are to be put into practice.

As with the New Zealand literature, another strand within the Australian literature is the search for an indigenous Australian theology. Towards the end of the 1980s, Robert Banks had reviewed this search (active since the mid-1970s) as a theologian involved in this quest. He reviews the work of six "Christian thinkers" who have looked for an Australian theology. Banks is disappointed in the lack of published work but suggests much is being discussed informally. He advocates a less self-consciously Australian method: exploring

189 Robert Banks was the first Director and Dean of MCSI. He studied at Moore Theological College and at the Universities of Sydney, London and Cambridge. He was the first Lecturer in New Testament at Macquarie University, founding Professor of Lay Ministry at Fuller Theological Seminary and then Executive Director of the De Pree Leadership Centre, both in Los Angeles. He is a Fellow of the Zadok Centre.

190 Ibid., 225.

191 Ibid., 226. The changes suggested were "(i) more time for reflection, (ii) closer integration of main subject areas, (iii) more interest in understanding the wider culture, (iv) better help in balancing home and work responsibilities, (v) a stronger emphasis on personal formation, (vi) joint mentoring by faculty, pastors and lay people, and (vii) greater assistance in dealing with the struggles and failures of ministry. All of these would require a strong governance backing in order that they be given the time in the programme.

192 Gordon Dicker, Allan Loy, David Millikan, Bruce Wilson, Anthony Kelly and Gerald O'Collins.
universal themes in an Australian context. Previous attempts at the task are described by Banks as “fairly general.” Attention to method, he argues, has led to less time for “substantial theological analysis.” The same critique of blandness is also found in Veronica Brady’s review of a subsequent publication edited by Tony Kelly, Discovering an Australian Theology, where she calls for “something more, something intellectually more arduous and perhaps more dangerous.” She uses an analogy to a portrait painting to suggest Australian theological discoveries within the book of essays have only just discovered the frame of the portrait.

Banks also notes that the subject of reflection has been “high culture and national myths.” He suggests these are not the main “reality shaping force” in Australian society, a role more frequently performed by everyday life. He also finds a focus on Anglo-Saxon and male-dominated aspects of Australian culture. Works he surveyed he describes as tending to the Christocentric. He muses whether this is helpful in a country where father is so often missing, and calls for a “more democratic style of theologising, one more oriented to the concerns that ordinary Christians have and that appeals to a broader audience.” Banks ends with a hope that the quest for an Australian indigenous theology will not suffer disillusionment. In both Australia and New Zealand, the quest for an indigenous theology for a region is a sign that theologising is beginning to become a home-grown activity. A people content with European expression of theology will not search for an indigenous expression of that imported theology. That this quest is continuing suggests theological educators are interacting with matters affecting the everyday lives and national culture of the ministerial students they educate.

Other theologians continue the debate. Graeme Garrat asks whether “ordinariness” is a “crucial theme in an Australian theology” since Australian approaches to spirituality are “...
low key, reticent and oblique. There is a suspicion, often expressed in wry humour, of dogma and preachyness. If theology is to be taken seriously in these parts it had better have its feet firmly on the ground that ordinary people walk on. The growing Protestant contribution to Australian theology is documented by Geoffrey Lilburne and he calls for a greater engagement with theological tools and a beginning of articulation of a methodology. This is ironic considering Brady has already critiqued preoccupation with method rather than accomplishing the painting of the theological picture.

Lilburne follows this up with “an enquiry into method” in which he critiques the method employed by Tony Kelly’s *A New Imagining*, proposing an alternative after Barth. This leads him to a description of God as manifested in the historical location of Jesus Christ and he asks whether an historical approach to Australian theology requires more attention to be paid to pre-colonial aboriginal experience. Kelly responds positively, contributing one of the rare dialogues in the Australian literature.

While none of this literature addresses directly how theological education should be influenced by this contextual theologising, the discussion indicates the milieu in which theological educators and their students are teaching/learning. There is a greater consciousness of the place ‘here’ where theology is being done. Metaphors which pick up Australian culture become more obvious at this point in the literature. Two metaphorical considerations of the Australian approach to mission and spirituality use Australian cultural artefacts such as line and bush dancing and the ubiquitous verandah added on to Georgian-style colonial Australian houses. Pickard sees the verandah both as an Australian adaptation of British housing design, which proved insufficient for this country, and as a liminal space where interaction can take place between God, people and between different

199 Ibid.


203 Ibid., 363.


people, "a place of mediation between two worlds."\textsuperscript{206} McCoy uses line and bush dance to illustrate the lack of indigenous dance steps towards mission and calls for mission to be re-choreographed in the local church.\textsuperscript{207}

A development in Australian churches, in theological education and in theologising, has been the North American influenced\textsuperscript{208} recognition of the theological location of hyphenated Australians: Anglo-Australians, Korean-Australians, Filipino-Australians, etc. Banks' warning that an Australian theology should not be only Anglo-Saxon has been taken up in cross-cultural studies recently,\textsuperscript{209} where 'hyphenated' students have been encouraged to theologise for their situation and answer the Christological question, "Who do you say that I am?" The recognition of this cross-cultural phenomenon in both society and theological colleges should influence governance decisions at the pedagogical level, as it has at United Theological College Sydney, in the systematic theology classes taught by Pearson.

\textbf{The British Literature}

Since Britain was the origin of settlement in New Zealand, its literature might be thought to provide a compatible conversation. British literature specifically focused on theological education or ministry formation is also seldom publicly accessible, however. While practical and pastoral theology remain in the universities, church comment on ministry formation tends to take place in church committees.\textsuperscript{210} The persistence of religious education in state schools generates considerable literature on Religious and Christian Education. Greater university focus of ministry formation programmes may, however, prohibit publications specifically focused on ministry formation amongst theological teachers whose university disciplinary requirements come first. This means that pastoral and practical theology as taught in the

\begin{footnotesize}
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  \item \textsuperscript{206} Ibid., 9.
  \item \textsuperscript{207} McCoy, "Take Your Partners," 26.
  \item \textsuperscript{208} See, for example, Jung Young Lee, \textit{Marginality: The Key to Multicultural Theology} (Minneapolis, Augsburg Fortress Press, 1995); "Life In-Between: A Korean-American Journey," in \textit{Journeys at the Margin: Towards an Autobiographical Theology in American-Asian Perspective}, ed. P. C. Phan and J. Y. Lee (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Order of St Benedict, 1999).
  \item \textsuperscript{209} Pearson, ed., \textit{Faith in a Hyphen}; and Pearson, "Encountering Christ in a Hyphen."
  \item \textsuperscript{210} For example, The Working Party on Assessment of the Committee for Theological Education, \textit{Education for the Church's Ministry} (London: Church of England Advisory Committee on Church and Ministry, 1987).
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university form the subject matter of most articles. Discussion in this area shows exactly the confusion Farley describes over the role and place of pastoral/practical theology.

Writing in 1973 on “New Directions in Pastoral Theology,” J. A. Whyte comments on the lack of any previous direction. The terms ‘Pastoral’ (England) and ‘Practical’ (Scotland) for Whyte sum up the discipline area – ‘pastoral’ having to do with the ordained minister’s role as holder of the pastoral office, and ‘practical’ in that it “…has been commonly regarded, and not infrequently taught, as the “hints and tips” department of the theological curriculum.”211 It was the latter assumption, he argues, that gave rise to the notion that the job should be taught by a practitioner.212 He argues for pastoral/practical theology being “the theology of practice and as such a properly academic enquiry.”213 He distinguishes between the theoretical approach of understanding practice and the practical approach of studying what is done now and how practice might be influenced in the future. He also distinguishes between church-orientated approaches of European university Pastoral Theology and specialisations growing within American church-based seminaries. Here, he argues, openness to other satellite disciplines compensates for ties with Church-supported seminaries. “But too often this openness has been a simple dependence, an uncritical borrowing from the secular (even from its latest fashions) the appropriateness of the secular model for the theological material being unquestioned. The techniques dominate.”214

Whyte sees the search for new directions in pastoral theology being spurred by societal change and having an enlivening effect. When techniques need to change, proper theology of practice is required so that techniques are not only translated naively. Ecumenism spawns new directions as many questions within church union discussions fall into the arena of practical theology. Whyte describes three changes in the discipline as: first, deepening the question of ‘how shall things be done?’ to whether they are still to be done or what should be done; second, widening the scope in discovering what Church is and therefore how ordained

212 Ibid.
213 Ibid., 229.
214 Ibid., 230.
ministry needs to be; and third, secularizing the setting, taking the world and its changes seriously, “seeking some sort of theological criticism of social change.”

Evolution of practical theology from a “hints and tips” orientation of an ‘appendage’ to the theoretical theological disciplines, towards a more theological analysis of the society in which the church must act, was documented by Robin Gill in 1977. Gill describes the tension arising between the professional and the academic model of practical theology which studies “ideas as they are correlated with action.” In this view,

... practical theology is an ‘academic’ discipline which is related only indirectly to the training of people for the pastoral ministry. Thus it differs very little from general theology in this respect; whilst a knowledge of it might be a prerequisite for an ordained minister, it can nevertheless exist in its own right as a thoroughly academic discipline with theological [sic] faculties.

This academic version of practical theology is attractive to the university. Gill argues that the predominant professional model of practical theology is not ‘un-academic’ but that a better weighting between the two models would benefit the discipline. First, it would enhance its reputation and attract bright scholars. As well, academic practical theology would contribute to professionally-oriented practical theology since it “raises the most serious problems for theology as a whole.”

Similar conflict between the academic approach and the needs of twentieth century practising ministers in Germany is discussed by Karl-Heinrich Lütke in the Scottish Journal of Theology. He describes the separation of the theological disciplines and training for ministry practice in Germany, home of Protestant ministry formation. Lütke describes German theological education as still predicated on a Reformation high view of Scripture with consequent heavy linguistic study. Contemporary questioning of bias towards the arts in an increasingly technological age and increasing lack of school preparation in the ancient languages renders this problematic, but the Reformation emphasis has not altered. Further problems are that rational modes of instruction suppress the emotional, and monological lecturing ill fits

215 Ibid., 236-237.


217 Beset, in his view, with ambiguity about definitions of what is professional and ministry as a profession.

218 Ibid., 19.

219 Ibid.
ministers for theological conversation with the intellectual non-elite. Lütke finds the university phase of ministry formation “designed much more for preachers and teachers than for pastors.”

This intellectual approach to ministry formation means “the idea that theology has something to do with oratio, meditatio and tentatio is easily lost in the battle between the various schools, methods and theories.” Lütke does not judge the inclusion of ‘human sciences’ to have addressed the problem of theology’s “experiential deficit” because of a confused concept of ‘practice.’ Various attempts which provide practice are not integrated into the course, remaining the responsibility of the Church and theology the responsibility of the universities. Lütke names the same problem which Osborn and Schüssler Fiorenza identify in the North American literature. If university theology is not integrated with its praxis, students will not think theologically in the parish. ‘Preachers’ Seminaries’ for ministers, formed a century ago, do alternate practical experience in the parish with study and concentrate on developing communication skills, pastoral approach, ability to cooperate with colleagues, stressing emotional development. Lütke describes the theological purpose of the two phases of ministry formation in Germany:

In Phase I the question of the theology of ministerial practice must be tackled with the help of the practical disciplines; and Phase 2 must also involve theological training, for the experience of being a curate and of learning to carry out ministerial duties is itself a challenge to the student’s theological understanding.

Lütke cautions that the role of ministry is not necessarily understood in the Church. Neither should questionable methods be taken over from other disciplines or training remain so pragmatic that ministers are not theologically prepared for change.

In the 1980s, after Farley’s Theologia was published, Paul Ballard does not seem to be clear about the role of Pastoral Theology, though he does claim it to be primary rather than secondary theological activity. He comes close to admitting that pastoral theology is integral

220 Ibid., 22.
222 Ibid., 439.
223 Ibid., 441.
to other theological disciplines, but falls short of that by arguing that only sometimes is pastoral theology “found in other forms, including the academic, of theological practice.”

In the end, if the Pastoral Theology he is describing is essentially theology (habitus), Ballard almost makes Farley’s argument: “It [pastoral theology] certainly appears to run counter to contemporary perceptions of academic respectability or professional competence.”

Five years later Ballard uses North American writers and Edward Farley more overtly to argue that “…theology is not foremost a discipline or a body of knowledge but a process of discovery, the pursuit of wisdom and the discovery of salvation. The root or practicality is the informed disposition, the engaged personality.”

Ballard follows this in 1995 with a scrutiny of “Practical Theology as an Academic Discipline.” Here he documents two practical theology approaches of professional training for clergy and the more academic practical theology often interwoven with medical courses, in social work settings and other forms of training for helping professionals. The article has the sense of seeking to impose an external framework on an unruly set of studies. Ballard aims to describe practical theology’s “form and structure” as an academic discipline. He argues practical theology is a practical field of study with a critical aspect, but also identifies coherence as a problem for the discipline.

To prevent the development of hermetically sealed compartments of practical theology, Ballard suggests it be conceptualised on four different axes between dialectically opposed poles. Finally, he argues that different emphases in ministerial, lay and university practical theology are “a linked range of activities held together by a common focus” in relation with

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224 Ibid., 444-5. Lütke ends by recalling suggestions that preachers are trained in a course less linguistically demanding than that which academics pursue and compares this suggestion (as yet not implemented) with the course for Deacons which integrated theological, social science and practical formation.


226 Ibid., 26.


229 Ibid., 114-115.

230 Ibid., 115-117. Mediation and generation, Church and world, prescription and reflection, theory and practice are the eight poles at the ends of Ballard’s continuum.

231 Ibid., 120.
each other. Theological college and lay training prepare for clerical and lay vocations, while university practical theology emphasises "critical analysis of conceptual issues lying behind practice."\textsuperscript{232} It is striking that someone who knows Farley's work does not refer to fragmentation of theologia as the root cause of practical theology's incoherence. Once the cause is acknowledged, symptoms of incoherency are more understandable and therefore more easily managed.

Michael Purcell's reflection on "Pastoral Ministry as Theology" advocates a reflective approach to the activity of pastoral ministry so that theology underlying the situation can emerge. He comments: "In their haste to become pastors, few theological students embrace theology ..."\textsuperscript{233} He cites Boff's use of Gutierrez' description of theology as praxis, not the "original datum with which the church operates" but "a second order discipline founded on the order of experience."\textsuperscript{234} Purcell concludes theology is a practical science: "[T]heology then is properly called a practical science, because the end of man is not only to know God, but to love him, and love is a free act of the will, but it is an act which requires some regulative knowledge."\textsuperscript{235} Here Purcell, in different words, is virtually arguing Farley's thesis that theology comprises both scientia and habitus.

After Gramsci, Purcell develops the ideal of the 'organic intellectual' who "participates in the life of the community, articulates its cultural aspirations and insights, and exercises a critical speciality with respect to its experiences."\textsuperscript{236} In similar fashion, the minister participates in the community, articulating its aspirations and insights. Also, the minister needs to be the intellectual and theologian, interpreting and making sense of the community's experience. Purcell again cites Gramsci: "There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded,"\textsuperscript{237} suggesting Farley's thesis that scientia and habitus belong together.

\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{233} Michael Purcell, "Pastoral Ministry as Theology," \textit{Contact} 116 (1995): 16.
\textsuperscript{234} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{235} Ibid., 19
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid., 20.
\textsuperscript{237} Ibid., 21.
Gordon Lynch tends to ask the same question about the involvement of the intellectual and the personal when he looks for the theology of British pastoral counselling. Little engagement of pastoral theology with pastoral counselling has occurred in recent time, he argues, because pastoral theology competes in syllabi with other theological disciplines. Interest in pastoral counselling has outstripped interest in pastoral theology. This results in lack of resources within academic pastoral theology which can engage with pastoral counselling. Also, he argues, counselling organisations have not engaged with theological reflection. Lynch doubts substantial theoretical theological reflection on pastoral counselling would be of much use to counsellors. He argues some limited, diverse theological reflection would fit the “fragmented post-modern culture [better] than monolithic theories which claim (implicitly or explicitly) to be universally true.” He calls for “a fuller critical inter-play between therapeutic theory and theology” in Britain, suggesting increased use of metaphor of narrative as a fruitful area of integration.

A report of reflections on the role of pastoral theology at Oxford in 1996 uses Farley to conclude that “Pastoral theology is thus no longer to be regarded as a way of making the doctrines of the church relevant to everyday life, but a process of practice-oriented thinking which arises out of and is related back to people's lived experience.” In order to do this it is recommended that the role of the pastoral theologian is to make sense of reality. For this purpose adequate ‘resting places’ for reflection, where “imaginative interplay of the authorities” can occur, are required. Observation of seminars revealed that many theological students found “conceptualisation a far more efficient way of dealing with reality,” illustrating the bias in general theological education towards scientific treatment of theology. The less ‘efficient’ reflection on praxis is therefore shunned by such students and self-selection reduces those who are pastorally formed. This indicates a governance role is required to create expectations that students will persist with reflective practice.


239 Ibid., 26.

240 Ibid., 27.


242 Ibid., 19.

243 Ibid., 16.
One of the difficulties for a coherent view of pastoral theology is the differences in models employed by different teachers or departments. Comparison of approaches to pastoral theology as therapy, mission and liberation contrasts more individualistic therapeutic models with more community-oriented missional and social justice-oriented liberation theology approaches. A fourth approach promoted by Elaine Graham focuses not on the individual, the community or the political, but on practice itself.

... pastoral theologians might examine living human documents of pastoral practices as complex discourses, calling forth a multiplicity of accounts, never innocent of the dynamics of power and foreclosure; yet offering the possibility [sic] to disclose the theological (and transcendent) within and beyond the pastoral (the immediate and concrete). 244

Graham’s goal is to reassert pastoral theology in the sense Schleiermacher envisaged it as “the practical as the pinnacle or ‘crown’ of theology,”245 and to correct his “emphasis on theology as the study of the management of the church.” 246

Postmodernity appears in relation to pastoral theology infrequently in the British literature. In 1997 Graham Ward welcomed the theological connections which can and are being made by postmodern thinkers,247 while in 1998 Nigel Biggar rejected one writer’s re-conception of Pastoral Theology for postmodernity.248

In the sesquicentennial history of New College, Edinburgh, an important precursor to New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training, the trajectory of Pastoral Theology from 1868 to the present department is documented. The label of Applied Theology is firmly rejected, the discipline posited as having been “...rediscovered as critical theological reflection upon the life of the church in the world.” 249 A Theology and Practice course was introduced into postgraduate work in ministry in 1996, where serving ministers and students reflected on ministry or ministry placements. Other course streams now include Theology and the Ethics

245 Ibid., 450.
246 Ibid., 451.
of Communication, and Theology and Development. The Department’s focus is described as being on the

interface between theology and practice. It seeks not only to be part of the on-going dialogue
between church and university but to make a relevant theological contribution within the
maelstrom of public debate. The dialogue with the churches will undoubtedly continue,
particularly as new approaches are sought to prepare women and men for the diversity of
ministries within the church in Scotland and beyond.250

British literature in the area of theological education tends to revolve about the role of
theology in the university. D.W.D. Shaw offers a Scottish perspective on theology in the
university. A case is made for theology’s presence in the university, but only one factor in this
case is usefulness to the church in providing theological education for its ministers.251 Shaw
calls for future cooperation at different levels, one between the university and the church.
Again, Shaw does not expect the Church would dictate content or conclusions of university
study,252 but he cautions against isolation caused by specialisation within theological
disciplines. He also cautions that the specialisation within which theological disciplines
evolve should not take church cooperation for granted.253

George Newlands contends that the appointment of a Roman Catholic teacher at New College
shows “the flexibility of which an established tradition can be capable.”254 Classes now
contain more “students with other career aims” than candidates for the ministry. Another
change is the development of a Department of Theology and Religious Studies.255 Ruth Page
was a New College systematic theologian at the time directing theological attention towards
the ecological crisis.256

Writing on the media and theology, Duncan Forrester asserts that, traditionally, within
theological studies, ascertaining the message was the priority while communication of it was

250 Ibid., 150.
251 D. W. D Shaw, “Theology in the University: A Contemporary Scottish Perspective,” Scottish Journal of
252 Ibid., 229.
253 Ibid.
255 Ibid., 133.
relegated to ‘application.’ This precluded significant dialogue between the maker of the message and the receiver. He argues that marketing of Christian truth in the media can cause distortion when the medium is allowed to determine the message, as with televangelists. Media communication, however, challenges wordy theology, its emphasis on story and image reinforcing the need for theology to be understood by the people. Forrester suggests Christian theology can find an ally in the media if theological communicators are not distracted by false values.257

In On Being the Church, edited by Colin Gunton and Daniel Hardy, authors question the use of the concept of authority in the church,258 the lack of employment of theological forms of government259 and neglect of a theology of sociality.260 The work arose from “a conviction of the massive loss in recent years of a theological basis for a doctrine of the Church.”261 The concepts of ministry, church and authority in this volume of essays, if picked up by those concerned with the formation of ministers, have a strong bearing on the way ministers might be formed for the church these writers envisage, especially in the ways those ministers might handle power and develop community within their parishes. Ian Markham suggests that “Both church and university need to find a modern, academic way to impart the elementary knowledge on which all theological reflection ultimately depends.”262 Markham finds a survey of the state of Bible knowledge amongst theological undergraduates sobering. He argues that both Church and University should not assume a high level of Bible knowledge and provide more means for Bible study.

British debate about theology and religious studies in the university is represented by Gavin D’Costa. He posits the end of Systematic Theology predicated on the debate of theologians


with scientists and atheists, and for its replacement by the inclusion in systematic theologies of a range of new partners. Even radical systematic theologies such as liberation and feminist theology, D’Costa argues, are “locked into an intellectual tradition of Western hegemony.”

D’Costa draws attention to the many different religious groups within the world which require systematic theology to change form and content. This needs to be done, he maintains, without surrendering central tenets of systematic theology to “Western colonial guilt at the history of missions.”

Critical dialogue maintained with other theological systems, he claims, contributes to the “health of an intellectually viable form of Christianity.”

D’Costa’s argument is that while systematic theology needs to remain systematic, its “hermeneutical spiral” now needs to include Hindu and Buddhist worldviews as well as traditional dialogue partners: tradition, Bible and modern partners of science and atheism. Therefore,

...departments of theology must become departments of theology and religious studies, if they are properly to remain departments of theology! This is required if theology is to retain its integrity in the modern world, which is intellectually inhabited by many worlds, both religious and non-religious, all of which are relevant to the proclamation and articulation of Christianity.

In 1996 Gavin D’Costa follows up his case for the end of Systematic Theology as defined in the modern era with an argument that “theology” properly conceived is institutionally at variance with the secular (implicit or explicit) constitution of English academia” and that ‘religious studies’ is an entity based on a problematic “assumption of the neutral study of religion.”

His way forward is to propose that “specific starting-points” should be allowed to grow, be labelled clearly and then allowed to interact.

D’Costa suggests tradition-specific departments which “clearly define their presuppositions in the programmes of study they offer.” He contends such a situation already prevails in the United States and Germany. If this were pursued in a non-sectarian way, D’Costa argues, it is compatible with state funding, since “it is surely inappropriate for the guardians of intellectual

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264 Ibid., 328.
265 Ibid., 330.
266 Ibid., 332.
268 Ibid., 346.
269 Ibid., 347.
traditions (one role of the academic) to collude to deface or efface the meaning of the practice signified by ‘theology.’"\textsuperscript{270} It will be seen that this debate about the role of religious studies and theology is also lively in the United States literature. It symbolises the difficulty with which theology fits into the secular university, since ‘theology’ as described by D’Costa is \textit{theologia}, carrying with it a \textit{habitus} aspect which is often too confessional in its outworking for secularists in higher education.

For example, in line with D’Costa’s claim for ‘theology,’ Daniel W Hardy contends that a theology which does not introduce a \textit{sapiential} aspect, including interaction with God, is a weak version of proper theology. He argues that those who discuss theology are “morally and theologically responsible for the future of theology in what we do.”\textsuperscript{271} Paul Badham would disagree:

\begin{quote}
But theology in the university must not be confined to the committed Christian only. It is also a challenging discipline in its own right and can and is pursued successfully by people without any personal background in, or commitment to, Christianity. What the seekers search for is to understand the phenomenon of Christianity, and to consider what it might or might not offer to their own personal quest.\textsuperscript{272}
\end{quote}

\textbf{The Canadian Literature}

New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation shares a common origin with Canada, where Free Church migrants also landed. Both countries’ higher education systems spring from British origins. Canadian theological educators benefit from their schools being members of the ATS, but articles in \textit{Theological Education} only occasionally specifically contain Canadian research and comment. Some Canadian responses on the subject of governance can be found when governance and theological education are considered in the following chapter.

The literature from within New Zealand, Australia and Canada, all countries settled from Britain, and the literature from Britain itself all tend to be piecemeal, individual contributions except when the task is formulating an Australian or New Zealand theology. Australia, New Zealand and Britain also experience very different conditions for theological education and

\textsuperscript{270} Ibid., 348. As Clive Pearson, recently arrived in Sydney from his position as ultimate professor of systematic theology, Theological Hall, Knox College, Dunedin, New Zealand, points out, D’Costa’s article coincided with the dissolution of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Otago and the formation of a Department of Theology and Religious Studies which carries most of the problems D’Costa describes. Clive Pearson, \textit{Review of “The End of ‘Theology’ and ‘Religious Studies,” }\textit{Theo Lit} 6/3/4 (1996): 12-20.

\textsuperscript{271} Daniel W. Hardy, \textit{God’s Ways with the World} (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1996), 31.
ministry formation, despite or perhaps because of their close cultural origins. British ministry formation still has a place in the universities, but colonials in Australia and New Zealand resisted from early times the involvement of the church in state matters, delaying the connection between theology and the universities for decades.

We turn now to the literature from the United States of America, where the conformation of theological education and ministry formation is different again and where the theological education debate has been conducted at greater depth, both in volume and length of debate.

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Chapter Three

Literature Review Part Two:

Literature from the United States of America

In contrast with the literature within Britain, Canada and Australasia, the theological education debate in the United States is more accessible and comes out of a wider network of theological schools. Since 1966 the ATS’ journal, *Theological Education*,¹ has provided a forum for discussion and reporting on research, arguably producing the most wide-ranging published discussion about theological education. ATS-affiliated schools can access Lilly Endowment funding for theological education research and those results find a publishing vehicle in *Theological Education*, adding substantially to the debate.

North America is, however, a very different context. The United States, where most ATS member institutions are located, is a large, powerful country. A higher proportion of its larger population attend Christian churches, creating both a better funding base and more ministry opportunities for graduates. America gained early independence from Britain,² in contrast to New Zealand’s lengthier colonial experience³ so that, while having a common origin the United States’ historical development, it has followed a different path. The sheer volume of North American literature and large numbers of participants within it aids thorough discussion of theological and educational issues from many points of view. This current North American theological education debate showcased in *Theological Education* is largely contemporaneous with the period under study in this work (1961-1997), *Theological Education* beginning publication in 1964.

Literature from a location so different from that of New Zealand provides contrasting experiences of North American theological educators and their students, which can serve as

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¹ First begun by the Association of American Theological Schools in the 1960s.

² The Declaration of Independence was ratified by the Second Continental Congress on 4 July 1776.

³ New Zealand was declared a Dominion on 22 September 1907.
concrete case studies for New Zealand theological education and ministry formation. Similarly, using Presbyterian ministry formation in New Zealand as a specific case can contribute to the international debate. Themes circulating in the Australasian literature resonate with North American concerns in some aspects. Pluralism is an issue in North American theological education, because of increased numbers of black, Hispanic and “hyphenated-American” students, for example. These experiences can assist New Zealand ministry training as it encounters pluralism with the entry of Maori, Pacific Island and Asian ministry candidates.

Where themes do not resonate, there is thereby highlighted a particular concern or contextual issue for this part of the world. It is significant, for example, that the search for an Australian or New Zealand theology is not echoed in the North American literature; rather, globalisation programmes seek to “de-center” North American universalism. In that part of the theological education world, the search for contextual theologies is amongst sub-groups of the population – women, Blacks, Hispanics and ‘hyphenated’ Americans. In the last four decades of the twentieth century, North American theological educators’ concerns have clustered around three themes: the tensions between unity and pluralism, between university theology and formation and the importance of the church/world interface for ministry formation.

**The First Theme: Tension between Unity and Pluralism**

Increasing pluralism is the new fact of life in theological education and the church, especially since the 1980s. In 1984, David Kelsey and Barbara Wheeler commented that, of thirty-one ATS Basic Issues Research projects eighteen proposals addressed problems of unity by either re-conceiving ideas infiltrating curricula, curricular reform, or pedagogical reform. Other proposals favoured pluralism and widened theological education’s scope by studying feminist critique, black theology or global consciousness. Kelsey and Wheeler wondered whether this distinguishing between unity and pluralism reified the old split between *theoria* and *praxis*. Instead, they argued, any unity which theological education achieves “must be accomplished by affirming and embracing pluralism and learning how to negotiate among its many elements

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4 Though of course it is also true that some writers and also minority groups, such as feminists, hispanics and asian-americans also de-centre a universalist American theology when they present other viewpoints


6 Ibid., 10.
rather than trying to eliminate it as a symptom of "fragmentation." In other words, it is not unity or pluralism per se but how both can be achieved without compromise which is the challenge. The problem with pluralism, as theological colleges respond to different needs, is whether the new courses are integrated so theologia is recovered.

In the 1990s, Kelsey picked up unity and pluralism again as ideals in tension in theological education. He reiterates that tagging them as opposites is misleading. Both, he argues, are concerned with what Christianity is and the relation of theological education to the "Christian thing." Kelsey describes unity issues as underlying the question, "Is this theological school's course of study adequate to the inherent unity (or 'integrity' or 'identity') of the 'Christian thing'?" – whereas pluralism issues underlie the question: "Is this theological school's course of study adequate to the pluralistic world in which the 'Christian thing' is actually lived?" These questions, he contends, are not mutually exclusive because unity and pluralism can both contribute towards excellence in theological education. While some approaches may emphasise either unity or pluralism, they do not necessarily ignore the other.

Marginal Voices Affirm Pluralism

While pluralism is evident in theological colleges, it is also an issue in the churches ordinands will serve. Ministry formation programmes therefore need to provide models of dealing with pluralism which do not undermine unity. The arrival of 'other' students into theological education, that is, students other than the traditional white, Anglo-Saxon, male ordinand who previously dominated theological education, has also triggered theological educators' interest in pluralistic theological education.

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7 Ibid., 12.

8 Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin*, 96.

9 Ibid.

10 Exploring this tension, Kelsey analysed five theological education publications from the 1980s for whether they emphasised unity or pluralism. Two which he characterised as emphasising unity with pluralism were; Farley's *Theologia* and Hough and Cobb's *Christian Identity and Theological Education*. Those he found to emphasise pluralism with unity were; *God's Fierce Whimsy* by The Mudflower Collective, and Max Stackhouse's *Apologia*. These works take these same emphases despite following different models of theological education. Farley and the Mudflower Collective follow an 'Athens' model, while Stackhouse and Hough and Cobb follow a 'Berlin' model. See Kelsey's development of these models later in this chapter. Kelsey describes Charles Wood's *Vision and Discernment: An Orientation in Theological Study* (Atlanta, Scholars Press, 1985) as "an attempt to formulate a third model of excellent schooling such a way that addresses issues of unity and pluralism in their basic interconnectedness." Kelsey, *Between Athens and Berlin*, 215. In Kelsey's opinion, Wood also achieves a blend of 'Athens' and 'Berlin' models of theological education.

11 From the 1960s onwards.
Marginal groups in theological colleges are vocal about pluralism issues. They seek acceptance of the difference they bring to theological education. These students' voices began to be heard in the literature in the 1980s and 1990s, as they reached postgraduate and teaching positions and began to publish. They ask that attention be paid to context, to the socio-economic and socio-political locations of the theologian. Marginal critique identifies the hegemony of the 'centre' where human experience was heretofore assumed to be a monolithic, homogeneous concept, equally applicable to all.

Especially in the 1980s, different groups voiced their identity as marginal to mainstream theological education. Women, people of colour, the poor, hyphenated identities all perceive theological education as one activity, amongst others, where a dominant elite dictates terms from a central location. Black theologians, for example, note the disparity between black experience and theological education. Feminist Rebecca Chopp uses language of 'centres' and 'margins', critiquing “...the preservation of identity by establishing an order that secures an internal center by excluding all differences as external.” When the centre is allowed to define itself, it dis-empowers those pushed to the margins who are denied participation by definition in the theological debate on their own terms. The problem, feminist theologians argue, is therefore structural in as deep a way as it can be, requiring radical response since, in Chopp's view at the end of the 1980s, the centre is no longer holding.

It is only by looking away from our center, our preservation, and our own identity that we have any hope of offering the world what it so desperately needs: new discourses of humanity, of history, of freedom, of God, and of life itself. To say it another way, the circle, even the circle without circumference, can no longer contain the margins, can no longer contain these ruptures and fissures. In such time, the questions become plural, multivocal, complex and ambiguous.

The feminist critique can be taken as one example of the marginal voices which have made themselves heard in theological circles. Analysis of the feminist critique of theological

12 “The finding of one’s voice involves locating the center of one’s internal authority system in the presence of a different external authority system.” James H. Evans Jr., “‘I ROSE AND FOUND MY VOICE’: Black Church Studies and Theological Education,” Theological Education XXI (Spring 1985): 49; and “Seminaries will need to take under consideration the history of racist oppression, which has not allowed blacks the opportunity to acquire experience... Black women are especially absent in top leadership roles.” J. Deotis Roberts, “And We Are Not Saved: A Black Theologian Looks at Theological Education,” Religious Education 87/3 (1992): 354.


14 Ibid., 76.
education is significant here on the methodological assumption that a specific case illuminates similar dynamics experienced by other like marginalised groups, because of their common experience of marginalisation with respect to the ‘centre’. The feminist argument focuses in three critical areas: objectivity/subjectivity, methodology and hermeneutics. It will be seen that underlying their arguments is a perhaps unconscious recognition that the fragmentation of theology in the four-fold pattern, and in its location in the university, is robbing students of the habitus aspects of theology, those more subjective praxis issues which marginal students are prepared to name as missing from theological education in the US.

Objectivity/Subjectivity: Feminist theology challenges the objectivity of present scholarship. For Carol Christ and others, theological education requires a “paradigm shift, a questioning of fundamental and unquestioned assumptions about canon, ideas, value, authority and method that operate in the academy and the disciplines.”16 For Christ this shift is needed in method as well as content. “We question the most unquestioned assumption of all, namely, the assumption that scholarship is objective.”17 1980s academic scholarship was seen by Christ to serve centrist interests by assuming an unexamined centrist perspective. The centre then retains power. “There our first task as scholars is to deconstruct the ethos of objectivity ... and to offer a new construction or model of scholarship.”18 We will see this argument in Farley’s expressed regret at the damaging effects which an over-reliance on rationality has had in university theology.

Feminists assert that those constructing theological curricula ignore the fact that women19 do not “fit equally into the circle.”20 They maintain the ‘rules’ of the centre will include anyone in the circle only if they adopt the centrist identity, so “women are included only as they deny their own specificity and difference ... In the liberal strategy the few women who really do make it into the circle inevitably end up denying their own reality of being on the margin in

15 This author chooses the feminist critique rather than attempting to speak for other groups such as black, liberation or Hispanic theologians.


17 Ibid., 54.

18 Ibid., 55.

19 And other ‘non-centrist’ groups.

20 Chopp, “When the Center Cannot Contain the Margins,” 65.
order to become like men..." \(^{21}\) The ordering of male and female in society is a form of centre-margin configuration. ‘Centre’ equates with public spheres where men live and move freely. ‘Margin’ corresponds with private spheres to which women have traditionally been relegated. Coming from ‘private’ worlds of personal piety into ‘public’ worlds of theological and ordination studies, women feel ‘alien’ or not ‘at home’ within dominant discourses of theological education and so are marginalised. That a whole group of people feel alien within academia is an indication of the non-universality of the centre and that the centre is actually a context formed from the dominant group’s interests, not one which is not objectively and universally human.

**Experiential Methodology:** Feminist theologians support an experiential methodology by making “a pedagogical and epistemological claim” \(^{22}\) when they claim experience as a starting point for doing theology. This is pivotal to feminist method. “Rather than presuming to possess a universal knowledge ... we assume that the most honest – and therefore most intellectually sound – contribution we can make ... is to name and examine our experiences of feminism, theology and education.” \(^{23}\) Feminist claims that the naming of experience, in all its particularity, prevents premature conflation to ‘common human experience’ aim to prevent theology’s bypassing the concrete realities of people’s lives. If everyone’s experience is the starting point for theology, deconstruction of the dichotomy between ‘centre’ and ‘margin’ can begin. When each particular experience is ‘allowed in’, the centre is no longer exclusive. The myth of ‘common human experience,’ they argue, is exposed as actual human experience is seen in all its variety.

**Hermeneutics of Suspicion:** The third feminist theme is a hermeneutics of suspicion. This questions who produces knowledge and what effect that has on the nature of that knowledge. In Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza’s experience, theological teaching takes little cognizance of learners’ socio-political situation or experience and is uncritical of assumptions underlying texts, doctrines and teachers presented as authoritative. Recognising “ideological

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\(^{21}\) Ibid., 66. At the 2000 ANZATS Eco-theology conference Rev. Dr. Ruth Page delivered her lectures on a theology of creation in a humorous, easily accessible style. It was noticeable that several men commented on this ‘different’ style appreciatively. Perhaps from within the status of having been the first woman Principal of New College and being towards the end of her theological teaching career, Dr. Page is able to use a distinctive style she could not have used earlier in her theological career.


\(^{23}\) Ibid.
limitations" of works of art or literature, including scripture, is a more responsible approach. She argues that suspicion should be applied both to one’s own experience and the theology and tradition being taught. A hermeneutics of suspicion renders centre and margin equal, both identified as value-driven. Schüssler Fiorenza contends underlying assumptions are usually left unexamined when theological students are first socialised into the scientific academic study of the Bible. On this assumption, biblical studies becomes a “hard” theological science, when actually it involves subjective interpretation. Secondly, professionalization causes conflicting subject positions between academic/scientific and religious/doctrinal, erroneously opposing scientific enquiry and religious commitment.

Non-examination of such assumptions, she argues, robs ordinands of training in analysing their own socio-political location. “The ethos of the discipline does not compel students to ask how theology or biblical interpretation as a discipline is constructed and how scholarship is conditioned by personal experience and social location.” As a consequence, having been taught a method “...of value-neutral, descriptive, historical exegesis as a first step, and theological-pastoral application as a second step, which is methodologically not mediated, they are prone to relinquish critical historical and theological enquiry for the sake of ready-made piety.” Feminists would critique readings offered for university study, for example, as to whether they are exclusively written from the perspective of the elite or whether they include a variety of hermeneutical perspectives and ensure that their location and bias are identified.

Most marginal critique challenges foundational assumptions of objectivity and calls for experiential methodology coloured with a hermeneutics of suspicion. It is the gender, colour, ethnic background or socio-economic status which differs. Marginal groups other than these white feminists echo the same principles. Feminist critique could be pushed aside as one


25 Ibid.

26 Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, But She Said: Feminist Practices of Biblical Interpretation (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 173. For example, the ‘human’ reality discussed in academic discourses has actually been described, traditionally, mainly by male scholars.

27 Ibid., 174-5.

28 Ibid., 175. Schüssler Fiorenza writes that she experienced this confusion herself as student.

29 Ibid., 176.
ideology on its own crusade were it not for other groups which also identify as marginal to the dominant centre.

An example is the case made against exclusion of the disabled within the church and religion, as argued by Nancy Eiseland. In her analysis of the relationship of the margin to the centre, she identifies the ‘minority-group model’ being applied to the disabled. The only way an adequate theology of disability can be formed, claims Eiseland, is to develop a theology which comes “from a liberatory voice that ...locates us at the speaking center.” While the specific context of each marginal group is different from the others, they have a common stance with regard to ‘centre’ or ‘mainstream.’ Each falls outside of the identity which Eiseland and others name, with irony, as ‘common human experience,’ an experience actually uncommon for many. From time to time, other groups attain the ‘centre.’

The central position, however, is always the most powerful and this reversal simply means others are marginalised. Western society does not yet seem to have found the solution to everyone being equally valued. Issues raised by increasing pluralism of western society and therefore the church and seminary form an important part of the literature. Any curriculum which seeks to address the unity/pluralism tension needs to encompass both ends of this polarity. As Kelsey argues, the choice is not unity or pluralism but whether to embrace a more complex unity with pluralism or pluralism with unity. If seminaries can achieve such

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30 Nancy Eiesland, *The Disabled God: Toward a Liberatory Theology of Disability* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1994), 63. The characteristics of minority groups include subordination of the minority group by the majority, accompanied by prejudice, classification of the minority group according to one shared ‘important’ characteristic shared by them (in this case disability), awareness of the minority themselves as a group, involuntary joining to the group and intra-marriage as a group norm encouraged by both minority and majority.

31 Eiseland, *The Disabled God*, 83.

32 Expression used by Eiseland at a post-graduate seminar at Otago University, 1998.

33 For example, women can now reach some positions of leadership formally only ever held by men.

34 These newly marginalised groups protest at their new position, as can be seen in the backlash against feminism or Maori activism.

35 For example, sometimes women are at the centre in relation to other woman who cluster on the margins, especially when the women at the centre are white or non-poor, while those at the margins are women of colour and poor. People with more socially-acceptable impairments could well act centrally in relation to those with greater disabilities on occasion. The rise of men’s consciousness-raising groups is a response to men feeling marginalised as more women gain central positions in society. There was considerable comment in New Zealand society in 2000 when women held all the main positions of political power in the country (Prime Minister, leader of the Opposition, Chief Justice, Mayor of the biggest city in the country, Attorney-General and Governor General), whereas men had held these positions for over 150 years with no comment being made. The entry of marginal people to the centre is noteworthy because of the unspoken assumptions it challenges.
complexity, exiting ordinands will have a model to follow in handling unity/pluralism issues within their parishes.

**Contextuality and Pluralism**

Contextuality is the other side of the pluralism issue. One theological context has been most commonly talked and written about: the context of western male experience. Marginal groups point out that other contexts exist. Some of these are geographical. Asian, African, New Zealand and other theologians appear in the literature as well as northern hemisphere, western theologians. Some contexts are gendered, women claiming that their different experience of life can offer valuable theological insights. Other contexts are racial. Black and womanist theologians name their African-American experience as a valid starting point for theology, as do Hispanic women with their *mujerista* theology and Maori and Pacific Islanders in the South Pacific.

Increasingly ‘hyphenated’ voices are also being heard – Japanese-American, Korean-American and so on. In New Zealand, the specific life situation of the New Zealand-born Samoan is a context often devalued within both Samoan and New Zealand cultures. For individuals in contexts other than white, western, northern hemisphere contexts, globalisation has been a threatening, homogenising force to be resisted, in order to preserve unique theological insights within the local context. This is true also for those living in North America who have a “hyphenated” identity. Members of this hyphenated, cross-cultural context have spoken up recently in theological education. Jung Young Lee, a Korean-American, claims that every American has an hyphenated identity and critiques ethnocentric North American culture. He argues the American melting pot dream has become corrupted to

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38 Work done in a Christology in Context paper with Pearson saw Pacific Island students identifying what role Christ might fill in their culture (some chose Christ as *matai* [chief] or Christ as *vale* [fool]), and also which scriptures applied to their own situation. One student chose the Scripture passage about the Son of Man having no place to lay his head as resonating with his own situation as a NZ-born Samoan, not accepted fully in either the Samoan or New Zealand context.

39 Non-American cultures find the marketing and sheer influence of American images through film and products such as Coca Cola and sportswear both inviting and overwhelming, especially when British colonial influences are only just now being overcome. Some influences are insidious. English visitors to New Zealand note the more widespread use here of the American greeting "Hi," than the more British "Good morning."

40 Lee, *Marginality.*
mean only white Americans participate, while coloured Americans remain marginal. Lee maintains, however, that the dream could still be realised:

From the perspective of the margin, every American brings his or her ethnicity, whether from a majority or minority perspective, to the whole; this alone is the norm of real America ... So, every American is a marginal person who lives in both or multiple worlds by simply being a part of this pluralistic society. Therefore, marginality imposes a new reality that transcends marginalization, for it means to be truly in both or in all worlds.

For this to happen, rich Caucasian North Americans need to be prepared to accept their own ‘hyphenality.’ Lee’s proposals for theological education are, consequently, radical. Likening seminaries to cookie cutters producing identical products, he argues an institution following centralist ideology cannot “… produce effective ministers for marginal people.” He calls for change in structures, staff and programmes, suggesting that the contexts in which ministers are formed should match the context which marginal peoples experience.

For the ordinand, two aspects of contextual issues are pertinent – one of content and one of the location of ministry training. Does ministry formation offer sufficient analysis and preparation for ministering in the real-life context of the postmodern, multicultural society the church now serves? This involves learning skills in contextual theology which take into account local stories and exegesis not only scripture but also congregation. Other contextual questions concern the locations in which seminary students best learn ministry – in seminary-based programmes, or congregational locations; it will be seen that some scholars have argued for the latter. Globalisation programmes offer encounter with the Other on their home territory so that ordinands can fully appreciate how context affects their own theological emphases and those of others. The second theme within the North American literature deals with both content and location issues for theology.

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41 Ibid., 36-37.

42 Ibid., 52-53.

43 Ibid., 138.

44 Lee suggests this can be achieved through student participation in theological discussion, less use of centralist jargon, modelling of the cell-group concept and use only of theological talk with concrete implications for action against dominant ideology. He advocates avoiding competition and grades for student performance and requiring teachers to return occasionally to church work. Also, he argues, “Seminary living standards [for faculty and students] should not surpass that of marginal people, and compensation should be based on need rather than rank.” Ibid., 139.

45 Leonora Tubbs Tisdale, Preaching as Local Theology and Folk Art (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997).
The Second Theme: Theology and Formation – Which Should Happen Where?

The North American literature on theological education reveals two aspects which require integration in ministry formation: theological education and formation. These have been major concerns of theological educators from the beginning of Presbyterian ministry training. The discussion about blending them brings back together the two aspects of theological education Farley argues once were indistinguishable, but which have of latter times been dislocated. In the modern era, academic study of theology \textit{(scientia)} has become divorced from spiritual aspects of faith and belief. As a corollary, faith has been seen as a sectarian and private activity, theology \textit{(habitus)}, left to personal taste and individual initiative on the part of the ordinand. We consider first the place of theology \textit{(scientia)} and then the place of formation, (spiritual, characteriological and global) which integrate \textit{scientia} with \textit{habitus} in ministry formation.

**Theology (Scientia)**

North American historical surveys of theological education indicate that in the eighteenth century ministry formation began with ‘reading for divinity.’ Here the intertwining of denominational theological positions with faith and ministry practice was normative.\(^46\) A tutor\(^47\) oversaw theological students’ study and practical church work. Denominational approaches varied, but standards generally followed ordained ministers’ expectations, not college degree requirements, students following a routine rather than a curriculum of theological studies.\(^48\) In New England strong institutional support was soon provided, while further west, frontier churches still left ministry training to ministers.\(^49\) ‘Reading for divinity’ mediated between “doctrinal standards of particular communions and increasing denominational pluralism of the colleges.”\(^50\)


\(^47\) A local pastor or professor of divinity.

\(^48\) Gilpin, “The Seminary Ideal,” 88-89. Ordinands preached and led prayer in private meetings, then preached publicly and led worship under pastors’ supervision. Essays addressed theological questions set by teachers/tutors.

\(^49\) For example, William Tennet who trained 20 students in a “Log College” built c. 1735. Ibid., 91.

\(^50\) Ibid., 93-95.
North American religious history illustrates how theology’s place changed as theological colleges developed. Colleges which opened after the Great Awakening mostly accepted only Protestant students. By the 1780s, however, Yale and Harvard had reduced undergraduate divinity courses, emphasising studies towards other professional careers. Denominations could no longer look to the colleges to represent their specific ideals, so some turned back to ‘reading for divinity,’ “…to provide what colleges seemed no longer able to assure: the ecclesial context of ministerial formation.”

Tension consequently developed between academic learning and “knowledge of Christ which the minister had been called to mediate to the people.” In churches where piety was mandatory, ministry formation located itself in congregations, not schools. Elsewhere, theological and spiritual formation began to split apart, becoming the responsibility of different groups within the process – theology in the colleges and piety in the church, an outcome further exacerbated by arrival of the four-fold pattern of theological education from the continent. The beginnings of the fragmentation of theologia can be discerned in these accounts.

In the early nineteenth century seminaries developed. Independent of colleges, American seminaries offered post-college ministry education initially with no set curricula. By 1830, however, the four-fold pattern of theological education was partially visible at Andover. The seminaries influenced curriculum development elsewhere. From the 1830s to the 1850s, the direct influence of German theological encyclopedia was noticeable. American scholars studying in Germany discovered a theory of the study of theology at Halle and Berlin which produced curricula in which exegesis, dogmatics, ecclesiastical history and practical

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51 Ibid., 95.
52 Ibid., 101.
53 This had a side effect of opening up ministry to other social classes in these denominations.
54 Andover opened in 1808 and Princeton in 1812. This was over thirty years before Bishop Selwyn developed the College of St John the Evangelist for training Anglican clergy at Waihau, New Zealand in 1843. Allan K. Davidson, Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand, 2nd ed. (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 1997), 57.
55 The North American ‘college’ is usually equivalent to the British term ‘university.’
57 Ibid., 122.
58 Ibid., 123.
theology were studied as separate disciplines. Introductory courses called "Theological Encyclopedia" delineated departments, methods and literature.⁵⁹ On their return to North America, these scholars called for reform and, during the latter half of the century, the fourfold pattern "came to be taken for granted."⁶⁰ Further specialisation of theological education occurred with appointments of separate professors in different disciplines.⁶¹

The language of 'professional ministry training' was heard just before the turn of the nineteenth century, through advocacy of professional education by William Rainy Harper.⁶² Harper believed this would produce the leaders America needed. He critiqued contemporary products of seminaries, advocating practical studies to apply the academic curriculum.⁶³ Robert Lynn suggests this converted the four-fold curriculum to a two-fold theory/practice pattern.⁶⁴

A further problem for tertiary theological study was the increasing prizing of rationalism in the university as the modern era proceeded. As Enlightenment and rationalism continued to influence universities an 'objective' scientific approach was increasingly taken in individual theological disciplines. Existential dimensions of theology became detached from the study of Bible, church history and systematic theology. Theology itself fell into the 'objective-equals-university' and 'commitment-equals-private-devotion' trap. Within the debate about whether university study must necessarily be always only rational and objective, theology is especially vulnerable both because of its non-rational and supra-rational connection with faith and due to varying state positions on the teaching of religion in public institutions. In this debate, often theology is seen to be unsuitable for university research and teaching, while religious studies are thought to be less sectarian and different scholars argue for each side.

Edward Farley argues that three different misunderstandings lead to the thinking that 'committed' theology properly belongs in the seminary while 'objective' religion properly

⁵⁹ Ibid., 124-125.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 125.

⁶¹ Ibid., 126.

⁶² Harper was the founding President of Chicago University; he died in 1905.

⁶³ These views were expressed in Harper's 1989 essay, "Shall the Theological Curriculum Be Modified and How?"

belongs at university. One is the mistaken belief that university scholarship is not confessional, while in fact it inevitably contains "explicit and tacit advocacies." 65 (Not only religious knowledge experiences this "tension between the objectivity ideal and aspects of the historicity of knowledge." 66) A second misunderstanding which Farley identifies is that the confessional commitment of seminaries necessarily compromises critical rationality in those institutions, while universities with their "non-confessional" position are not compromised. 67 Seminaries, however, are not necessarily compromised academically because they are confessional while universities do sometimes find themselves compromised. A third misunderstanding conceives some disciplines as confessional (e.g., church history) but others as non-confessional (e.g., ethics). 68 All knowledge however involves passion and advocacy elements, as Farley earlier argued. "...[T]here is nothing in scholarship itself, nothing about the aims of liberal arts paideia, nothing about the critical rationality of specific disciplines that absolutely require religion to be studied [only] as culture [in the university]." 69

As seen earlier, feminist writers form one group which takes a sceptical view of claims that university study is and should be 'objective.' For the Mudflower Collective, 70 theologising is a process in which theologians need to be personally involved. "We have learned that to consume passively theologies produced by others is not to do theology." 71 They argue that teachers cannot teach theology as though distant from the truths they live. "Something new cannot be discovered, revealed or offered unless the discoverer owns up to what difference this discovery or insight makes in her or his life." 72 This argument suggests the threads of academic and personal should never have been separated. In fact, it argues they really never have been – that the 'objectivity' of academic theology is more apparent than real.

66 Ibid.
67 Ibid., 27.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid., 28.
70 A 1985 Lilly Endowment funding enabled the Mudflower Collective. It included white and black and one Hispanic woman.
72 Ibid., 157.
For feminists in the 1980s, however, life-changing scholarship is more authentic than that which operates solely "in deductive or analytical modes of thought." They suggest different academic criteria: "Feminist theology must be inductive, synthetic, and imaginative. Its primary values include perceptiveness, insight, depth and breadth of critical illumination, and respect for the diversity of experiences of persons in different social locations." The paradigm shift to acknowledge subjectivity, which Carol Christ calls for, is a difficult task, as considerable fear arises amongst scholars when urged to adapt methodology "...which they view as rational, objective, dispassionate and their defense against chaos." This might explain the ambiguous and difficult position which pastoral theology, a "softer" theological subject, has in the university. The discipline of pastoral theology has an obvious subjectivity, using concepts difficult to quantify and employing non-rational modes of study.

University religious studies departments face the same difficulties. Several writers have contributed to the North American literature on this subject and it was the focus of an ATS seminar. The question is whether religion is taught in the university as cultural artifact or should also investigate truth claims of religious belief systems. Which position is compatible with the university ethos of detachment and objectivity? How far can one study faith self-consciously without falling into the 'sectarian temptation'? James Gustafson argues that while sectarianism protects Christian identity, its cost is intelligibility and participation in political, cultural and university life, resting on fallacious sociological assumptions that the church is "culturally isolable from the wider society and culture of which it is part."

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73 Ibid., 157-8.

74 Ibid., 158.

75 Christ, "Toward a Paradigm Shift," 55. It is difficult firstly because of the low economic/political status of feminist scholars in the university and, secondly, the way in which 'objective' scholarship has labelled the feminist paradigm 'non-scholarship,' a term continued from Mary Daly, Beyond God the Father (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), 11-12. This labelling follows from dualistic thinking which opposes rationality, objectivity, dispassion and order as 'good' qualities with the less desired qualities of irrationality, subjectivity, passion and chaos.

76 Don S. Browning, ed., Practical Theology (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1983), 1. Browning asks in his Introduction whether pastoral theology is an 'easy' or 'hard' subject.


he argues, has never been true. A fine balance must therefore be achieved by churches training ministers for denominational positions. The temptation of sectarianism must be weighed against the opportunities of participation in a world wider than narrow church interests, even though that world might threaten to dislocate theology and faith from each other.

On the other hand, when religion is taught outside church institutions in the university, religious studies departments face the challenge of teaching religion within an institution where academic, rational and commercial interests hold power. This political dilemma for theology and for religious studies in universities links with the argument of this thesis. It will be seen that governance decisions made about New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation often included whether or not its theology would be taught at university level. All of these arguments are facets of the same issue. Academia values the rational and objective view and thus continually, in more disciplines than only theology, holds apart rational and intuitive, objective and subjective, academic and personal, theology and faith. All these polarities interweave with each other, but it is the latter polarity which is especially relevant to where the best location for ministry formation is to be found.

As well as dislocating theology and faith, the location of theology within the university in a four-fold pattern of disciplines makes reform of theological institutions more difficult. This includes church colleges if that pattern is included in part of their programme. The very specialisation within disciplines causes reform to fail. Organisation of knowledge into specialisations “...forms a large part of professors' identities, determining their basic cognitive commitments, guild loyalty, career-long agendas and perceptions of other fields.”79 This makes the integration needed for holistic ministry and effective formation of ordinands extremely difficult. The task of integration can fall back on the ordinand unless the ministry formation institution takes responsibility for facilitating it.80 When churches value academic scholarship in their teachers, their schools align with the ideals of higher education,81 where tenure and promotion depend on academic research and publications, not interdisciplinary discussion and pedagogy. Churches thereby inherit the same barriers to reform.

79 Ibid., 135.

80 Specialisation also hinders reform, Farley claims, because faculty have an “unspoken agreement” of non-interference with each other's specialities. “Unfortunately, the hands off agreement breeds a certain indifference to general concerns affecting the school's health... It becomes difficult for faculty to participate in grand designs, theories of educational transformation, or new pedagogical paradigms.” Edward Farley, “Why Seminaries Don't Change,”139.

81 Ibid., 133.
Aims of ministry formation are different from academic theological study where the end-product is specialised academic theological research scholars. Such specialisation is not as necessary in parish ministry. Looking at theological education from the church’s perspective, Ronald E. Osborn argues ministers need to be trained in generalist skills. “...[T]he wisdom of sensitive and informed generalists is precisely what contemporary society needs – the guidance of persons who see the whole picture, who are concerned for the welfare of all, who are attuned to the purposes of God for the coming age.” Specialisation is counterproductive for parish ministers, he argues. Osborn claims North American seminaries are becoming more academically specialized, like graduate schools in the theological disciplines, and it will be seen that he regrets the dearth of seminary courses which help ordinands understand the world in which they will minister. Academic theology seems to Osborn to be out of touch, and seminary appointments do not assist its rapport with the ‘real world.’

The dynamics of the seminary as a branch of the academy assigns primacy to performance as a scholar, whether in the appointment of a new professor or in recommendations for promotion; usefulness to the church in some indirect fashion may be more or less assumed, but rarely does it function as a criterion in selection or advancement.

Osborn points out that the church does not offer rewards commensurate with those offered by the academy for such ‘usefulness to the church.’ “The American religious community needs to find a way of honouring schools for devotion to and effectiveness in total education for ministry, not scientific distinction alone.” Valuing the rewards awarded by scholarly disciplines, many faculty seeking them set their priorities accordingly on academic research and publication. Emulating their teachers’ specialised research is an unreal prospect for ordinands, however.

Not only is theology split into four disparate disciplines, but there is subsequent tension between sectarianism and critical inquiry in ministry training. Faith remains (albeit

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82 Osborn was commissioned in 1987 to survey theological education by the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). See Ronald E. Osborn, The Education of Ministers for the Coming Age (St Louis, MO: CBP Press, 1987).

83 Ibid., 77.

84 Ibid., 83.

85 Ibid., 95.

86 Ibid., 96.

87 Ibid., 164.

unconsciously by most) a private, uncritically accepted entity and the ‘ordinary’ person entering ministry formation can emphatically reject critical inquiry (as pursued in academic theology) as dangerous to their faith. Churches encounter difficulty in finding, appointing and rewarding teachers who can train ministers in interdisciplinary and integrated ways, appropriately incorporating the faith issues needed for holistic ministry training. These teachers need also to be content with more poorly paid church teaching positions which often offer little promotion. The question of theology’s ‘place’ is double edged. University teachers in religion and theology encounter this problem internally within their institutions and churches also must choose whether they will have their ordinands learn theology in universities or church-based seminaries. They then must deal with the implications of either decision.

**Formation**

One tool which can be used to re-integrate theology with faith is the formation process. Formation processes aim for integration within the student. They usually require reflection on theory and practice and as a result, increasing emotional maturation with an increasing ability to handle complexity. A growing sense of self-identity is also expected in the well-formed minister. Three types of formation are discussed in the North American literature: spiritual formation, formation of character and cultural transformation fostered by globalisation programmes.

*Spiritual Formation:* Spiritual formation was the focus of a 1980 ATS-funded pilot programme, led by Tilden Edwards. Staff in this programme claimed:

> What historically has been divided and warring can now be seen in their mutually correcting and enriching complementarity: the complementarity of theology and spirituality ... The church’s mission and effectiveness is weakened insofar as this full complement of gifted human resource is devalued or ignored in the formation process.”

These teachers saw spiritual formation as an answer to the dislocation experienced by ordinands in theological education. “...[T]here seems to be an increasing realisation of the integrating importance of spiritual formation in a curriculum which is full of bits and pieces, often with no way in which it is all brought together uniquely to inform the soul and calling of

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89 The report of the ATS Task Force on Spiritual Development had filled most of the Spring issue of *Theological Education* in 1972 and this was a follow-up. Tilden H. Edwards, “Spiritual Formation in Theological Schools: Ferment and Challenge,” *Theological Education* XVII/1 (1980): 7. This pilot comprised six regional conferences and one national conference of faculty from theological schools.

a particular student."91 The spiritual formation experience can act as a process through which the disparate pieces of a curriculum can be integrated within the students' developing understanding of themselves and ministry. Alan Jones describes 'spirituality' as not just a seminary problem, but a deep cultural issue.92

The religious establishment of the mainline churches has lost its nerve and this too has affected the seminaries ... What we need is a pedagogy of confidence and hope ... When we lose touch with "transcendent norms" we lose touch with any sense of God and, in the end, lose touch with ourselves.93

Jones suggests this cultural impoverishment is revealed in rationalist approaches to seminary curricula where proliferating courses give squeeze time for prayer or reflection.94 While arguing that the erotic is a primary theme of mystical theology, Jones reluctantly agrees with Bloom that this energy, essential to educational processes, is draining away.95 "Our eroticism is wounded. We do not know how to enjoy each other and the world. Seminaries, of all educational institutions, should be able to speak to this. They should know the limits of reason."96 Jones cites the dangers to seminary education as being both aridity of liberalism and rigidity of the right,97 and claims a fostering of feminization would prevent "reductionism, inflation and disembodiment."98 This is not necessarily something either staff or students would welcome, but Jones maintains: "The issue for seminaries is the discovery of an authentic pattern of spiritual formation which combines theological clarity with moral bite and life-transforming practice."99 Jones suggests that the longings students bring to the seminary are left unmet because busy programmes cause disconnection with the whole person. "We do not know how to be experiments in vulnerability and speak from our

91 Ibid., 22.
92 Alan Jones, "Are We Lovers Anymore?," Theological Education XXIV/1(1987): 9-29. This 1987 issue of Theological Education on spiritual formation includes responses to Jones' paper. Respondents were Sandra M. Schneiders, Dwight L. Grubbs, Ralph W. Klein and John Meyendorf.
93 Ibid., 12.
94 Ibid., 11.
95 Ibid., 13.
96 Ibid., 14.
97 Ibid., 12.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid., 16.
Jones argues this lack of authentic encounter, lack of an experience of *I am*, shows up in boredom.\textsuperscript{101}

Students are forced to acquire too many ‘skills for ministry’ without ‘the one thing needful,’ a maturing sense of self and a hunger for God. There is far too much fieldwork in which the seminarian is given the illusion that he or she is being useful. Far better to struggle with the emerging sense of self than have to ask the painful question, ‘Am I anyone when I’m not doing anything?’ It is better to begin facing this question before rather than after ordination. If they face this issue, ordinands might do less harm to themselves and others in the future.\textsuperscript{102}

Jones’ work suggests theology and faith are dislocated and the formational process which could reintegrate them was all but lost to North American seminary education by 1987, this despite his belief that the pursuit of truth “...requires intellectual piety – a warmth of devotion which we do not often associate with the intellect.”\textsuperscript{103} Jones calls for the “issue of human identity” to be the focus of seminary education – not only taught, but lived there.

Intellectually we need a new and vigorous theological anthropology which the seminaries not only teach but also incarnate ... Human beings need ‘holy spaces’ if they are to survive and flourish. These holy spaces are public and open and are there to provide a free and hospitable place for the formation and education of free people.\textsuperscript{104}

Such holy spaces require room for movement and contention. “All true formation must have within it room for contradiction and revolt...”\textsuperscript{105} Jones concludes: “I suppose I am asking for nothing less than conversion for seminaries.”\textsuperscript{106} Those supporting the objective side of the debate about theology in the university are most wary of the warmth and humanity called for by Jones.

Dwight L. Grubbs,\textsuperscript{107} however, welcomes Jones’ renewed focus on spiritual formation and argues that “... knowledge and skills courses alone provide an inadequate introduction to ministry. A third cluster of courses and experiences which examine spiritual, psychological

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 15.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 18.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 19. Jones is suggesting here that piety is actually needed for intellectual work.

\textsuperscript{103} Ibid., 21.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid., 27-28.

\textsuperscript{107} Grubbs at the time of writing taught a course entitled, “What kind of person do I need to be in order to become an effective minister?”
and professional development is necessary.”

Grubbs contends that seminaries should provide intentional spiritual formation to achieve balance between emotion and intellect. “The Christian church has tended to err on either the side of an intellectual ‘left-brained’ faith that sought for doctrinal clarity and purity, or on the side of an emotional ‘right-brained’ faith that sought for expression of feelings. Perhaps we can have a balance of both.”

He includes psychological development alongside the spiritual in his definition of formation and his “third cluster of courses” would seem to provide Jones’ ‘holy spaces.’

Other researchers have found gaps in theological education which they argue could be filled by spiritual formation. Graduate students interviewed after two years of parish work by Roy Oswald were disappointed parish work had not nourished their spirituality, but:

Only in retrospect did they realize that they had gone through four years of seminary education without once being asked about their personal life, their personal relationship with God, their experiences of Christ, the meaning of suffering in their lives, the ups and downs of their own spiritual journey, the ways in which they got centered and grounded, their personal discipline of meditation, prayer and scriptural study, the spiritual giants of their lives and their attempts at finding a spiritual father/mother/guru/friend for the present and the activities that fed them spiritually.

Forster Freeman’s choice of D.Min research topic – “Is the contemplative approach to spiritual direction an effective way to advance Protestants’ readiness for ministry?” – arose from his finding the same lack in his own training across three seminaries.

What I needed in my uncertainty and inarticulateness, was for a seminary to take initiative not only to make formal provision for a spiritual direction program to complement the intellectual curriculum and the practicums, but also to incorporate it into the catalog and orientation sessions, and openly to encourage voluntary participation. My seminaries, like other Protestant schools in those days, however, saw their educational responsibility to be in the realm of cognitive study and field work. The spiritual development was expected somehow to come naturally.

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109 Ibid., 35.

110 Roy M. Oswald, Crossing the Boundary between Seminary and Parish (Washington, DC: The Alban Institute, 1980), 18.


112 Ibid., 3. Freeman identifies several blocks for seminaries taking up this responsibility: rationalist views of knowledge, the need for acceptance by academia, prejudice against Roman Catholic priestly-style mediation, fear of pietistic and moralistic stances and belief that academic study alone would enough to foster inner development. Some teachers believed they could work with students’ personal and spiritual issues, forgetting they were also their assessors.
These writers call for governance decisions which produce intentional spiritual formation programmes that both challenge and ground students in their faith in ways that complement cognitive theological training. Other writers suggest spiritual formation in the beginning of ministry formation might have a prophylactic effect for later ministry. Donald Hans’ and Wayne Fehr’s documentation of why clergy come to their centre for healing, after breakdowns of different sorts, suggests formation done well in the training phase might prevent clerical breakdown later.

Nearly all the clergy who have come to us for treatment of emotional disorders and/or addictions have also been suffering from a spiritual malaise. Many of them are at a point of estrangement from God, with scarcely any genuine personal relationship to the Mystery that they proclaim to others... The dissociation of head and heart is especially noticeable in these clergy. They are well-educated in theology, and are often eloquent in speaking of the truths of Christian faith. But they have either never felt deeply and personally the truths they proclaim, or they have gradually drifted away from a personal relationship to them.¹¹³

If the integration of the affective faith aspects of theological education with cognitive aspects makes for a more whole person, it would follow that formation exercises which aid integration will result in a minister more able to deal with the complexities of ministry. They are therefore essential components of the total ministry formation programme and require governance systems which are intentional about their presence in that wider programme.

Formation of Character: While spiritual formation appeals to those who value piety, others who espouse a more rational/intellectual approach use the concept of formation of character. The desired outcome may be much the same. A 1988 Theological Education issue¹¹⁴ on formation of character responded to Ministry in America, a large 1980 survey in which primarily character traits were identified as desirable in ministers.¹¹⁵ In this survey, two negative character traits were rated as ‘undesirable.’¹¹⁶ Seven other themes surveyed were rated ‘quite important,’ all of them character-related: open, affirming style, caring for persons under stress, congregational leadership, theological in life and thought, ministry from personal commitment of faith, development of fellowship and worship, denominational awareness and


¹¹⁴ Keynote writers in this issue included George Lindbeck, David Tracy and Clark Gilpin. Responses were made by Douglas John Hall, Jane Smith and Robert P. Meye.

¹¹⁵ David S. Schuller, Merton P. Strommen, and Milo L. Brekke, eds., Ministry in America (New York: Harper & Row, 1980). This is the report and analysis of a survey of 47 denominations in the US and Canada, as part of the Readiness for Ministry project of the ATS.

¹¹⁶ “Privatistic, Legalistic Style” and “Disqualifying Personal and Behavioral Characteristics.”
This survey shows character is important to those on the receiving end of ministry. A conclusion to be drawn from this is that governance systems need to ensure that selection processes intentionally seek ordinands with desirable character traits and that formation processes are designed to develop further these desirable character traits.

Some North American theological educators argue that skills training has overtaken character formation as a goal for ministry training. Specialist theological training emphasises apologetical skills, “...making religion intelligible and meaningful by the standards of the de-christianized high culture rather than with faithfulness as judged by internal norms.” Even pastoral studies can be side-tracked when relevancy and skills become the focus of ministry training rather than formation.

George Lindbeck seems to argue that teaching even of relevant skills does not necessarily form or enhance character. Similarly, David Tracy calls for more than reason in the education of the soul. He contends that philosophic dialogue is not empty thought, unrelated to action, but that “...all thought ... exists ultimately for the sake of action and commitment...all thought not ultimately connected to action, concern, commitment is empty.” This would depend on how philosophic dialogue was conducted, whether it offered an opening for action or concern. In ministry training, he suggests, these paramount goals are best achieved in community. For Lindbeck and others, spiritual formation programmes, working as they do with inner beliefs and commitment, also form character.

117 Significantly, two themes which scored merely as “somewhat important” were those that might have been thought to define the Presbyterian minister’s role: ministry to community and world and Priestly-Sacramental ministry.


119 Ibid., 23.

120 David Tracy, “Can Virtue be Taught? Education, Character and the Soul,” Theological Education XXIV Supplement I (1988): 42. Tracy was then Professor of Theology, The Divinity School, University of Chicago.

121 Ibid., 49.

122 Ibid., 50.
Ronald Osborn argues that a fiduciary focus should lie alongside the scientific and professional strands of theological education. This fiduciary strand sounds formational: "designed to enlarge, strengthen and transmit a trust." Inculcating trustworthiness is formation of character by another name. For Osborn, identifying ministry as a profession comparable to law or medicine ignores the "true essence" of ministry — "humble but authentic service as an exemplar of life in Christ, a witness to the work of God in Christ, a spiritual director, a teacher of Christian faith, a leader of the Christian community."

Communicating this in contemporary times, seminaries must understand and engage the secular mind in ways consistent with scientific enquiry and professional standards, but not settling for intellectualism without faith. Fiduciary integrity or trustworthiness is a character trait, the desirable opposite of "disqualifying personal and behavioral characteristics" so disliked in the *Ministry in America* survey. Other writers also call for a third formational process: transformation through globalisation programmes, or cultural formation.

*Cultural Formation*: The intention of North American globalisation programmes in theological education is to de-centre "...Euro Atlantic culture and theology" in the worldview of faculty and students. Growing ecumenism alerted North American theological educators to cultures and ministry contexts other than American White Anglo-Saxon Protestant and spawned an ATS decade focus on globalisation. The term 'globalisation' in small countries like New Zealand suggests a global pot where all contextual difference is melted away. In the ATS globalisation programmes of the 1990s, however, the

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123 It was noticeable, however, in Jane Smith's response to Lindbeck that his use of the term 'spiritual formation' synonymously with 'formation of character' was surprising to Smith, suggesting she did not see the two activities as the same thing. Jane I. Smith, "Spiritual Awareness and the Formation of Character," *Theological Education* XXIV Supplement I (1988): 80-81.


125 Ibid., 162.

126 Ibid., 169.

127 Ibid.


129 Growing ecumenism in North America was the trigger for a 1990s ATS decade focus on globalisation programmes.

130 Through the 1990s.
goal was to discover (for some American students and faculty for the first time) the diversity of contexts in the 'global village.'

Globalisation understood this way is therefore a western and mostly North American agenda. While many North American students and educators need immersion in other contexts to gain a wider worldview, others do not. On the contrary, the experience of non-western or non-North American Caucasian students in the West can be "alienating rather than helpful." In contrast, they need space to find their own identity.

... the dominant cultures of the West have long been able to ignore the rest of the world or to image them in their own terms. Those formed in such cultures are in special need of direct remedial experience to overcome this outlook. And those in cultures which have been dominated or heavily influenced by the West need space and freedom to recover their own authentic cultural heritage.

North American Globalisation programmes vary. The most successful comprise a series of immersion experience overseas and locally organised by local hosts. These facilitate significant encounters with the "other" - non-white, non-American, non-western, non-rich. Immersion encounters can be transforming in a way classroom experiences cannot. "Intentionally opening oneself to the 'other' within the diversity and disparity of the whole inhabited world is unsettling, to say the least." Such 'unsettling' is a hallmark of a potentially effective formational process if followed by reflection on the experience and self in relation to the experience.

131 S. Mark Heim, "Mapping Globalization for Theological Education," *Theological Education* 26, Supplement I (1990): 31. New Zealand is such a dominated culture. British colonial experiences are still strong influences and New Zealand is presently in danger of being overwhelmed by the Americanised global village and 'Coca-cola-isation.' New Zealanders cannot, however, only point the finger at America. New Zealanders have also, within their own country, dominance of one over another. Because Pakeha/Palagi culture dominates the New Zealand scene, Pakeha/Palagi ministry students may need 'globalisation' experiences to adequately encounter the many "others" now present in New Zealand society, amongst whom they will minister. Globalisation-style experiences may provide a vital transformational thread in the warp of New Zealand ministry.

132 Ibid., 31.

133 The globalisation base-line data survey initiated by the Committee on Global Theological Education (CGTE), also reported in 1986. David S. Schuller, "Globalization in Theological Education: Summary and Analysis of Data," *Theological Education* XXII (Spring 1986): 19-56. Only half the schools contacted replied. Globalisation was understood differently in different schools. Two-thirds had formally made globalisation a curriculum objective. Schools most intensely involved in globalisation programmes represented a broad spectrum. In them, sabbaticals of "a sizeable number of faculty" are spent in Third World countries and cross-cultural and overseas contacts are significant for globalization studies programmes.

Globalisation students are required to follow learning experiences with action. The covenant of application in the Chicago pilot programmes “...is a declaration of how learnings from the experience will be applied upon participants’ return home ... Covenant partners are selected to support and hold one another accountable for individual and institutional covenants of application.”\(^{135}\) This therefore is not geographically removed and intellectually ‘objective’ education, but personal transforming involvement with real contexts other than the familiar, embedded in a reflective programme. The process of allowing the other to take unfamiliar roles towards oneself contributes to the degree of disturbance in the process. The Chicago Schools’ globalisation project took the immersion process a step further by including local grassroots hosts in the planning process. Participants involved in this institutional change found that:

> When oriented toward fundamental institutional change, opening oneself to the ‘other’ typically moves through deepening cycles of resistance and enthusiasm as a program’s heightening visibility draws more voices into the discussion and the implications of the transformation required become more clear.\(^{136}\)

It is argued that both the Gospel and the present global context demand change within seminaries. The claim is that while institutional change is difficult, “many” participating seminaries “are confident that they are in the midst of transformation.”\(^{137}\) Involving grassroots local immersion programme hosts in programme planning has political implications for governance in seminaries. Not the least of these is inversion of traditional epistemological conventions when knowledge of context becomes as important as academic knowledge of abstract principles: who produces and carries the most significant knowledge in a globalisation context?

When Fumitaka Matsuoka discusses the political implications of globalisation programmes,\(^{138}\) he asserts the “counter paradigm” of globalisation\(^{139}\) must be deliberately chosen, not assumed to be natural. “Life in a pluralistic society is not an obvious fact. It is a decision one must make. It is a very specific self-conscious reading of social reality.”\(^{140}\) While Matsuoka

\(^{135}\) Ibid.

\(^{136}\) Ibid., 8.

\(^{137}\) Ibid.


\(^{139}\) Ibid., 42.

\(^{140}\) Ibid., 43.
acknowledges difficulties faced by seminaries adapting to counter-paradigms, he argues: “A crucial task of theological education in North America is to create a structure where the marginalized can affirm their freedom by refusing to behave according to the previously established educational ordering.”\(^{141}\) Such a structure, he adds, will not become central until globalisation is intentionally embedded in the curriculum and supported by the presence of significant groups (women, people of colour, and other marginalised peoples) in faculty, administration and the student body.\(^{142}\)

Other non-North American writers fear globalisation in theological education is yet another tool for dominance by western agendas.\(^{143}\) J.R. Cochrane\(^{144}\) asks, from his South African context, whose interests theological education serves and to what is it oriented.\(^{145}\) Mutuality, or personal encounter with the Other, is what he hopes globalisation programmes will achieve as North American students and faculty participate in overseas immersion projects.

Whether by spiritual, characterological or cultural means, the formational aim of all these writers is that the institution should take responsibility for designing programmes which will achieve increasing integration of the person, emotional maturation and the ability to deal with complexity.

**The Context in which Ministers are Formed: Why not the Congregation?**

It will be remembered Osborn argued the congregation deserves more attention, “for here those actions which are absolutely essential to ecclesial existence and mission take place.”\(^{116}\) A group of scholars have promoted and engaged in congregational studies. Congregations

\(^{141}\) Ibid., 45.

\(^{142}\) Matsuoka here echoes the argument of feminist theologians and Farley in their critique of academic theology.


\(^{144}\) Susan B. Thistlethwaite, and George F. Cairns, eds., Beyond Theological Tourism: Mentoring as a Grassroots Approach to Theological Education (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1994).


\(^{146}\) Osborn, *The Education of Ministers*, 124.
have been studied sociologically from the beginning of the twentieth century, largely from the outside for the first six decades. Through the 1960s, critical idealism developed in congregational studies. This combined theological and social analysis, although arguably the sociological emphasis meant academics captured congregational studies.

The establishment of congregational studies was contingent upon the coming into being of the disciplines of sociology and anthropology, in particular. It simply never occurred to anyone to rigorously examine the local congregation in its concrete particularity until social scientific methods were applied to analyzing human and organizational behavior. For the first half of this century practitioners of congregational studies were predominantly sociologists.

Internal dynamics of churches became the emphasis during the 1970s as the church growth movement developed. Congregational studies include both studying congregational identity and development of ministries which the congregations' own self-understanding generate.

These studies could have become just another type of pastoral theology except for James Hopewell's argument that the congregation should become the context of formation for ordinands. In 1984, he suggested that instead of centering attention on student ministers' "cognitive and characterological development," it should be the "cognitive and characterological development of the local church at the centre of ministry education."

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148 Ibid., 187.

149 Ibid., 185-186.


According to Hopewell, focus on students' competence and personal growth crowded curricula and promoted individualistic ministry, and concentration on students' faith journeys obscured the faith community's own development. This implied that "...ministry originates within the self and affects the world by the personal action of the individual." Hopewell proposed instead a congregational paradigm for theological education. More than just a contextual or political move, he argued this would "...join seminary and congregation in a quest for the redemptive community." Focusing on congregation rather than student, Hopewell argued, gave sustained rather than artificial rhythm to curricula, since congregational life continued long after students graduated. "As in a teaching hospital, students would play into an ongoing, larger labor for comprehension and praxis. Their own stay, although having its curriculum, would be more tangibly set in activities pursued before and beyond their personal involvement." Hopewell criticised the current emphasis on the student as devaluing congregations.

It denies the church's social reality as a bodied community that coheres by its own thick culture. The culture of any congregation in fact sustains and digests the ministrations of its clergy ... The congregation, in fact, generates its own information, recalls its story and plays it out, and is more than the field upon which ministry is played out.

This requires linking theological inquiry with development of a community, not only studying the ministry individual and the congregational context and identity. Abstractions such as 'church,' 'world' and 'people' would be dealt with through concrete realities of particular areas and local churches.

... the theological inquiry would be directed to finding out how the church and world are in fact instantiated in a particular place, what forms the historical and ecumenical context of a local church, what makes the church local, what constitutes its human situation and informs its response as a church.

153 Ibid., 61-62.
154 Ibid., 62.
155 Ibid., 63.
156 Ibid., 64.
157 Ibid., 66.
158 Ibid., 66-67.
159 Ibid., 68.
160 Ibid., 68-69.
Hopewell’s congregational paradigm was picked up by a group of theological educators in 1985.\textsuperscript{161} Despite writers’ enthusiasm, however, disciplinary hegemony remained a barrier to reform. Although a consensus for change developed, “[a]s Letty Russell points out, neither Hopewell’s paradigm nor any other new pattern can be implemented unless historians, biblical scholars and theologians become convinced that the new model will be related creatively to their disciplinary interests.”\textsuperscript{163} As a result, congregational issues continued to be neglected by scholarly research. “Ideally, good teaching and research should enrich each other … If teaching is to improve the preparation for ministry, the neglect of congregational issues and materials by most of the disciplines in theological studies must be corrected.”\textsuperscript{164} In this tussle between scholars’ disciplinary interests and congregational analysis, disciplinary specialisation again is identified as a barrier to reform, coinciding with Farley’s similar claims.\textsuperscript{165}

Candler continued research through the 1990s with over twenty congregations of five denominations and six research teams.\textsuperscript{166} Significantly, Thomas Edward Frank notes the six faculty participating were relative newcomers to Candler and scholarly careers.\textsuperscript{167} Questions had changed over the decade, reflecting the shift into postmodernism.

The 90’s generation proved to be less inclined toward ‘big questions,’ such as redoing the paradigm of theological education around ‘the congregation.’ The group did not attempt curricular proposals or an impact on the pedagogy or research interests of colleagues not in the program. Clearly the questions had changed. ‘How can we devise programs for getting

\textsuperscript{161} Including Don Browning, John Cobb, Joseph Hough, David Kelsey and Barbara Wheeler. This is the research project which produced \textit{Beyond Clericalism}. Joseph C. Hough and Barbara Wheeler, eds., \textit{Beyond Clericalism: The Congregation as a Focus for Theological Education} (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1989). Schools involved were the Candler School of Theology, the School of Theology Claremont, Yale Divinity School and Union Theological Seminary in New York. Each selected a team of faculty who met “to discuss the effects of making the congregation the central focus of theological education.” Hough and Wheeler, \textit{Beyond Clericalism}, x. Two meetings were held and papers produced, some of which form the book. Writers responded from their own disciplines, so the congregational focus would not be shuffled off into practical theology. They were asked to consider what might result were such a paradigm adopted.

\textsuperscript{166} Ibid., x. Four orientations towards congregations emerged. Two were that congregations serve as a paradigm for theological education and they benefit from theological education using this as a paradigm. Two other approaches saw congregations as partners of seminaries and as a focus for theological studies, both subject and object of theological investigations.

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid., xxi. Remember, Osborn and Farley’s comments that disciplinary rewards for faculty do not encourage integrated work and, consequently, in this context, do not support a congregational paradigm.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., xiii.

\textsuperscript{165} Farley, “Why Seminaries Don’t Change.”

\textsuperscript{166} Frank, “Congregations and Theological Education and Research,” 93.

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid., 96.
students more deeply engaged with the dynamics of congregational life?” became more like “How can I teach my classes in a way that conveys the vitality and complexity of congregations through which the issues of my academic discipline are made more fully apparent?” “How can we revise our curriculum around congregations?” became more like “how does my research in congregations, together with that of colleagues, make more vivid the human struggle for wholeness and justice in community?”  

These newcomers to seminary teaching did not attempt to change the institution. This may be an instinctive reaction to the knowledge that interdisciplinary work is impossible. It may reveal the lack of power held by new faculty members. Even newcomers found difficulty reaching consensus at the beginning of the project:

After all, we were attempting something quite unusual in academia. We were bringing together people from a variety of disciplines to look at several distinct issues in the continually shifting complex of multiple congregations in diverse settings. We were not coming together with a canon of accepted literature or methods.

In the end, it was felt that embracing ‘congregation’ as a paradigm for theological education would be counterproductive and reductionist and still retain focus on leadership, in this case, congregational leadership. When the group looked at its own relationship to the history of congregational studies, they found that

Our program was at odds with these ways of defining congregational studies. In general we tried to develop modes of cooperation and mutuality with the congregations we studied, rather than trying to formulate steps, typologies or categories of analysis by which we as scholar-researchers could try to control their densely textured realities. We were reluctant to universalize theories of interpretation that moved us away from the particularity and situatedness of the congregations we studied. We wanted to honor the language, symbols, stories, and practices of congregations as they were. We viewed our research not as an exercise in social or organizational theory, but as an undertaking of practical theological reflection.

This resonates with feminist and other marginal critiques. Their desire to stay with the particular and to hear multiple voices seems similar to these researchers’ desire to allow congregations to be themselves, individual and particular. In addition, as Letty Russell had asked earlier, “what congregation?” If a congregational paradigm were chosen for ministry

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168 Ibid., 96-97. Possibly the newcomer status of the faculty involved both made it more likely they would participate and also less likely they would propose radical change to curriculum.

169 Ibid., 96.

170 Ibid., 108.

171 Ibid., 109.

formation, which congregations, out of many local, particular examples, would be the chosen models? These research colleagues resisted seeking a new identity or paradigm as a way to find coherence within change.  

We were drawn, on the contrary, towards efforts at even clearer discernment of the contexts within which theology is done. We defined our pedagogy as means of helping students discern both tradition and cultural context, in order to make intelligent decisions about what is really going on in situations. We found congregations a particularly good place to practise this discernment, as we examined how the complexity of congregational culture and practices both resonated with traditions (often unwittingly) and changed them.

Even for this congregation-focused research, “Congregational studies never became one thing for this group … Congregational studies do not need to provide a single governing framework for all inquiry into issues of congregational life. Congregational studies are by nature various in methods and intents.”

One of this group, Robert Martin, assesses the correlation of critical pedagogy and congregational studies and challenges notions of objectivity and detachment hitherto advocated in researchers. He suggests approaching congregations “…as one who joins in communion for the purpose of purifying, intensifying and extending the communion. This we cannot do from a posture of distant non-involvement… only in communion are we relating to the Body of Christ truthfully.” This could be a member of the Mudflower Collective speaking. It could also be a designer of a globalisation programme speaking, as the type of long term involvement with a congregation which Hopewell first postulated and which Martin advocates here is very similar to the immersion experience of globalisation programmes. As with other types of contextual theological study, congregational studies come up against barriers of interdisciplinary co-operation. This research suggests the principle of a congregational focus is not dismissed, but complexities of interdisciplinary co-operation impede realization of the dream. Teachers seem to find it easier, even if less effective, to teach from within their discipline within their classroom.


174 Ibid., 100.

175 Ibid., 117.


177 Ibid., 145.
The Third Theme: Interaction of Church and World

Towards the end of the 1980s, Osborn was not satisfied that ministry formation in his denomination fitted the age in which prospective ministers would work. He is not the only writer who addresses the difference between the world in which most seminaries were conceived and the world in which young ministers will begin their ministry. Osborn documents differences he perceived between society, church and ministry ‘then’ and ‘now,’ concluding that “our religious institutions, shaped by the past, are still largely oriented toward a world that was and ... theological seminaries ... operate more by axioms derived from the academic tradition than from serious concern for ministry to the emerging future.” He argues that, in the face of wholesale change, congregations feel powerless, and are tempted to use any programme as long as it produces ‘success’ because they do not understand “... the shift of forces in our society which makes it so much more difficult for a congregation to ‘succeed’ ... If a minister’s program draws a large following, few stop to ask if it presents the authentic gospel ... for many, if it is liked, that is enough.” He maintains congregations do not understand this because their ministers have not been able to understand societal changes and so lead the congregation appropriately. In Osborn’s opinion, the congregational unit had been ignored by theologians, resulting in theological education being unable to help church and ministers address trends impacting on them.

Osborn identifies a shift in ministry models from an emphasis on holiness and preaching, to management. He asks whether schools should not “...project various models appropriate to our time, to help churches and ministers move towards a rough consensus as to the primacy of contact with the holy over the secular details of organizational life and of teaching over

178 Osborn, The Education of Ministers, xi-xii.

179 As will be seen later, Eugene Petersen, Leonora Tubbs Tisdale, Loren Mead and Leonard Sweet also comment on how a changing world requires different ministry priorities.

180 Osborn’s first four chapter titles are: “The World Rushing Towards Us,” “The Church in the World that Was,” “Ministry in the Church that Was,” and “Education for the Ministry that Was.” Osborn, The Education of Ministers, 1-102.

181 Ibid., xi. Osborn’s concerns include changes caused by high technology, mass media, the nuclear threat, new magnitudes of power, global interdependence, economic dominance of multinational corporations, omnipresent bureaucracy, the demolition of community, secularity, utilitarianism in education, and the subjectivising of questions of meaning and value.

182 Ibid., 55.

183 Ibid., 56. In the light of Farley’s arguments, it can be seen why. There is little reward available for theologians who focus on congregational realities.
Provocatively, he asks whether there is "...a causal connection between the decline of mainline churches and a reigning model of ministry which subordinates sacramental service to professional expertise and managerial mode?" In Osborn's view, uncertainty over ministers' role in church and community is a main cause of commonly found low self-esteem among ministers. He suggests dissatisfaction with theological education may be not about courses, but "ministerial self-understanding and its correlation with the day-to-day life of the congregation." For ministers, a proper definition of the servant ideal "conceived after the activity of God" needs offsetting against expectations of congregation and budding ministers.

Sherryl Kleinman would agree. She too describes ordinands' confusion, ascribing this confusion to the effects of society-wide de-professionalisation of ministry. Ordinands find, as a result, Kleinman argues, teachers advocating a humanistic, therapeutic ministry role while parishioners' expectations remain more traditional. The ordinands find themselves in a cleft stick. Ironically the humanistic ideology makes it difficult for students to ignore outsiders' traditional expectations because its egalitarian emphasis demands that students care about outsider's views. The students experience the following paradox: socializers unwittingly communicate the relevance and credibility of traditional expectations by communicating a message (humanism) which holds that recruits take others' (traditional) desires seriously.

Osborn calls for a theological appraisal of mid-1980s managerial and therapeutic models of ministry, suggesting rabbinical and ambassadorial models offer an "ampier and more basic concept" of ministry. He argues that if seminaries address their task theologically they "may wind up paying much closer attention to the students preparing to be ordained ministers, to the situation of ministers now in the field, to the condition of churches, and to the state of the

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184 Ibid., 65.
185 Ibid.
186 Ibid., 68-69.
187 Ibid., 75.
188 Ibid., 126.
190 Ibid., 37. Women students were most confused by the dissonance between the more personally exposing therapeutic ministry role advocated by teachers and achieving an authoritative enough stance in traditional parish work.
world. For Osborn, when a thorough theological job is done in ministry training, it automatically includes analysis and assessment of culture, church and minister; that is, it will be contextual. In other words, when theology takes cognizance of context, models of ministry more appropriate to the culture as well as consistent with the faith can be developed. Such theologising assists ordinands to perceive what is prevalent in the culture. They can then discern what ministry needs to offer which is compatible with the culture and what they need to offer which is missing in the culture.

Other writers’ arguments align with Osborn’s concerns. Eugene Petersen argues that, of the three languages current in the world – those of intimacy, information and motivation ministers need to resist the temptation to operate in information and motivational language like the rest of society. Petersen identifies the primary ministerial task as teaching people to pray, dealing more in the language of intimacy. Ministers need to know the culture of the times and to discern in what ways they should operate differently from it. A theological education useful to new ministers helps them exegete scripture, but also their world and their own role.

Leonora Tubbs Tisdale advocates preachers exegeting both scripture and congregation, in order to “...proclaim the gospel in ways capable of transforming congregational identity, we first need to become better acquainted with the ways in which our people already imagine God and the world.” Knowing the world and knowing the congregation enables proclamation of the Gospel appropriate for the context in which the preacher stands.

Six years earlier than Tisdale, Loren Mead argued the need for the contemporary church to realise it is no longer operating in a ‘Christendom Paradigm’ where the mission field is a ‘far-
The present paradigm is still emerging, but in it, he argues, the ‘mission frontier’ is closer to the congregation than before. Lay and ministry roles are both different within the emerging paradigm. Mead observes the pain of required change in seminaries: "... the pain of change and the inertia of old ways will trap too many seminaries in continued, downward spirals... It takes strength, courage and resources to change. Those who wait too long may use up the resources and have no energy left for even essential changes." This major shift in the world outside the seminary, in which exiting ordnands must serve, needs to be allowed to inform governance decisions about the form of ministry formation in progress.

Leonard Sweet, an academic studying trends in contemporary society, declares that “immigrants” in the present culture, that is, those born before 1963, need to embark on a steep learning curve if the church is to present the Gospel in relevant ways to a new generation, which he calls the “natives” within postmodern culture. "What captures the postmodern imagination and inflames its spirit is not Christianity." Like Mead, Sweet is conscious of the need for speedy changes of direction within the church. His work is directed at educating the church about massive changes in societal direction. He draws attention to how this change is reflected in something as seemingly insignificant as his computer spell check.

Christianity is now culturally as well as socially and religiously disestablished. Your computer’s spell check proves it. Before I could write this book, I had to program the spell check of Windows 95 because it does not know the books of the Bible, or recognize biblical names.

The context is changing rapidly. These writers in their different ways argue that the church and its ministry formation programmes need to both keep up with this change and maintain a critical distance from it.

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195 Ibid., 20.
196 Ibid., 26.
197 Ibid., 64.
198 Ibid., 65.
199 Leonard Sweet, *Soul Tsunami: Sink or Swim in New Millennium Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Publishing House, 1999), 45.
200 Ibid.
Doing Theology in Context

Raising the issue of what type of future world the church will serve reveals a need to do theology in a way more connected with context. Context always has and will continue to affect how theology is done.

... emerging from our tribal realities, we peek over the top of the hill, and discover in the next valley people who are also ‘doing it’ (‘it’ being theology) They do it partly the way we do, partly different from us. We notice at a glance that we are not the only ones doing it, that others who do it differently may be doing it effectively and faithfully and that our way of doing it is not the only way and may not be the best way ... It is no wonder, given the stunning experience of peeking over the hill into the next valley, that we have great and unsettled questions about what all of this means and how we should respond, what we should appropriate of the new reality, and how much we should be open to change.201

Walter Brueggemann writes out of a dominant culture, but noticing different theologies being done elsewhere – perhaps a US theologian discovering different theology in Zambia during a globalisation immersion programme. Contextualisation can also mean theologies developed from within the struggle to resist a dominant culture, gender or class which has assumed responsibility for theologising for everyone. Contextualisation is the other face of pluralism. Women wrestle with theology generated by people of their own gender, rather than having theology done for them only by men. Within feminist theology, Black women seek their own womanist voice and Hispanic women their own prophetic *mujerista* theology. African-American men look for their place and Asian-Americans theologise their distinct experience within the larger culture, where their marginality is seen as “in-both’ worlds.”202 Within liberation theologies there are differences of approach. “It is, in fact, not wholly correct to say that the theologies of liberation share a perspective, for each liberation theology, whether Black, Hispanic, feminist or Latin American, is characterized by its distinctive viewpoint. What these different theologies do share is their commitment to social justice.”203 All these ‘special interest’ theologies are contextual theologies and are relative newcomers to the theological education scene.


Robert Schreiter identifies the beginnings of contextualisation consciousness in 1950s missionary work in Asia and Africa. "There was a growing sense that the theologies being inherited from the older churches of the North Atlantic community did not fit well into these quite different cultural settings." Language used by theologians began to change by the 1970s. "Terms like ‘contextualization,’ ‘localization,’ ‘indigenization,’ ‘inculturation,’ ‘adaptation’ began to be used by Catholics and Protestants alike in referring to this shift in perspective." Emerging theologies were sensitive to context, procedure and history, and context was now examined first in theologising. "It had gradually become unthinkable in many Christian churches to engage in any theological reflections without first studying the context in which it is taking place." Local theologising processes which followed "...the patterns of production of meaning within a given culture context" were different from Western, university-dominated models. Stephen B. Bevans described five different models of the emerging patterns of contextual theology. Contextual theology is not an optional extra on the curriculum for Bevans.

"Pluralism in theology, as well as on every level of Christian life, must not only be tolerated, it must be positively encouraged... Contextualization, therefore, is not something on the fringe of the theological enterprise. It is at the very center of what it means to do theology in today's world. Contextualization, in other words, is a theological imperative."

Contextualization poses philosophical issues. Once different contexts are recognised as different from the dominant culture and people from these contexts are not only treated

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205 Ibid., 2.
206 Ibid., 4.
207 Ibid.
209 The ‘translation,’ ‘anthropological,’ ‘praxis,’ ‘synthetic,’ ‘transcendent’ and ‘countercultural’ models.
210 Bevans describes his first clash with another context. He had based a liturgy on Christ bringing sun-like warmth into a dark, cold world. An Indian student for whom the sun was a malignant force drying the land challenged the relevance of his metaphor. Bevans, Models of Contextual Theology, xiii. Bevans is experienced also in teaching theology in the Philippines. Similarly, a recent visitor to the flat Pacific island of Niue realised his sermon illustration of a ‘mountain-top’ experience was not making any impression on his Island congregation, some of whom had never seen a mountain, let alone climbed one.
211 Ibid., 10. It is significant to note that both Bevans and Schreiter were texts used in a course, "Contextual Theology: Doing Theology in Aotearoa-New Zealand," taught to ordinands at Knox Theological Hall in 1995. In Australasia, as former British colonies seek to find their own identity, this concern for contextual theology has also started to arise in Australia and New Zealand.
equally, but also recognised as different, liberal theory faces an apparent contradiction – that within an egalitarian society, in order that all may achieve their potential equally, some positive discrimination is needed.\textsuperscript{213} Taylor accepts this as necessary, but debates that the next step need be taken – because a culture is distinct, perhaps from the dominant one within which it resides, this means all aspects of the minority culture necessarily have equal worth. He calls for humility rather than arrogance, and recognition that we are far away from knowing the relative worth of different cultures.\textsuperscript{214} Replying, Wolf contends that recognising difference in minority cultures entails respect and specialness accorded their ethnic variation. Ascribing ‘difference’ to women, however, means attributing them a particularly “feminine role, usually regarded as inferior within the public domain of the culture.”\textsuperscript{215} Each context needs its own distinctive treatment.

Kwame Anthony Appiah’s essay in the same volume notes that negative identities imposed by blinkered dominant cultures first form the bases of new positive identities, but room is needed for blacks or gays to live out their own identity, rather than accommodating others’ expectations.\textsuperscript{216} The questions need to be asked: What happens when core values of one context conflict with those of another? How is the dialogue conducted and who makes the gatekeeping decision in the end?\textsuperscript{217} These are some of the issues with which contextual theology will need to grapple as it stakes its claim in theological education. Even if ordinands may not minister in situations very different from those in which they were raised themselves, nevertheless they need to be aware of the influence of context on their own and their congregation’s theologising. Contextual theology is not just something done by exotic or marginalised groups, but happens everywhere, in every context. Knowing the world sufficiently well to minister effectively in it will require expertise in local, contextual theologising.

\textsuperscript{213} Ibid., 43.

\textsuperscript{214} Amy Gutman, ed., \textit{Multiculturalism}, 73.

\textsuperscript{215} Susan Wolf, “Comment,” in \textit{Multiculturalism}, 76-77.


\textsuperscript{217} For example, the issue of practising homosexuals in church leadership is a live issue in many denominations at present. Whose reality wins out here? How too are the high levels of violence apparently acceptable in some cultures to be addressed?
These three themes dominate the literature. The increasing pressure of pluralism in the student body has required schools to adjust programmes. This has led also to more attention being paid to context through globalisation programmes. As the world outside the seminary changes rapidly, it is necessary for ministers to be cognizant of cultural transitions and integrate this with their theological learning. Edward Farley, seminal writer on the issues of the dis-ease in theological education argues, however, that the literature revolving around these themes deals with only the symptoms of a greater and deeper problem within theological education.

**Theologia and the Theological Education Debate**

Within the decade of the 1980s, Edward Farley was an influential writer in the theological education debate. That theological educators perceived his thinking on theological education to be significant is shown in his being commissioned by the ATS to write on his analysis of the origins of the crisis in theological education. Farley consistently called for a "theological solution to the problem of the unity and branches of theological study." He is sharply critical of the way changes within theological education seeking to address the perceived crisis have dealt only with the symptoms of a much deeper lying dis-ease.

These symptoms appear in comments of both students and educators: that theological education is not a unified study of theology but "a plurality of a number of types of study each with its own method." In 1981, Farley suggested tentatively what he would argue in more detail in *Theologia* (1983) that the four-fold pattern of theological study now ubiquitous in North American theological education arose originally from the needs of the immediately

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219 Farley, *Theologia*.

220 Farley, "The Reform of Theological Education," 93.

221 Ibid., 94.

222 Ibid., 93.
post-Reformation confessing church. What happened to theologia in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation is the focus of this work. In Chapter Three, Farley’s argument and responses to it will be dealt with in greater detail.

**Governance and Theological Education**

This work focuses on the ways in which governance decisions affect the likelihood of theologia being fragmented, making governance of theological education another strand in this work. Governance is the noun from the verb ‘to govern.’ Governance in theological education has to do with control and direction of those institutions concerned with theological education and/or ministry formation. In different ways, governance of theological education determines outcomes. A combination of governance decisions about how an institution is run or how its programmes are designed can influence the outcome for theologia, whether or not it becomes more fragmented or whether some integration of theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) can be achieved, even retrospectively. It is significant that, for the recovery of theology, Farley calls for a governing paradigm and that response to his argument in the literature take the form of curricular suggestions, that is, governance activity.

The word ‘governance’ has become more commonly used by decision-makers within the PCANZ since the restructuring of the church’s many standing and special committees into five policy groups in 1999. These groups were charged with developing policy recommendations for the governance of their policy areas rather than with management or implementation of their decisions. Policy Groups were to develop policy which was then approved as appropriate by the Council of Assembly or General Assembly itself. This changed the role of the Principal of the School of Ministry who was now regarded as a manager, implementing the policy framework for ministry formation set by the Policy Group.223

Within the School, however, Principal and teaching staff had a significant governance function as they made chalkface decisions about design and delivery of courses. A long-standing church governance decision to maintain a flat structure within the staff made this a more collegial decision-making team than elsewhere. Since teaching staff were involved in these decisions and the Principal occasionally taught, at this level all of the staff effectively

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223 At the time of writing the Policy Group system which had been in place for less than five years is being dismantled and two sub-committees of the Council of Assembly are in charge of finances and leadership. The latter will have policy oversight of the School of Ministry.
were to act as governor/managers, as they were also involved in the implementation if their decisions. At whatever level – Policy Group, Council of Assembly or General Assembly, or within the School – governance decisions have the potential to aid integration of theology (retrospectively) or to further fragment it.

In the North American literature governance of theological schools has been the focus within the pages of *Theological Education* in 1970, 1975, and 1994. Elsewhere other comment has been made on governance within churches. At the beginning of the 1970s, a shift into a new era was noticeable. Reuben Huenemann then claimed that assumption by administrators of an authority figure role was no longer appropriate. Rather, he advocated exemplifying "the original meanings of the word: he is a minister, an enabler, or a servant." Contemporary suspicion of established authority led this author to argue for wider participation in the decision making process. The ideal administrator will "know that the living person has more significance theologically than an abstract principle."

Also high on the list of preferred characteristics of administrators in the new era is understanding of the ‘empirical church’ so they can help prepare candidates for ministry in a church whose foundations are being shaken. On the other hand, another administrator’s task

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229 Ibid., 233.
is to “keep the seminary church-related without permitting it to become ecclesiastically
dominated.” Elsewhere in the same issue of Theological Education, another writer
couraged staff officers to ask critical questions in planning for the future, concentrating on
factual rather than theological or educational questions, though these are given a small space
in the suggested process.

At a conference of staff officers in 1970 a call was made that “[t]radition barriers must be
removed between administrators, faculty, students, and employees” as well as for “greater
cooperation between seminaries.” Charles Shelby Rookes delineates the crises within
theological education as financial, theological, spiritual and, finally, insensitivity. He argues
that the financial crises arose through lack of federal funding for seminaries. The theological
crisis, he claims, arises from constant sampling of theologies which does not satisfy. He
contends that spiritual problems develop as historical disciplines lose appeal, replaced by
what he calls faddish experiments.

The crisis of insensitivity leads this author into a prolonged discussion on black ministry
students. The beginnings of the tensions which pluralism bought to North American
seminaries can be seen here. Two “subtleties” in this area are the assumptions of white
liberals that black students are simply a coloured version of themselves and that “ideas and
practices of white western Christianity are the only valid and authentic representations of the
faith.” This article continues to argue eloquently the case for black seminarians. It is
notable that the writer refers exclusively to black men, indicating the case for women is still to
be put, at least within the black community.

Rookes does not specify whether he considers it a governance responsibility that seminaries
should “begin to develop a new role in relation to the religious experience of Black people.
One element in that role will surely be that of listener.” He certainly suggests it should
affect seminary fund-raising practices. He observes that the roles of listener and supporter are

230 Ibid.

231 Herbert L. Jones, “Staff Officers: To be or not to be: Critical Questions in Planning the Future of Your

232 Henry W. Brookes, “Seminary Staff Officers set New Directions in Claremont Meeting,” Theological


234 Ibid., 25.
ones white Christians have seldom played previously and that adjustment will be difficult. These articles are calling for a more approachable governance system which listens to the needs of students and delivers wise judgments on passing trends.

In his predictions of what managerial questions will arise in 1970s theological education, Jesse Ziegler argues theological schools should be intentionally designed for their purpose. This he defines then as educating ministers for the church. First, he argues that seminary programmes should be consistent with educational theory in that they should be “preparing people for critical evaluation and decision making.” This involves keeping classical and practical education unified rather than artificially divided. “[T]here is no justification for any teaching in a theological school that does not contribute to preparation for the person’s ministry... the real purpose of theological education is to develop this ability to evaluate all that is happening to which people are related both inside and outside the church.” The influence of Charles Feilding’s expectation that both classical and practical field teachers were in the business of educating students for ministry is seen in this article.

Another requirement for Zeigler is that theological education inculcates in the minister the ability to “criticize his [sic] own professional practice and ethics as the professional practice of the medical doctor or the attorney.” Ziegler also predicted greater cooperation between churches and disciplinary areas, working on “common problems together.” He cites a theology/law programme as an example. Thus this management article begins with educational and ministerial requirements. It then predicts greater cooperation between theological schools, in “various arrangements and models” and a greater emergence outside the institution so that learning happens in the community; “faculty and students will experience together what goes on in their community and then pull apart just enough to reflect on what they have seen and done.”

Implications for managerial staff are drawn from these predictions: the need to know aims of the educational programme, the interpretation to students and faculty “what the world of

235 Ibid., 27.
237 Ibid., 10.
238 Ibid.
239 Ibid., 12.
means and resources is about,” and allocation of resources in line with decisions reflecting the key purpose of the theological school. He adds that new and different types of buildings may need to be managed and the ability to forward plan will be essential.240 Ziegler’s connection of the purposes and design of the educational programme with the managerial implications aligns with the argument of this thesis. The management or governance of the theological education enterprise, in his view, grows from the purpose and design of the programme, not from abstract managerial principles unrelated to the purpose of educating ministers for the church. If governance follows the purpose of the programme rather than fitting into management structures, the chance of theologia being kept an integrated discipline is more likely.

Demands made by students for more involvement in seminary decision making are relativised by Wesner Fallaw. He maintains students’ main role is to pursue knowledge and that may not appreciate the whole issue in curriculum matters or staff appointments. Next to his article, however, is published the results of one of the conference groups which concludes:

It is clear that different patterns and degrees of student governance are emerging and that this is a proper time to experiment with different approaches in different settings. It is important, we believe, to consider student interest in these matters appropriate to the process of maturing theological education, and the most sincere efforts should be made to nurture in this interest the service of the church.241

Fallaw’s stated purpose of theological education goes beyond “the preparation of a learned and devout ministry” to include:

(a) the nurture of the uncommitted in the seminary community to the end that they may gain readiness to invest themselves in Christian servanthood (b) the marshalling of seminary and church resources both to minister and society and to fashion it in prophetic terms; and (c) the development of skills necessary for the performance of a wide range of ministries.242

This review of governance does not suggest an integrated approach. His is an expansion on Zeigler’s stated purpose of education of the ministry. Fallaw ends with governance guidelines, one of which puts policy making ahead of structure. Structure is described as serving policy best when it is “only so elaborate as to facilitate policy.”243 This indicates that

240 Ibid., 13-14.
243 Ibid.
the making of policy should be carefully done. Structures appropriate to the integration of *theologia* will follow from them if governing policies are oriented towards that.

Another overview of theological education in 1970 includes reference to its diversity and the “ferment for change” arising from the nature of the faculty, students and “the changing style of ministry for which many are preparing.” Richard Rising is sceptical about talk within seminaries of relating to universities and of discussion about the social and political context, suggesting little change results. Rising does observe growth in curriculum revision with some schools making dramatic changes. Understanding of professional preparation had changed with field education being incorporated into seminary programmes. Rising sees the centre of the ferment for change being the idea of “professional training and the nature of professional education.”

Changes in both church and society had focused dissatisfaction about preparation of ministers for their professional role, usually in a way inherited from a different societal situation. Contemporary faculty, Rising argues, were trained in the academically-concentrated education of a previous era and so did not always understand the problem. Communication between the seminary and practising ministers who could comment on how their training had equipped them for ministry was not always effective.

Rising highlights the disjunction between training and the ministry into which students will go. He sees parish ministry as primarily a place where life cycle ministry occurs, not as a “mobilization point” for social activism. Further, he argues, ministers called to social change should pursue this calling in another location, while the primarily pastoral minister should hold up the needs of society, but not attempt to fulfil them from within parishes. He therefore calls for a degree of specialisation before graduation. Those wanting to minister

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245 Ibid., 50.

246 Ibid., 51.

247 Ibid., 52.

248 Ibid., 53.

249 Ibid., 54.

250 Ibid.
in the area of social change might need another qualification to provide an income stream for them – similar to a ‘tent-making’ ministry.\textsuperscript{251}

Nathan Kollar’s work on action-reflection methodology complements Rising’s concerns. He claims:

\begin{quote}
This method [action reflection] presupposes a concept of minister. Bonthius states that the ministry today requires a ‘revolutionary understanding, revolutionary feeling, revolutionary action.’ It requires seminaries which are schools for mission and not schools of religion. From this the total description of the minister would be that of a revolutionary leader. Perhaps the word ‘revolutionary’ is too strong. He [sic] is a facilitator of change. His ministry should be concerned with what ought to be. He should serve as a midwife to the future. His message should constantly force people to revise their thinking into something new. The present seminary system does not do this.\textsuperscript{252}
\end{quote}

This kind of ministry formation would lead to the kind of ministry which Rising would argue needed to be kept to positions outside parishes. Kollar goes further:

\begin{quote}
A person, to be a minister, does not need the past style of theological training. He does need the ability to work with a group. For good or for evil what is being discarded is the overemphasis in religious training in the ministry. It is not being said that people who know theology are not needed. It is being asked whether the minister’s function is the knowledge of theology or rather the ability to get those who know theology to offer their resources to the church’s mission.\textsuperscript{253}
\end{quote}

Kollar recognises that the approach he is advocating brings with it different presuppositions from the previous way of educating ministers, and he queries how long the two sets of presuppositions can exist together.\textsuperscript{254} These are the issues with which good governance of ministry formation must grapple.

By 1975, the emphasis had shifted slightly. The Spring 1975 issue of \textit{Theological Education} looked at the effects on governance of different styles of theological schools, both church and university based. The variety of styles of governance are described as a \textit{potpourri} forming a spectrum from “forms of authoritarianism” to styles which emerged from the anti-establishment period of the Vietnam war.\textsuperscript{255} Faculty unionisation was a rising issue, one

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{251} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{253} Ibid., 63.
\item \textsuperscript{254} Ibid.
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which two articles scrutinised, from the position of faculty and president. One president, Walter Peterson, considered collective bargaining had "regularised procedures, personnel policies and program development." Significantly, Carnegie Calian's view from the faculty was positive in relation to the effect of unionisation on the faculty's ability to better form ministers: "Our organising has brought more realism within our ranks; as a consequence our education for ministry is more realistic than earlier." Another effect had been a realisation for faculty of how non-professionals experienced workplaces. The bargaining process gave "greater affinity with these workers and their own struggle for personhood and identity."  

The student point of view was also canvassed, another change from the previous five years, indicating a more egalitarian approach. Carl Rohlfs suggests that the different viewpoints of students and faculty together construct a more adequate curriculum. He also notes the increased political base for acceptance of new curricula when students participate in planning. He identifies a possible long-term benefit of student participation in governance while at theological school.

In conclusion, I cannot help but reflect on the possible long-range effects on the ministry of students who received their education in an institution in which they felt themselves to be a vital part. One does not have to think too far before one is conceiving of a local church in which the responsibility and accountability for ministry does not lie solely with the pastor, but also with each layperson. The likely effects of this on church renewal are exciting possibilities.

Rohlfs sees involvement in decision making as providing a role model ordinands could continue in their parishes. Both student participation in governance and faculty unionisation seem to have brought greater realism and affinity with the world outside the theological school, something which Ronald Osborn would still call for in the next decade.

256 Carnegie S. Calian, "Effects of Faculty Unionization on Seminary Governance as Seen by a Faculty Member," *Theological Education* 12/1 (1975): 26-28.

257 Walter F. Peterson, "Effects of Faculty Unionization on Seminary Governance As Seen by a President," *Theological Education* 12/1 (1975): 24-25.

258 Ibid., 25.

259 Calian, "Effects of Faculty Unionization as Seen by a Faculty Member," 28.

260 Ibid.


262 Ibid., 17.
A further group of the 1975 articles consider governance out of different situations. Speaking from Pittsburgh Theological School, William Kadel identifies practical problems with a community model of governance, despite it being theologically and theoretically sound. He thus touches on the dilemma which most theological schools face between church values and educational values. Kadel notes that the push for review of governance structures was also being mooted within American higher education in general, theological education following developments elsewhere in higher education. He argues that community structures require high levels of trust, "which is a commodity in reasonably short supply."263 They also take faculty away from teaching and research for participation in decision-making. Kadel suggests therefore a new governance structure is required to "conserve the strengths and deal with the problems of the community."264

In contrast, Krister Stendahl describes the autonomy of the different departments of Harvard University, based only on funding endowed or raised.265 The Divinity School has full policymaking authority in academic and educational matters.266 Students were invited onto decision-making bodies from 1967.267 Even in this relatively free governance system, Stendahl concludes, however:

...I would suggest that such schools [as Harvard Divinity School] tend to internalize and transpose the church and state pattern on their existence in the university. That is to say, the university at large, its central administration, its big and pacesetting faculty of arts and sciences, its prestigious law school, and wealthy business school become 'the state' over against which the divinity school is 'the church' with deeper conscience, and somewhat prophetic role. Thus there is a strong urge to do things differently, to suspect 'university policy' of being wrong, inhuman, secular, heartless, etc.268

A Canadian perspective from a similar position describes the governance of the Faculty of Theology, part of the University of St Michael's College (UMC), which in turn is federated with the University of Toronto (UoT). This arrangement and its implications are relevant to the position of the Faculty of Theology within the University of Otago in the 1990s. UMC's

264 Ibid., 20.
266 Ibid., 41.
267 Ibid., 42.
268 Ibid., 43.
ability to grant degrees being held in abeyance is a condition of its federation with UoT. Elliot Allen notes that there is probably no ideal pattern for theological education's relationship to the university world.

He argues, however, that a Faculty of Theology should have autonomy to “pursue its own finalities within the broader perspectives of the parent university.” In this case, “university-recognised statutes” were implemented. These permit, amongst other things, the right to initiate the appointment of new faculty. This was a right which the University of Otago found too difficult to continue in 1996. The UMC’s financial arrangements included the provision that the University of Toronto was “neither to make nor lose money.” The faculty must therefore “pay its own way within the university.” This was something the Presbyterian Church was unable to achieve in the 1990s, putting it in an extremely vulnerable position, as Allen suggests.

Experience has shown, I believe, that this arrangement has been of great importance in assuring that the faculty has the financial base necessary to sustain the autonomy it has enjoyed within the governmental structure of the university. Indeed, from our limited perspective, it is difficult to conceive of the continued existence and development of such a university school of theology unless it had the basic fiscal resources to sustain its own academic initiatives within the larger university complex.

Allen also notes the difficulties of structural revision within the University necessitating revision within the Faculty, and his hope that “essential initiatives are reserved to the faculty.” From his experience, Allen posits two essential features of any arrangement with a university: first, having statutory autonomy to “fulfill its own academic and professional goals;” and second, sufficient resources to “pay its own way” within the university. The ethos of the university and the relationship is also important:

Necessary ingredients would seem to be a university community sympathetic to and interested in the theological enterprise and a theological faculty which understands itself as a responsible member of the larger community, an active participant in the wide aims and life of the university as a whole.


270 Ibid., 37.

271 Ibid., 37-8.

272 Ibid., 38.

273 Ibid.

274 Ibid., 39.

275 Ibid.
This article touches on two of the problems which occurred in 1992 when the PCANZ agreed with the University of Otago that the University would pay church teachers for their university work. Not only could the church not pay its own way, the university climate at the time was not sympathetic to church aspects of theology.

In the Saint Paul School of Theology, at a presidential transition, it was discernible that the community needed a structure “which would provide adequate and accurate expression to the already existing spirit of community.” One of the understandings which arose in the process of changing governance patterns was that “…not all decisions need to be made by all persons, but that all persons should have access to the decision-making process, and that most decisions should be made as close as possible to the point of implementation.” The term “multilateral brokerage” was used for a system of decision making which has “interlaced webs of tension in which control is loose, power is diffused and centres of decision are plural.”

Significantly, this article echoes Rohlfs in suggesting that governance plans “can, in effect, become part of the total ‘curriculum’ in theological education, thus supporting the notion that participatory governance is itself the ‘doing of theology.’” In other words, governance is part of the whole enterprise and as such, observing the flow of governance systems educates the ordinand about systems and how people act within them. Following on this, a list of eight functions of the coordinating council are listed, one of which is “to assume central responsibility for vision-building and planning.” This suggests that the integration of theologia would be influenced by such a governance system. While, as this article claims, this is a custom built system for a particular school, the above principle – of involvement in vision-building and of governance being seen as the doing of theology – are transferable to other systems and notably to the governance system used in the PCANZ for ministry formation.

From another church-based theological school, the point of view of the administrator is considered. A caution is sounded about the administrative load on presidents becoming so

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277 Ibid., 9.

278 Ibid.

279 Ibid., 10.

280 Ibid.
heavy that they can no longer be innovative leaders. Another tension is the preservation of a school’s heritage without losing up-to-the-minute relevance. A responsibility of the chief administrator is seen as the maintenance of spiritual balance in every area of the institution’s life; however, another caution is sounded that administrative decisions not be seen as necessarily theological compromises. This view indicates an understanding that governance is associated with spiritual/theological outcomes in the school.

Dwight E. Stevenson considers different models of governance which could be employed in theological schools. His Marketplace Model regards the students as the consumer and implies that the school will be governed by consumer demand. A Factory Model can turn into an adversarial system where faculty seek benefits, and students gain power. A politically democratic model implies rule by the group, leading to everyone needing to be involved in decision making because of lack of trust of others to do it well for them. The Family Model can lead to a paternalistic approach which leads to dependent students rather than developing professionals. Stevenson ends by advocating the Model of the Church, imaging the theological school as the Body of Christ. It is Christ who is the head, not the school’s administrative head who should, following Stevenson’s argument, act more like feet or hands. Stevenson also advocates thorough questioning following the Readiness for Ministry Project.

Meantime a direct attack upon the problem of authority can be made in each school only to the extent that it takes this task seriously. What is ministry? What does readiness for ministry mean? And how are we to get a person ready? We must pursue these questions until we have a Christian consensus. Until we do, we will continue to have a crisis of authority.

This suggests that the ‘crisis’ in theological education is about a loss of consensus about what is ministry and what constitutes readiness for ministry. Linking this with the increasing pluralism of students entering the theological schools and the pluralistic, relativistic consensus.


282 Ibid., 22.

283 Ibid., 23


285 Ibid., 30-31.

286 Ibid., 31.

287 Ibid., 32.

288 Ibid.

289 Ibid., 35.
worldview characterising society at about the time this article was written, the authorities of the schools, who used to be able to state what ministry was and how one could be readied for it, is up for question.

Nineteen years later, in 1994, an ATS seminar on The Good Theological School included a discussion group on Administration and Governance. Their definitions of governance, authority, leadership and administration provide a guide to the different aspects which interact in the running of a theological school. Governance is defined as "the method designed by an institution to provide the means, structure, guidance, and direction essential to pursue its agreed-upon mission and vision. Governance is legally vested by constituencies." Governance needs to be committed to identifying, supporting and fulfilling the school's mission. If the school’s mission includes formation of ordinands, then governance is bound to support and fulfil that mission. Therefore the way the school’s mission is devised and the way governance then enacts that mission is crucial to good formation of ordinands.

According to Farley’s argument, and the argument of this thesis, good formation necessitates theologia being recovered, so governance also has a hand in keeping theologia integrated for students.

Cooley and Tiede identify twelve challenges which make governance more complex, noting their daunting list is not exclusive of other challenges which others may notice. Several of the challenges mitigate against governance of schools being able to spend time, resources and staff on formational practices which do not appear ‘professionally academic,’ and which use time and money to seemingly little effect. The workgroup report by Cooley and Tiede emphasises that accreditation by ATS of a theological school’s governance should allow for distinctive missions and test excellence based on the extent to which whether governance does support and fulfil a school’s specific mission. Whether it is a higher church governance which sets the mission or whether a school’s governance sets mission goals, it is crucial that priorities within that mission are for good formation and integration of theologia.

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290 Cooley and Tiede, “What is the Character of Administration and Governance in the Good Theological School?,” 61-69.

291 Ibid., 62.

292 Ibid., 63.

293 Curriculum deliberations, church requirements, revenue, the culture’s acceptance of multiple theological realities, authoritarian moves by some churches, the quality movement, increasing complexity of ministerial practice, government regulations, influence of higher education requiring more professionalism, advancement of technology, increase in leadership of women and the feminist movement, litigious nature of society. Ibid., 64-65.
By Cooley and Tiede’s argument, governance is obligated therefore to achieve good formation and regain or maintain integration of *theologia* if it is part of the mission of the school.

Gordon Smith writes from a Canadian perspective about spiritual formation in the academy. Among the many points he makes, three are apposite to governance. First, Smith suggests it is the theological school which needs to provide “a context or setting in which to reflect on vocation, work through one’s emotional response to God, to others and to the world, and come to terms with critical aspects of sexuality and gender.” In other words, it is through a governance decision that the right setting for spiritual formation is developed. Second, he suggests that greater openness with students about the goal of character formation is desirable.

His further suggestions indicate that character formation is not to be left to chance. “Perhaps we need to have this outlined clearly for our incoming students, reviewed at least annually, and evaluated at the end of their program. We need to do this if we are going to be intentional and proactive and not just passive when it comes to character development.” Third, Smith argues that recruitment of the right kind of faculty who can act as positive role models is crucial.

In faculty recruitment, we must evaluate and expect professional and instructional competence. But with similar rigor, we must also look for character—depth of piety, mature emotional well-being, and a vital commitment to Christ and his kingdom. We can evaluate professional credentials, but it is much more difficult to determine whether an individual has the emotional, spiritual, and relational integrity to be an adequate model within the theological school.

If this is to be the case, a governance decision needs to be made about the types of credentials which will carry weight in an interview. A faculty member might have academic qualifications and a publishing record, could be a charismatic figure or have parish experience and still not have the characteristics which provide students with an adequate role model in spiritual formation.

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295 Ibid., 89.

296 Ibid.

297 Ibid., 91.
The New Zealand and the international literature seldom address directly the issues of *theologia*’s integration or the issue of governance in theological education. Concerns about pluralism and unity, academic theology and formation, church and world arise, however, from neglect of them – from the lack of integration of *theologia* and lack of governance clear about its purpose to form ministers who are able to be reflective practitioners in the contemporary scene where they will minister. Edward Farley is the writer who looked deeper than the symptoms of the theological education crisis as it was manifested in the 1980s. We now turn to his work and others’ comment on it.
Chapter Four

Farley’s Theologia

What is Theologia?

Theologia is a complex concept. Some writers find it hard to grasp – in fact, “maddeningly elusive.”\(^1\) This is especially true for those wanting to follow Farley’s argument and work specifically on curriculum reform to reduce the fragmentation of theological education which he describes. Theologia is a foreign concept to most academics who have been trained in the four-fold theological encyclopaedia and whose specialisations limit their ability to move towards an integrated theological education,\(^2\) which employs two different epistemologies.

Farley writes about “a salvifically oriented knowledge of divine being”\(^3\) as being present in the Christian community long before it was called ‘theology.’ He then names two aspects of theology: one is the “episteme and scientia which refers to a cognitive enterprise using appropriate methods and issuing in a body of teaching.”\(^4\) The other aspect is “knowledge of God, to a divine illumination of the human intellect operative in the salvation of the human being.”\(^5\) At the advent of the universities, this knowledge of God was called theologia and included not only the episteme and scientia but also “the Aristotelian anthropology of the three powers of the soul.”\(^6\) Thus, in medieval times, theologia was an integrated entity comprising not only a cognitive scientia but also a state of soul. As Farley puts it, “from the twelfth through the seventeenth centuries theologia is a state and disposition of the soul which has the character of knowledge.”\(^7\)

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3. Farley, Theologia, 33.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., 35.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
Theologia is a slippery term for academics because it combines one epistemology easily recognisable as cognitive learning but which is integrated with another epistemology – knowledge of God – an epistemology which is not entirely accessible empirically. Lewis S. Mudge is right when he describes theologia as belonging “decisively to the pre-Enlightenment world.” As universities became more devoted to the pursuit of reason, the knowledge of God/character or the soul aspects of theologia were split off into the private realm, to give two separate entities – on the one hand, cognitive academic theology and, on the other, private faith.

Farley acknowledges theologia’s early and ongoing association with the ‘house of authority’ of Christian orthodoxy and the possible consequence that, as the ‘house of authority’ declines in influence, theologia may become irrelevant. This raises the question of whether or not theologia or even faith can have a post-orthodox existence. Farley argues that faith and therefore theologia can reside in “many possible historical conceptual habitations.” If faith can exist beyond the orthodoxy of the ‘house of authority’ then theologia can also.

The sapiential knowledge which we are calling theological understanding does have a personal-existential dimension. The reason is that theological understanding is born of faith and serves the agenda of faith, which is living in the world attuned in some way to the disclosure and presence of the sacred. Second, this sapiential knowledge is not indifferent to or independent of the cognitions which occur when it appropriates the tools of scholarship. It makes different uses of these conditions depending on its matrix and mode. This use of scholarship is the modern counterpart of the older use of reason in both natural theology and the study of the authoritative texts. For these reasons, theologia is a perennial possibility for faith as it occurs in its various social contexts.

This medieval understanding of theologia waned when Enlightenment thought came into ascendancy. It is Farley’s thesis that Schleiermacher had a unified theology in mind in his Brief Outline but that after the period of his influence, the two aspects became separated.

…Schleiermacher’s Brief Outline offers two different understandings of theology, one determined by the clerical paradigm, the other by the essence of Christianity. In the post-Schleiermacher period, one of these insights, the essence of Christianity, was reflected in the definition of theology as the science of the (Christian) religion, but this ceased to function in the twentieth century, and the other, the clerical paradigm, became virtually universal in the understanding of the structure and course of theological study.

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9 Farley, Theologia, 161.
10 Ibid., 162.
11 Ibid., 94.
Not only Enlightenment influence is at the root of the problem, but the separation between a clericalised theological education and the theological understanding (*theologia*) of believers and church leaders which is understood as belonging only in the private domain of the church.

*Theologia* is variously described by Farley, first as “theological understanding” which “would restore unity and criteria to theological education.”

Elsewhere he describes it as “a sapiential knowledge engendered by grace and divine self-disclosure” and likens its loss from theological education to the loss from education of *paideia* (culture). In both cases there is a sense of ‘soul’ being lost from education in general and theological education in particular. *Theologia* is not, however, a sentimental or superstitious, naïve spirituality. Farley distinguishes *theologia* from piety. “*Theologia* as the insightfulness, the ‘knowledge’ which attends faith in its concrete existence, is not identical with piety.”

The theological understanding which is *theologia*, Farley claims, is already at work within churches and within education, though seldom made explicit or overtly pursued as an educational goal.

It is nevertheless present in that education, if for no other reason than a faith’s pre-reflective insightfulness is pressed into reflection and self-conscious assessments, especially as it occurs in the matrix of church leadership. The task before us then, is not so much to resuscitate the dead as to persuade the living to incorporate into their educational paradigms something which is in fact at work in their midst.

Farley delineates two aspects to the theological understanding which is *theologia*. The structural aspect has three components, all of which are required for theological understanding: “[k]nowledge of the mythos and tradition of the world of faith, the ascertaining of its truth, and the incorporation of both into the contemporary situation.”

Theological understanding is, however, also conceived by Farley as “an activity, a life process.” This involves a dialectic process which begins with the contemporary context. “There is simply no way of conducting theology above the grid of life itself.”

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12 Ibid., 151.
13 Ibid., 153.
14 Ibid., 160.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid., 164.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., 165.
references to faith "demand a hearing" when the individual or group moves into interpretation and assessment of their context.\(^{19}\)

He distinguishes five movements in the development of theological understanding by this dialectic process, which together ensure neither the situation nor the tradition are taken as unexamined 'gospel,' but that the situation is critiqued on faith grounds so finally the person can discern "beyond the possibilities of corruption [of] the place, legitimacy beauty, redemptive possibilities, in short, the theonomy of the situation."\(^{20}\) This process has strong similarities to the praxis cycle of reflection offered by liberation theology\(^ {21}\) and reflective practices now frequently used in formation both of ministers\(^ {22}\) and professionals.\(^ {23}\) While Farley deplores the kind of spiritual formation practice which operates as if theological study and spirituality are separate entities,\(^ {24}\) spiritual formation which involves theological reflection utilise a dialectic similar to that outlined by Farley. The essential difference between scientific academic study of theology and theologia is the lack of this faith-generated reflection which Farley describes as a life process.

**Reactions to Farley's Work**

The confidence held by Farley's peers in his arguments about theological education is reflected in Farley's *Theologia* being commissioned by the Association of Theological Schools (ATS) and being used as the focus of its regional discussions in 1984.\(^ {25}\) As a result, an ATS programme of Basic issues Research was begun to "extend the breadth and depth of theological reflection on the nature of theological education."\(^ {26}\) One problem for the ongoing

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19 Ibid.

20 Ibid., 169.


debate is articulated as Farley’s having only given “...an abstract and formal category of understanding” before proceeding to methodology. Certainly if scholars were looking to Farley’s theologia to suggest specific curriculum reform, they would be disappointed. This was never his aim in Theologia, nor even in The Fragility of Knowledge where he calls his proposal about the structure of theological study “more an idea about what is needed than the presentation of an ideal theological curriculum.”

Farley comes closer to specific proposals in an earlier article where he argues the dimensions of the theological task of reforming theological education include five aspects: recovery of a governing paradigm, ensuring its contemporaneity, discernment of the structure of theologia, reformulation of the content of specific studies and courses and discernment of the relation of theological study to general knowledge and its sciences. His sequel also offers more constructive proposals.

Barbara G. Wheeler describes Farley as delivering “an unsettling message” and alleges... that the standard patterns of theological education that dominate Protestant theological schools, have heavily influenced Roman Catholic theologates, and are beginning to affect rabbinical schools make very little sense. These widely accepted patterns are a mishmash, a patachic of educational pieces that have accumulated by accident rather than by design. Theological educators, Farley charged, do not know what they’re doing and why.

Wheeler also identifies reasons given by Farley and others for the complaints about theological education arising from the history Farley describes in Theologia. She observes that while Farley and other writers favour different theological emphases, they all agree “theological education must be more than a ‘clutch of courses’” in academic and practical subjects. It must be an intense, focused process whose goal is theological capacity and

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27 Farley, Theologia, xi-xii.

28 Farley, The Fragility of Knowledge, 103.

29 Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education as a Theological Task,” 93-117.


31 Farley, The Fragility of Knowledge. This book was published out after Hough’s critique of the elusiveness of theologia and of the lack of concrete proposals.


33 Kelsey, “A Theological Curriculum About and Against the Church,” 37.
understanding.”

Wheeler notes that, at first, the critique of Farley and others was a problem only for mainline Protestantism or for university-related colleges. The same questions, she observes, however, are now being asked in other quarters and the same problems are seen to appear across denominational and religious boundaries. Wheeler suggests there is a consensus among “thoughtful leaders” that patterns of theological education are “fragmented, impersonal, mechanistic, and ineffective” and that theological education must reclaim the kind of formative power it had in earlier times, refitting its procedures, of course, to contemporary circumstances and intellectual constructs but aiming as before to instill dispositions, virtues, understanding — a wisdom that shapes the whole person who seeks to understand and respond to God.

David H. Kelsey picks up Farley’s work as one of a group of five publications which he measures against the characteristics of what he calls “Athens” and Berlin” styles of theological education. He describes Theologia in one place as “…the book that can fairly be said to have started the current discussion” and in another he describes it as “… the first extended North American theological reflection on theological education since H. Richard Neibuhr’s study almost thirty years before…” This places Farley’s Theologia among the classics in the theological education literature.

Kelsey’s analysis is that Farley’s argument that theological education has been fragmented reveals corruption of both the professional schooling pole and the Wissenschaft pole of the dominant Berlin style of theological schooling. The professional model has seen theology as something to be applied and in the university-based pursuit of Wissenschaft, knowledge has been abstracted from its context. He further interprets Farley’s representation of theologia.

Farley contends that theologia must be characterized in two ways. Looked at in one way, theologia is something like a believer’s settled disposition to do certain things or to act in specific ways, the classical name for such a disposition is habitus. Looked at another way, theologia is a “dialectical activity” in which a believer engages. These are not two different aspects of theology. Rather, theology properly understood is so complex a reality as to require these two descriptions if it is to be characterized adequately.

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35 Ibid., 90-1.
36 Kelsey, Between Athens and Berlin, 7.
38 Kelsey, Between Athens and Berlin, 101.
39 Disciplined, orderly research, typical of the modern research university.
40 Ibid, 103-4.
Kelsey interprets Farley’s *habitus* as comprising the matrix of the situation of the believer, of church leadership and a third matrix of inquiry and scholarship where *theologia* is “theological knowledge.” *Theologia* is always wisdom and understanding, but in this third matrix it is also knowledge, though not a knowledge that overpowers the other two, (the *habitus* of believer and church leader). Kelsey also notes that when *theologia* is considered as a dialectical activity, it “seems to be not the end point of a process, but the process itself … Looked at this way, *theologia* seems to be faith’s own internal process of becoming reflective.” 41

In allocating *Theologia* to the “Athens” pole of theological schooling, Kelsey links *theologia* with *paideia*. Farley’s own words describe *theologia* as promoting “a Christian *paideia.*” 42 Kelsey describes *paideia* as a “process of ‘culturing’ the soul, schooling as character formation.” 43 In ancient Athens, *paideia* was “an unself-conscious education” which formed young free males by the qualities or virtues they would need as citizens. The goal of *paideia* is knowledge of the Good itself, which “is the highest principle of the universe. It is the divine.” 44 *Paideia’s* goal cannot be taught directly, but comes through contemplation, with only “indirect assistance, intellectual and moral disciplines” from the teacher. The teacher’s role is to “capacitate the student for the student’s own moment of insight.” 45 True knowledge of the Good requires a conversion from “preoccupation with appearances to focus on reality, on the Good.” 46 After Plato the pursuit of *paideia* became more private and divine assistance for the conversion of the soul was increasingly emphasised. Finally, early Christians claimed that Christianity was not like *paideia*, but was *paideia*. 47

Farley’s likening of *theologia* to *paideia* indicates the type of theological education programmes which would develop *theologia* in the student. Their goal would be conversion of the student so that they knew the Good, that is, in a Christian context, had a knowledge of

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41 Ibid., 105.
42 Farley, *Theologia*, xi.
44 Ibid., 9.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 Ibid., 11.
God. Programmes and teachers would be aimed at setting up the contexts and establishing disciplines that would “capacitate” the student’s moments of insight. Teaching would be indirect, not overt teaching of concepts and content. Though indirect and emphasising students’ insight and development as central, however, teaching for theologia or paideia should be rigorous, ordered and disciplined.

If theologia is a dialectical activity, then necessarily the education that serves it must be disciplined and critical, and classical paideia must be radically modified in another way. As we saw, the dialectic inherently requires a pedagogy that in disciplined fashion critically tests for truth and for ideology, both in faith’s situation and in the Christian mythos. Further, Farley contends, the structure of the dialectic entails a structure or order to the pedagogy. Accordingly, a theological school will necessarily involve critical inquiry that exhibits a certain order or structure.48

For theologia to be recovered, this structure needs to be dictated by the nature of faith. It will pull in subject matter as the study of faith requires, rather than accepting already predetermined courses and encyclopaedia of studies. “The aim of theological studies is to discipline, or rigorize, the basic modes of interpretation that already exist in the situation of faith and ... these hermeneutic [i.e. interpretive] modes generate the requisites and criteria for the areas of study and the movement of study in the field.”49

It can be seen how Farley’s work disappoints those looking for concrete methods of reform. The structure of theological education under this understanding will always be indirect and required to be responsive to the contemporary situation, so therefore able to change frequently. It is the characteristics, process, direction and dialectic of theological education rather than an overall structure, course of studies or programmes which are offered by these principles. The order or movement of study spoken about by Farley is different from the ordering of the theological disciplines in the four-fold pattern. While Wissenschaft (“orderly disciplined critical; inquiry”)50 is part of the pursuit of theologia for those in the situation of theological school, Wissenschaft “is not done for its own sake”51 but incorporated or appropriated for the purposes of cultivating habitus. Kelsey sees this as positive for Wissenschaft.

Indeed, by being appropriated into paideia, Wissenschaft regains the possibility of its own reunification. As we saw, on Farley’s analysis, Wissenschaft is inherently tragic, obliged to

48 Ibid., 109.
49 Farley, The Fragility of Knowledge, 171.
50 Kelsey, Between Athens and Berlin, 14.
51 Ibid., 115.
pursue knowledge by methods of abstraction that systematically distort its objects of knowledge. This distortion can only be overcome by the countermovement of synoptic perspectives that offer synthesis of the results of the several distinct abstractive “sciences.” Such perspectives have been marginalised in the modern academy. By being appropriated into the paideia aimed at theologia, however, Wissenschaft has one such synoptic perspective restored to it, and with it at least the possibility of a corrective to its own disarray.52

While this is desirable, according to Farley and Kelsey, Wissenschaft wisdom is usually pursued in the university and the synoptic perspectives marginalised. Recovering them while Wissenschaft is still in the domain of the university may be impossible.

Farley’s Proposals for Recovery of Theologia

In 1981, Farley called for the recovery of a governing paradigm for theological education. This paradigm was to be theologia, that is, an integrated theological understanding. From Farley’s descriptions of theologia, it is evident that the structure of theological education which is governed by it will comprise a dialectical process in which critical inquiry is conducted in a disciplined manner, with theologia as its goal. It is the aim of the study rather than its subject matter which Farley argues should give the “initial clues” for defining the area of study.53 He believes that “theological study must be ordered by the interpretive activities of believers in the church, whether clergy or lay, and of students in the university.”54

This concurs with his argument that theological understanding or wisdom is the goal in all of these three matrixes; only in the latter might disciplined critical theological study of university standard be required. He also argues that the movement of theological study should go “from certain foundational studies to studies in elemental modes of interpretation,”55 thus countering the obscuration of hermeneutical modes in current theological studies. This obscurity has been instrumental, he argues, in concealing the interconnection of different theological disciplines and thus the cause of students’ confusion. This movement also acts against the “supposed independence and autonomy of the disciplines and speciality fields of clergy

52 Ibid.
53 Farley, The Fragility of Knowledge, 103.
54 Ibid., 105.
55 Ibid., 105-6.
Farley’s concept of a theological education which will develop *theologia* is a middle way between clergy education and university based scientific theology.

What I propose... conceives theology to be a certain kind of reflective, interpretive activity, and its natural structure or pattern to be constituted by modes of interpretation. It follows from this conception that theological study can occur in church congregations, clergy schools, and universities. As a pedagogy, theological study disciplines modes of interpretation, and it does that by availing itself of the full resources of scholarship to the inquiry into its subject matter, the Christian faith.57

Farley recommends examination of the hegemony of the concept of theology as a science and consequent development of patterns and requirements in theological study which are “set by theology’s very content and genre.”58

Farley is always clear that the concept of theological education as clergy education is incompatible with the concept of it being only the scientific treatment of theology.59 He argues clergy education “is too specific for its curriculum and its speciality distributions to be identified with the structure of theological study” and adds that “as long as that is not recognised, the basic pattern of theological study will not come into view.”60 As a corollary, specialty fields in university theological disciplines are predicated on their function as professional education for clergy and so, he argues, cannot truly constitute theological study.61 Further, the essence of theology is not a ‘science’ in the sense of other sciences studied at the university, but similar to philosophy.

For theology is like philosophy in having a preoccupation with mystery which resists partitioning. Theology’s specific subject matters are not abstracted regions of reality but ways of penetrating the overall mystery of the world. The mystery with which theology is preoccupied does not fall into one of the compartments of knowledge or reality, since it is the mystery of these things themselves. Theology, too, is a kind of meta-thinking and it occurs at a distance from all; the world territories and their sciences. So the reason that theology cannot easily occupy a place among the sciences is not that a heteronomous revelation calls it into being rather, it is that the mystery with which it is concerned is not confined to one of the world’s territories.62

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56 Ibid., 107.
57 Ibid., 108.
58 Ibid., 111.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid., 113.
61 Ibid., 115.
62 Ibid., 118.
Though not a science, in Farley's view, theology is nevertheless a pedagogical endeavour which can generate studies and so organise them into patterns of studies. In this sense, theology can be regarded as a discipline. It does, however, require a very different approach towards understanding of its dimensions and of the ways it might be offered for study. Theology should participate in the new paradigm shift occurring in fields such as praxis hermeneutics, the natural sciences and radical philosophy, rather than remaining isolated from it in the present "dispersed academic and professional fields." Farley describes theology in the old paradigm of the hegemony of the house of authority as maintaining silence on what is to be done with the tradition, its rhetoric hiding the old paradigm's lack of a system which clearly and cogently communicates theology to modern society. If the paradigmatic shift is made and theology studied outside the authority paradigm, it is then an

...historically situated reflection and interpretation. The outcome of that shift is that the structure of theological study or pedagogy is recognized to be determined by basic modes of interpretation rather than by sciences. Instead of being a structure of sciences or of pedagogical areas created by the aims of clergy education, the structure of theology becomes a structure of basic modes of interpretation.

Farley argues for this interpretive reflection to be rigorous and disciplined. "The paideia or education of the believer is a discipline..." This discipline has three "elemental types of interpretation" – tradition, truth and praxis – not created by scholarship or pedagogy but already inherently present in the life of faith, interrelated and setting their "own requirements." A fourth is interpretation of the concrete acts or action within the life of the believer and of the church. A fifth type is interpretation of vocation.

These modes are not entirely equal in significance. Types four and five have a synthesising function within the first three. The most comprehensive type of interpretation is the fourth, in

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63 Ibid., 118-9.
64 Ibid., 124.
65 Ibid., 127.
66 Ibid., 128.
67 Ibid., 134.
68 Ibid., 138.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., 140.
71 Ibid., 141.
which the other elemental types distinctive of faith come together in concrete acts. The second synthesising type of interpretation is subordinate to the other: since it relates to one particularly consequential life situation constituted by one's work. The other three elemental types reflect the distinctive dimensions that enter life situations because of faith: dimensions of tradition, of the truth and of praxis.

These five hermeneutic types do not spell out a specific pattern of studies, but constitute the aims of the course of study.

My thesis is that the aim of theological study is to discipline, or rigorize, the basic modes of interpretation that already exist in the situation of faith, and that these hermeneutic modes generate the requisites and criteria for the areas of study and the movement of study in the field. 72

Farley does not see a pedagogical structure following logically from these modes of interpretation, but does suggest three characteristics of foundational studies. First, they should "articulate the comprehensive concrete cultural context and situation of religion and the church." 73 Secondly, they should also "raise the interpreting consciousness," anticipating interpretive studies, 74 and, thirdly, they would "promote some knowledge of Christianity as a historical reality." 75

Farley proposes that the next movement within theological study is from foundational studies to the modes of interpretation. 76 He details the interpretation of tradition, truth and action, within each of which there is synthetic interpretive movement through situational and vocational hermeneutics. 77 As Hough had already noted after Theologia, this still does not give a pattern of studies, although Farley talks of some disciplines, especially philosophy, which are important in his proposal and of others which could be used in an altered way.

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72 Ibid., 171. Farley then finishes by dealing with four problems which might have seemed to arise from his thesis -- the relationship of theological study to scholarship and curricula, to congregations and clergy education, to religious studies and the issue of preparatory studies for theology.

73 Ibid., 145.

74 Ibid., 146.

75 Ibid., 147.

76 Ibid., 148.

77 Ibid., 155.
Curriculum after Farley

Hough and Cobb: The Practical Theologian

Having found *theologia* ‘maddeningly elusive’ in 1985, Joseph Hough and John Cobb advocated the concept of the ‘Practical Theologian’ and offered a proposal for a curriculum of theological education. Hough’s understanding of Farley’s *theologia* is “a reflective understanding, shared by a Christian community about who we Christians are and what we are to do, given our concrete world-historical situation.”

He disagrees with Farley that the problem in theological education is the professional paradigm, but contends that the idea of professionalism in the church is “distorted and confused.” This he links to changes in ministerial character from early in America’s history. He follows here Ronald Osborn’s use of McIntyre in the identification of the ministerial character of Master, a character ideal where one mastered the theological and classical literature, but whose social power depended upon the same house of authority on which the four fold pattern depended, both now being at a loss with the decline of that authority.

Hough describes the advent of the professional model of ministry which accompanied the rise of technology and increased trust and dependence on empirical observation. The modern idea of the profession now added to divinity, law and medicine new professions such as engineering. The new professional was “one who deploys the knowledge gained in basic research for the task of solving problems in accordance with a certain technology of problem solving focused on a well-defined problem set.” Partly through Rainy Harper’s advocacy, “the ‘learned ministry’ was challenged by the ‘modern professional’ as the model product of theological education.” The professional model of application of theory to practice thereby became a ministry model.

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79 Ibid., 65.

80 Ibid., 69-70.

81 Ibid., 70-1.

82 Ibid., 71.

83 Ibid., 74.
Hough’s historical background continues with the decline of authority which brought about a weakening of authoritative ministerial characters such as the Master and, as ministers looked around for how they might find a basis for their ministry, filled the vacuum with the dominant social characters of Manager and Therapist.

Managerial science is the body of theory of how organisations work, and the professional manager is one who understands this theory and has learned formally or informally the technology of organisations... What the Manager offers is his effective assistance to the organisation in designing its programs so that it can solve its problems and implement its strategies.84

What the manager is doing within an organisation, the therapist character can do for the individual. “The therapist seeks to be effective in enabling the individual client to clarify his or her own values and goals, and to devise protective means by which those values and goals may be achieved or embodied.”85 These dominant social characters emerged in church leadership since, in the absence of theologically authoritative roles, ministers sought to provide for their congregations what they wanted. “Whatever else the churches in the mainline Protestant denominations may want of their ministers, they want a leader who can counsel effectively and manage well.”86

Hough suggests the ideal character of the Practical Theologian as more appropriate for ministry than Manager and Therapist. Hough’s Practical Theologian would add leadership in the “representation of the church’s memory” and leadership of “the reflective practice through which that identity can be given concrete, historical expression” to the roles of institutional management and counselling. To develop such Practical Theologians, changes in theological studies are called for:

...[I]f education for Practical Theologians is to be effective, the first, and perhaps the most important move, must be made by Biblical and historical scholars. The focal point of their teaching should be the critical presentation and re-presentation of the identity of the Christian community as it is formed and re-presented in the documents of that community’s internal history.87

They also call for systematic theologians and ethicists to attend to “the major issues Christians face in the world.”88 Like Farley, Hough states that “throughout the curriculum, it is the

84 Ibid., 77.
85 Ibid., 77-8
86 Ibid., 78.
87 Ibid., 80.
practice of Christians which should be the constant reference point for all teaching.\textsuperscript{89} The concept of "reflective practitioner," as argued by Donald Schon, is also introduced to amplify the idea of Practical Theologian and act as antidote to the concept of the professionals being those who simply apply theory.

Reflective practitioners, on the other hand, work with those they serve. They offer insights of knowledge gained chiefly through experience in similar situations. They share this and come to decisions in collaboration with those who seek their help. The result is the enhancement of the ability of those they serve to understand their world and care for themselves. The reflective practitioner is more the enabler than the problem solver. They are the ones who empowers [sic] their "clients" to assume responsibility for themselves insomuch as possible. Their leadership finds its vindication in the growing ability of their clients to serve their own needs.\textsuperscript{93}

Hough and Cobb's actual curriculum proposal requires, in their own words, 'real' but not radical change. Their assumption is that courses will be similar to those already in place, so they have worked within the limitations dimensions of actual seminary capacity. They do say, however:

We have assumed also existing faculties with their disciplinary commitments. We have asked them only not to impose the disciplinary style upon seminary students. We would prefer communities of free spirits who in their own thinking and research were not the products of the established patterns of graduate education.\textsuperscript{91}

They also note that they have not required seminaries to live in a frugal fashion even when studying the Christian implications for global life, but they were more "...interested in making proposals that most seminary faculties in North America can seriously consider."\textsuperscript{92}

These proposals fall into four sections which comprise twenty-four courses and a summer internship. Seven courses cover "The Heritage that shapes our Identity, including four on biblical history, two on Christianity and Judaism in 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} centuries and one on North American history. The second section is one course on "The Global Context of our Lives." The third section, on "Issues for Practical Christian Thinking," includes two required courses, one on making "sense of our doctrinal heritage in a post-Enlightenment age"\textsuperscript{93} and the other

\textsuperscript{88} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{89} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{90} Ibid., 82.

\textsuperscript{91} Joseph Hough, Jr. and John B. Cobb, Christian Identity and Theological Education (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1985), 128.

\textsuperscript{92} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
looking at the significance of other faiths for Christian faith. Students would choose three of five elective courses which deal with Christian mission, sexuality, liberation theology, a Christian response to world hunger or the nuclear arms race, church and politics, church responsibility in relation to the electronic media and contemporary Christian spirituality.\textsuperscript{94} The final section on “Professional Preparation for Pastoral Ministry” includes two courses of “Reflection on Models of Practice,” while another offers reflection on congregational contexts. Five courses offer opportunities for reflective practice, three on preaching and worship and two on Clinical Pastoral education. Two courses are “Contextual Education” and another is “Practical Christian Thinking about Pastoral Ministry.”\textsuperscript{95}

Even this curriculum, with its opportunities for reflective practice, would require the whole seminary faculty to coordinate their approaches so that the course together added up to an integrated whole. Farley’s analysis of the fate of \textit{theologia} would suggest also that not requiring a more radical change in the way disciplines deliver their courses dooms such a curriculum to probable failure in delivering \textit{theologia}.

**Kelsey: A Curriculum About and Against the Church**

Proposing a “curriculum about and against the church” in 1989, David Kelsey picked up some of the notion of rigour urged by Farley in his modes of interpretation, where the tradition and truth are rigorously examined with a critical mind-set rather than a pre-critical one.\textsuperscript{96} Though Kelsey is pessimistic about the resistance to reform exerted through the power of the faculty and the school’s tradition, he nevertheless advocates a curriculum which is

...redesigned as a genuine course of studies by addressing the end to which the current curriculum is being skewed anyway; the nature and nurture of the communal identity of Christian faith. Let it become a curriculum about the church and a curriculum against the church.\textsuperscript{97}

By this he means both a thorough learning about the reasons why church and how church communities exist but also prevention of ideological capture of the curriculum, when it

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 130

\textsuperscript{94} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{96} Farley, \textit{Fragility of Knowledge}, 148-153.

\textsuperscript{97} Kelsey, “A Theological Curriculum About and Against the Church,” 40.
"uncritically assimilates the interests and commitments of particular segments of society." Thus he recommends studying a diversity of Christian communities, even if they come from the same denomination. He argues that, when students are confronted with a variety of styles of Christian community and of Christian ministry, they then need to critically examine whether the familiar and common styles of ministry which they have encountered and may practice are, in fact, Christian ministry. The curriculum Kelsey envisages would study narratives used by churches as self-description and analyse the reality for both the ways in which these stories are lived up to and ways in which Christian communities can be faithless or become closed against the culture in which they are located.

His article, like Farley's work, deals in concepts and principles rather than detailed patterns of studies, but the emphasis he advocates includes the modes of interpretation of which Farley writes, and the description of a learned pastor able to empower others suggests this person has achieved *theologia*. A rigorous self-reflective and critical approach to the life of the church would bring students, Kelsey argues, to the point of being 'learned.' This he defines as "not only to be a master of a body of information but to be capable of participating in a tradition of enactments *in a self-reflective and self-critical way*." Not only have the students become learned in the above definition; this method of teaching/learning, Kelsey believes will help students to go on to empower others in the same self-reflective, self-critical approach.

**Bevans: A New World Curriculum**

The 'new world' curriculum at Catholic Theological Union (CTU) in Chicago is presently in the first stages of being enacted. This curriculum reform, unlike the theoretical curriculum offered by Hough and Cobb, began with faculty discussions. The goal which emerged was to "form leaders for our contemporary world church." This fits the argument of Farley that a governing paradigm should be contemporaneous and that it should reflect on action and the concrete life situation of the believer. In the "Keystone Project," a Lilly Endowment funded project for Catholic theological schools, faculty faced the high level of diversity within their student population and also the lack of integration they observed in the students. They

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98 Ibid., 42.
99 Ibid., 48.
100 Stephen Bevans, *Theological Education for a World Church: The New Curriculum at Catholic Theological Union, Chicago,* paper delivered at the conference, "God's zone? Theological Scholarship in Aotearoa New Zealand," Auckland, New Zealand, 2004, 1. It was later published as "Theological Education for a World Church" *Australian EJournal of Theology* 4 (February 2005).
decided that interdisciplinary courses were needed to model the desired integration for students. Their reflection on pedagogical assumptions also identified the importance of mutual learning, sensitivity to learning styles, valued collaboration and mentoring and the importance of vitality in the whole school environment.

Four central goals emerged – first, the importance of reflective practice or praxis since content was not enough; second, that teaching in theological method was also required; third, the interaction of experience, social location and culture in the contextual nature of Christianity and fourth, knowledge of the tradition. These four themes were entitled “Ministry, Method, Context and Tradition.”101 Bevans observes that the faculty believed these themes did “jibe very well with works on ministerial and theological education by scholars like Edward Farley, Rebecca Chopp, Robert Banks and James and Evelyn Whitehead.”102

A foundational core contains four courses, each addressing one main theme – pastoral practice, theological methods, context and diversity in religion, and historical sources of the tradition.103 A complementary core comprises a compulsory biblical studies introduction and other optional courses which are more in-depth and discipline-specific.

All ordination track students take four “integrating Core Courses.”104 Six elements of the church’s mission are fused with the four themes for these courses.105 In this the faculty found their equivalent of Farley’s governing paradigm – in their case, mission. Bevans terms the remaining course structure “fairly traditional,” but:

Our hope, however, is that as teachers teach in the foundational, complementary and integrating core courses, even their teaching in their own disciplines will be affected by the strong interdisciplinary, integrating and context-conscious approaches of the more innovative courses.106

101 Ibid., 6.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid., 6-7.
104 Non-ordinands take three.
105 These six elements are: witness and proclamation; liturgy, prayer and contemplation; justice, peace and the integrity of creation; inter-religious dialogue; inculturation; and reconciliation. These had been devised earlier by Bevans and his colleague Eleanor Doidge. Ibid., 8.
106 Ibid., 9.
The positive values in the programme for faculty which he identifies are more collaboration and interdisciplinary thinking, as well as the missiological focus of the framework. This curriculum would appear to coincide with several of Farley’s concerns. It works intentionally toward assisting students to integrate what they are learning. It has a focus on concrete reality in a global framework. It has a governing paradigm which is not simply research method, but is an ecclesiology-related and God-related theme of mission. It brings out into the light the methods by which theological work is done rather than keeping them hidden, which Farley suggests is unhelpful to interpretive development in students. It aims to break through the four-fold divisions of the disciplines. This curriculum takes more risks than the theoretical Hough and Cobb proposal. It remains to be seen whether CTU faculty will be able to work in an interdisciplinary fashion and to live with the “loss of turf” which some departments have suffered. The curriculum does not mention, as much as Farley or Kelsey do, the importance of the curriculum being “against” the church as well as “about” it, though many of the issues proposed, especially contextual ones challenge traditional thinking by their very nature.

**New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry Formation Curriculum and Theologia**

In the light of these proposals, how does the New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation pattern compare? The present programme comprises foundational studies at a university or theological college followed by a two-year ordination programme. The foundational studies programmes offered by different providers throughout the country vary in their rigour, though most follow the four-fold pattern of theological studies of which Farley is so critical. It is the ordination programme which offers an opportunity for movement into the interpretive modes which Farley details – those to do with tradition, truth and action synthesised by the situational and vocational hermeneutics included within them.

This movement toward interpretation and reflection is retrospective in one sense, but can move students on from academic beginnings. Five aspects of formation are important in ministry formation: academic, personal, professional, spiritual, and ecclesiological. Four “key aspects” of formation are expressed in the 2006 Handbook of the New Zealand Presbyterian School of Ministry, Dunedin as: “cognitive learning, emotional maturation, the development of professional skills, the nurturing of Christian discipleship and spirituality.”

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107 Ibid., 10.
matching formation with actual courses constructed to bring about that formation is sparse, however.

The five modes of formation can be matched with Farley’s modes of interpretation. Academic formation is honed by the shift into interpretive mode, so that the scientific theology learned at university is enhanced by reflective approaches. If taught intentionally with Farley’s goals in mind, interpretation of tradition and action would assist ecclesiological formation; interpretation of truth and tradition would assist spiritual formation; interpretation of action with a hermeneutics of vocation would assist professional formation; a situational hermeneutics in all three elemental modes (tradition, truth and action) would assist personal formation. As well as these direct matches, interpretive modes will assist all types of formation as theologia increases. Farley’s analysis offers New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formators the opportunity, instead of simply stating the types of formation which are aimed at and using a batch of various courses to achieve this, to make the programme more systematic in matching pedagogical activity to the overall aim of theologia – integrated theological understanding – through use of the interpretive modes in the structural framework.

Assessment of Fragmentation / Recovery of Theologia in Ministry Formation Programmes

Above is the present situation of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation. This thesis moves on to consider how governance decisions affected theologia from 1961 to 1997. The question is what should be looked for in a ministry formation governance decision to see whether it would result in recovery of theologia or continue to fragment it. Identifying these criteria will facilitate assessment within the historical background of the next chapter and in the following case studies.

What signs suggest theologia is being fragmented? First, following Farley, predominant use of the traditional theological disciplines in their four-fold pattern fragmenting theologia, particularly when these disciplines are under strict university control, such as funding or research requirements. It is reasonable to assume then that if this pattern is in place, theologia is not being recovered and an integrated programme not delivered in that part of the programme. If a university-approved four-fold pattern is being taught in a church college,

solely by church teachers to a class filled with ordinands, however, delivery of the discipline may achieve some integration and some benefit of the doubt should be allowed, although evidence of this may only occasionally be available.

Second, the presence of pastoral theology as a separate discipline, used as a bridging discipline with the other theological areas of study, suggests a fragmented theologia. Signs that pastoral work is being subordinated to academic work would also indicate a tendency to favour scientific theology being kept as a separate entity. Notwithstanding these criteria, there may be evidence in reports of pastoral theology programmes that they come close to aiding interpretation and self-reflective practice by students. Farley acknowledges this can occur in some pastoral theology, though capture by satellite disciplines can be a danger.

Third, strong representation or use of a professional view of ministry which over-emphasises the acquisition of skills, or an application of theory-to-practice model, might indicate fragmentation. Lack of reflective modes of teaching or learning would show in this kind of approach to ministry formation. Use of the term ministry ‘training’ might indicate this approach.

Some governance decisions on the other hand may set the right ethos for recovery of theologia. How could they be recognised? First, signs of interdisciplinary teaching might suggest an approach which is prepared to cut across, to some extent, the four-fold division of theological disciplines. Use of imaginative pedagogy and contextual approaches to theology and ministry indicate a desire to facilitate good conditions for integration. Appointment of staff for their ability to be excellent role models in integrative living would be a sign of intentions to recover theologia.

Second, movement away from the divided academic theological encyclopaedia toward reflective ministry practice-oriented courses would provide an environment where theologia might be recovered. Appointment of staff who have expertise in the practice of ministry, not only those with academic expertise, might also aid integration of theology scientia and theology habitus. These criteria include activities or assignments in the programme which require integration of academic theology with aspects of ministry or faith. These might be an exit exercise for presbyteries which show a student’s readiness for ministry, a paper or assignment which offers an integrating approach, or formational activities such as spiritual
formation or clinical pastoral education. Third, use of the word ‘formation’ which leads to good formation opportunities developing, description of its end goals and valuing of the concept shows a willingness to encourage reflective practice in students and so facilitate the development of *theologia*. Programme design which favours reflection and interdisciplinary teaching and shows awareness of the kinds of formation required in an effective minister, would also be positive. Use of assignments which require synthesis of complex material indicate an interpretive approach.

Using these criteria, in the next chapter we turn to comparison and contrast of governance decisions at the founding of the University of Berlin (1810) with those made at the founding of the New Zealand Presbyterian Theological College (1876) and for its first curriculum in 1881, to assess whether they helped create theological education programmes which aided the recovery of *theologia* or fragmented it. The criteria will then be used to track the progress or otherwise of the fragmentation of *theologia* in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation from 1881 to 1960.
Chapter Five

From Church College to University Theology (1876-1960)

The institutional form of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation began in 1876, eighty-five years before the period of this thesis. This chapter examines that prior period to assess how New Zealand Presbyterian governance may have contributed or not to fragmentation of theologia from 1876 to 1960. First, links between governance and theologia made in the literature are discussed. Farley’s arguments about governance decisions made at the inauguration of the University of Berlin (1810) are then compared with the status of theology immediately following the inauguration of the University of Otago (1871). The criteria developed from Farley’s arguments in the previous chapter are used in this comparison to consider how New Zealand Presbyterian governance at the beginning of the theological college in 1876 affected theologia. The remainder of the chapter uses the same criteria to survey the effects of governance decisions in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation from 1876 until 1961, when the first case study begins. The chapter ends, according to criteria implicit in Farley’s work, with an assessment of the state of theologia in 1960, the beginning date of the first case study.

Theologia and Governance

This thesis argues that governance and theologia are inextricably intertwined. Without good governance supporting it, theologia is fragmented; without theologia, governance will always produce an inferior product from its ministry formation programmes. The literature supports the conclusion that governance has the major responsibility for the recovery or de-fragmentation of theologia. In the decade after Farley’s Theologia, an important characteristic of governance of a theological school was identified in the US literature as commitment to identifying, supporting and fulfilling the school’s mission.¹

That theological schools should be intentionally designed for their purpose – a function of governance – was argued by Jesse Zeigler fifteen years before *Theologia*. He defined the purpose of a theological school as educating ministers for the church. This is the same role Schleiermacher expected university theology to fulfil as part of the professional education for ministry in the modern research university. Zeigler’s argument that seminary programmes should be consistent with educational theory by “preparing people for critical evaluation and decision making” also aligns with Schleiermacher’s intention that ministry education should remain within the university where critical thinking is fostered. Zeigler’s goal of ministry education, however, is the unification of classical and practical education rather than their artificial division.

William McElvaney lists eight governance functions, one of them being assumption of responsibility for “vision-building and planning.” Once a theological school names its mission/purpose and sets goals to achieve that, then the way forward has been set. Governance must face the implications of that purpose or mission, organising the structures, buildings and programmes which best enact the school’s mission. Both governance and management need to understand the aims of the educational programme, then allocate resources accordingly, hire appropriate teaching staff and ensure that buildings and other fixed assets are adequate to achieve the school’s mission.

In other words, governance is obligated to serve the mission of the school. This understanding led Robert Cooley and David Tiede to argue that North American ATS accreditation teams should judge governance systems by whether or not they follow priorities which arise out of the mission of the school. Following Farley’s goal of a recovered *theologia*, it can therefore also be said that to be called excellent, governance is required to deliver systems, teachers and programmes which achieve reintegration of *theologia*, whether this is implicit or explicit in a school’s statement of its mission. Farley’s argument suggests

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5 Ibid., 13-14.

that two main factors are therefore needed for adequate ministerial formation: a mission statement which calls for *theologia*, and governance which delivers the conditions for its recovery by carrying out that mission.

Those writers in the literature who favour greater attention to spiritual formation in the theological school and seminary are practitioners in integration (in other words, the recovery of *theologia*). Though they may not use the term, their end goal is in fact development of *theologia* within the student – a theological understanding which has ‘educated’ the soul, developed a *habitus* and inculcated wisdom. Calls for spiritual formation to be intentionally fostered and not left to chance in theological schools have already been seen in the literature.7 Canadian Gordon Smith is another writer who argues theological schools need to provide the right context for reflection on the vocation of ministry and also to “work through one’s emotional response to God, to others and to the world, and come to terms with critical aspects of sexuality and gender.”8 This is personal formation which would prepare the student for gaining the holistic knowledge of God, that is, *theologia*.

These writers argue that provision of the right setting in which spiritual formation can occur is a responsibility of governance. Remember too that Smith also advocates greater openness with students about the goal of character formation, not leaving it to chance, but being “intentional and proactive and not just passive” about character development.9 This would assist clarity about goals between teachers and students and also increase a sense of ownership in students’ about their own character development.10

Forster Freeman has the same attitude towards theological schools’ intentionality about formation, expecting them not to take responsibility for cognitive formation only, but also for spiritual formation, rather than expecting it to occur without effort on the school’s part.11 It

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7 As seen in the work of Tilden Edwards, Alan Jones, Forster Freeman, Dwight L. Grubbs and Virginia Samuel Cetuk in Chapter Two.

8 Smith, “Spiritual Formation in the Academy,” 89.

9 Ibid.


11 Forster Freeman, *Readiness for Ministry Through Spiritual Direction* (Washington, DC: The Alban Institute, 1986). Freeman identifies several blocks for seminaries taking up this responsibility: rationalist views of knowledge, the need for acceptance by academia, prejudice against Roman Catholic priestly-style mediation, fear
has been seen that these concerns are similar to those of Dwight L. Grubbs who called for courses in spiritual, psychological and professional development. These writers are all working towards the de-fragmentation of *theologia*.

Smith claims teachers who will provide good role models are crucial for formation programmes to be effective. Vigilance within governance is required to determine “emotional, spiritual and relational” maturity will be found in the teaching staff appointed. While the right kind of teachers are available, they may be put off by ‘commodification’ of the profession of theological educator, where part-time and adjunct teachers are heavily employed.

In the two seminaries we studied, it was the students’ sustained exposure to the professors who were a consistent presence that gave them examples of character, behaviour and deep convictions against which to measure themselves. Only in that testing and measuring process did genuine learning – including content learning – occur.

Recruiting, selecting and resourcing the right kind of teaching staff is a crucial governance role. If the best staff are not selected, the problem may be not only poor governance but incomplete definition of the mission of ministry education. Why is not more care or more effort for reform undertaken? “The principal reason is that the structure of studies is simply taken for granted and its power to shape perceptions and behaviour goes unnoticed.” The assumption can be made that the inherited pattern of studies will form students automatically.

Those responsible for governance can, through effective programming, selection of appropriate teachers and encouragement of a culture in the theological school which fosters formation ensure. This will ensure *theologia* is not fragmented or that it is recovered where it has already been fragmented. Choice of staff, arrangement of programmes and setting of priorities are governance activities which affect the outcomes of ministry formation programmes. The criteria suggesting *theologia* is being fragmented which were developed in

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13 Ibid., 91.


Chapter Three as being implicit within Farley’s work, are all based on the outcomes of governance decisions: use of the four-fold pattern, separation of pastoral/practical theology as a separate bridging discipline and characterising ministry formation as professional education. The criteria for recovery of theology also depend on governance decisions: interdisciplinary teaching, use of formational approaches and assignments, and activities which integrate theology (*scientia*) with theology (*habitus*).

Farley argues that the governance decision made to include theology at Berlin as professional education for ministers set the stage for the fragmentation of *theologia*. To estimate the effects on *theologia* when New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation was first institutionalised, governance of theology at the inauguration of the University of Otago and the creation of the church’s theological college are now compared with Farley’s argument concerning Schleiermacher’s solution for theology’s status in the university.

**Theologia and Governance at the Founding of the University of Berlin, 1810**

Farley’s argument that theology was fragmented through the introduction of professional education for ministry at the University of Berlin in 1810, which began an ill-conceived relationship between higher education and ministry formation. This provides an opportunity for recognising the three signs of fragmentation described in Chapter Four. The Berlin arrangement, Farley argues, did not achieve the *theologia* which should be the goal of education for ministry, the integrated understanding of God which has aspects of both *scientia* and *habitus*. His review of theological education history illustrates how this relationship fragmented the integrity of theology.  

Farley’s analysis is that the four disciplines now recognised (post-Enlightenment) as separate academic pursuits, arose originally from the needs of the confessional church and can be dated back to Phillip Melanchthon (1497-1560). Melanchthon’s confessional Protestantism emphasised the Word (biblical studies), the tradition (dogmatics), polemical defence (church history) and preaching (homiletics). Farley asserts that knowledge of God or theological

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18 Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education,” 95.
understanding—what he calls *theologia*—was the aim of the confessional church and therefore of the studies undertaken by its theological students. Their study of the Word, tradition, polemics and preaching combined together to develop *theologia* in the student in ministry education prior to 1810. He contends this was not so after the rise of the Enlightenment-influenced modern research university.

Farley claims the first fragmentation of *theologia* began in the nineteenth century. He interprets the historical development of the present four-fold pattern in theological education as leading to university and seminary theological education becoming the preserve of clergy. He pinpoints this as beginning at the foundation of the University of Berlin in 1810 when, in order to justify theology’s place in the new research university, Friedrich Schleiermacher reasoned that, just as medicine and law were professional education for doctors and lawyers, theological studies educated a professional ministry.

By placing theology within professional ministerial education, Farley argues Schleiermacher created a ‗clerical paradigm,’ in which academic theology became the province of church leadership. Effectively, no theological study of praxis related to life outside the church or outside church leaders’ experience was part of university study. By corollary, theology as *habitus* (inculcation of practical wisdom), now detached from professional, university-based theological education of ministers, became a private matter of opinion and taste. Theoretical theology (*scientia*) was one entity, theology as *habitus*, another. Blending of the two was no longer possible within university academic theology as the post-Enlightenment university increasingly affirmed rational, scientific approaches to research and empirical research.

Consequently, Farley argues, on-going increasingly separate development of the four disciplines after 1830 created a situation whereby they came to have less and less in common with each other and also less to do with development of *theologia*. The four disciplines of Bible, dogmatics, church history and practical theology became ‗quasi-independent’ and *theologia* merely an umbrella term. The disciplines were therefore no longer connected

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19 A knowledge of God which is more than simply cognitive, *theologia* has a connotation of wisdom or *habitus* (inculcation of practical wisdom) about it.

20 As noted earlier, the four-fold pattern is the division of theological education into the four disciplines of biblical studies, systematic theology or dogmatics, church history and pastoral theology.

through a single unifying object, *theologia*, but by their usefulness as ministerial competencies: "...quasi-independent disciplines connected by an image of the ministry which is a remnant of the social reality, the confessional church."\(^{23}\) The confessing church which continues to need this image of ministry is therefore faced with a fragmented disciplinary base, increasingly unrelated to confessional issues.

**Implications of this Fragmentation on Ministry Training**

Separation of the disciplines is not such a problem for a student of any of the theological disciplines who will have no future role as an ordained minister. Many students become biblical scholars or church historians and pursue effective academic careers within these disciplines, participating in the scholarly guilds attached to them and competing for the rewards they offer. Increasingly the majority of students in New Zealand university theology departments are not candidates for ordained ministry. More students include one or two papers from within the theological disciplines in their general undergraduate degrees based in other departments. For them separation of the disciplines is not a career issue, although Farley would argue that they too receive a theological education missing an adequate rationale at its centre.

It is ironic that it is the ministry students whom Schleiermacher sought to assist who are the ones for whom the dislocation of theological education is problematic. Since Schleiermacher envisaged a professional training within the university, these prospective ministers are now disadvantaged by the fragmenting effects of that clerical paradigm. It is these candidates for ministry, as future leaders within the confessional church, who most of all require a more integrated approach, developing *theologia* in the ordinand.

In principle, a remedy would seem a return to the situation Melanchthon knew, where the elements of Bible, dogmatics, church history and pastoral theology all contributed towards *theologia*. In practice, contemporary hegemony of the disciplines and scholarly guilds is an extremely powerful barrier to reform.\(^{24}\) Reduced proportions of ordinands studying within

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\(^{22}\) Farley, "The Reform of Theological Education," 97.

\(^{23}\) Ibid., 98.

\(^{24}\) In Farley's view, "the social structure of theological schools as academic institutions tends to inhibit genuine reform." Farley, "Why Seminaries Don't Change," 133.
university departments mean churches have little power in decision-making about curriculum structures within them. The church is not the source of the problem, since the university structures, influence of its scholarly guilds and the rationalism of the modern project are the major influences on disciplinary development. In a more secular age, universities need bear no responsibility for ministry training. While they might tailor their courses to attract ministry students from any denomination as a potential market, economics and public relations are the only reasons why university theology would seek to accommodate churches’ agendas for ministry training. Declining church memberships and therefore financial support exacerbate the situation, making it less possible for churches to embrace expensive alternative training options.

This means that if churches wish to still pursue an academic aspect to their ministers’ education and avoid remaining in a theological ghetto, they must take what the university offers. It subsequently falls therefore to the churches to provide the missing integrating principle for the training of their ministers. Any integration of the theological disciplines to form *theologia* within the ministry student may need to be retrospective, in post-graduate ordination programmes or accompanying external theological study through reflection within a mentoring relationship maintained by the church, outside university courses.

In hindsight, after observing the development of the modern research university into the twenty-first century, the problem with Schleiermacher’s decision at Berlin in 1810 was lack of comprehension of the differences which would ensue between the pre-Enlightenment approach to theological study which he knew well, and post-Enlightenment emphasis on reason, scientific study and critical scrutiny of ancient texts. The modern research university does not exist to promote faith, but to ensure critical analysis and rational debate. It is not a problem within academic dialogue if such analysis and debate pulls apart a faith stance. While preaching and teaching of the faith requires some rational basis, it also requires the eye of faith and the more-than-cognitive sapiential knowledge of God which Farley calls *theologia*, neither of which sit easily within the modern academic paradigm.

Schleiermacher’s comparison of the ministry with medicine and law is also flawed. While ministers need to work in a professional manner, acting ethically towards their patients and clients, inculcation and development of faith has always been a ministerial activity which requires more than critical, cognitively-based studies. The medical and legal professions do
not require a belief system or faith stance in the same way ministers need to develop their sapiential knowledge of God and the essence of Christianity.

Farley’s argument demonstrates that two governance factors coincided to effect a paradigm shift in the education of ministers after 1810. One was the decision of Schleiermacher to propose theological studies as professional education for ministry within a new kind of higher education that would not provide the sapiential elements which had been an integral part of ministerial education in the confessing church. The ideal of a research-based university was a new concept and the downstream effects of this shift still unknown. That the move to theology (scientia) in the university would fragment theologia, and produce ministerial education overweighted on the academic, cognitive side of the spectrum of knowledge, was something of which Schleiermacher and others keen to continue with university education as part of ministerial education may not have fully been aware. The first governance decision made at this stage which caused fragmentation of theologia was therefore to consider theology (scientia) as the whole of theology and sufficient for the training of ministers.

A second governance factor was the change in understanding of ministerial education towards its conceptualisation as professional education for ministry. Not only did this artificially separate the theological education of lay and clergy within the church, but it contributed towards the fragmentation of theologia further by one kind of concentration on scientifically cognitive learning – theology (scientia) – in Bible, dogmatics and church history and another kind of concentration on acquisition of ministry skills within practical/pastoral theology. Practical/pastoral theology thus provided practical training, but not always with the sapiential knowledge ministers require. Sapiential/practical aspects and academic aspects of Bible, dogmatics and church history were separated from their non-theoretical aspects, sapiential wisdom lost from university ministerial education and theologia fragmented.

While the ministerial education within the university may have appeared to have fulfilled its mission of professional ministry education, this mission was not wide enough to do an adequate job of ministerial formation. Increasing hegemony of the modern research approach within the universities deepened fragmentation of theologia. Paradoxically, at the same time, this same hegemony, accompanied by ongoing prestige accorded by general society, also strengthened the need for and desire of some churches, Presbyterian in particular, to use university education as all or part of their ministerial education requirements. That many
effective, sapiential ministers were trained in the meantime was more due to their own character, faith and outside supports and the integrative attitudes of individual teachers than to any holistic theology their university-based education in ministry was organised to deliver.25

The three criteria devised in Chapter Four from this argument of Farley’s for recognising fragmentation of theologia were: presence of the four-fold pattern, pastoral theology acting as a bridge discipline and an ethos of professional ministry. The three criteria for recognising moves towards recovery of theologia were: interdisciplinary teaching, programme aspects allowing reflective integration, and a formation ethos. Since these were developed from Farley’s arguments based on the situation at Berlin in the nineteenth century, it is too circular an argument to apply them back into the situation from which they were developed. Which of these criteria, however, were present when New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation began in nineteenth century New Zealand?

**Governance and Theologia at the Founding of the University of Otago (1871) and the Presbyterian Theological College (1876)**

Since the origins of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation are less well known than those of Berlin University, which are internationally visible, a survey of the New Zealand origins is needed to set the scene. From its genesis, New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation has been located in Dunedin at the southern end of the country.26 Scottish Free Church influence, money and church politics led to this now anachronistic27 geographical location. The Wakefield Otago class settlement was led by Free Church of Scotland minister, Rev Thomas Burns, and included other Free Church members recruited in 1843 to revive a flagging enterprise by the New Zealand Company to deliberately target the very new Free Church.28 The Otago settlement thus began with involvement of the Lay Association of the

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25 It will be seen later in the chapter that some of this formation came through students talking with each other outside lectures.

26 See maps, Fig. 1 and 2, ix, x.

27 Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Catholic theological education are all now sited in Auckland, the city with the largest population.

28 The Otago settlement was a New Zealand Company ‘Wakefield’ class settlement. The Company’s charter, granted by British Parliament in 1841, gave it “…the right ‘of purchasing and acquiring, settling, improving, cultivating, letting, selling, granting, alienating, mortgaging, charging or otherwise dealing with and making a profit of lands, tenements and hereditaments [sic] in the Colony of New Zealand and its dependencies, and of laying out settlements and towns, etc.” Cited in Rev. William Gillies, *The Presbyterian Church Trust* (Dunedin: Reith and Wilkie, c.1876), 5. Reference Library, Presbyterian Archives, Dunedin. The New Zealand Company
Free Church of Scotland which brought with it both a Scottish valuing of education in general and the Free Church’s high valuing of university-level theological education of ministers. Education had already been a high priority at the Scottish Reformation and universities were key focal points within the Reformation project, their conversion from Catholic to Protestant influence establishing university education as a major part of the education of Church of Scotland ministers. This priority was continued by the Free Church after 1843. A New Zealand Divinity School (from the Scottish understanding of a Divinity School within a university) was anticipated before the emigrants left Home. The settlement was neither homogeneously Scottish nor Presbyterian, however. A diversity of cultures and religious backgrounds arrived on the boats and was already present in the colony before they arrived. This meant Free Church leaders would have to compromise their ideals in education and ecclesiastical circles.

Initially New Zealand Presbyterian ministers-in-training were supervised by presbyteries. For example, Mr Gorrie, a United Presbyterian, was supervised and then licensed by Auckland Presbytery in 1860. In the south, James Chisholm’s ministry formation was supervised by

bought land from Maori and sold it to the settlers. A private colonising initiative, it was originally resisted by the Church Missionary Society and British Colonial Office, who feared the results of colonisation on Maori. "Wakefield, Edward Gibbon,” Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. I (Wellington: Allen & Unwin; Dept. of Internal Affairs, 1990). The Free Church had only been formed on 16 May 1843. Approaching the Free Church was suggested to the New Zealand Company by Cargill and Rennie as early as 23 May 1843. Rennie was “...fully aware that fresh springs of religious fervour were welling to the surface of Scottish life to water perchance the arid soil wherein the seeds of his scheme lay dormant.” In A. H. McLintock, The History of Otago: The Origins and Growth of a Wakefield Class Settlement (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Historical Publications, 1949), 173-174.

The account of the Novio Erectio at Glasgow University is one example of the upheaval as the theology and control of the University changed from Catholic to Protestant. See J. D. Mackie, The University of Glasgow: 1451 to 1951 (Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co., 1954).

The Institutes provided for “...the appointment of ministers to particular churches (the Rev. Thomas Burns having been already duly appointed), until there be candidates for the ministry qualified at a Divinity College in New Zealand...” (italics added). “The Institutes of Otago Church and Schools,” Clause IV, cited in Gillies, The Presbyterian Church Trust, 42.

“Many of the passengers on the John Wycliffe were English and not even Presbyterians!” Allan K. Davidson, Pioneers, Protesters and Pluralism: Exploring Presbyterian Identity (Wellington: 150th Anniversary Committee of the Presbyterian Church, 1988), 6.

The new settlers were greeted by the Rev. Charles Creed, a Wesleyan missionary already working among Maori at Waikouaiti. Waikouaiti is approximately forty kilometres north of Dunedin. Creed visited the first arrivals on the John Wycliffe within a day or two of their landing so he could offer Thomas Ferens, a ‘well educated passenger,’ the job of schoolteacher. Ferens started teaching at Waikouaiti in July 1848, but the venture failed due to lack of funds from England. C. W. S. Moore, Northern Approaches: A History of Waitati, Waikouaiti, Palmerston, Dunback, Moeraki, Hampden and Surrounding Districts (Dunedin: Otago Centennial Publications, 1958), 205-6.

The report regarding Mr. Gorrie being very favourable, he was received as a candidate, and subjects for trial were prescribed. At further quarterly meetings Mr. Gorrie was examined in Greek, Hebrew and Theology; he
Otago Presbytery where he was licensed in 1870.\textsuperscript{34} This was similar to ‘reading for divinity’ in colonial North America.\textsuperscript{35} In Scotland, United Presbyterians, barred on ecclesiastical grounds from university Divinity, had also used presbytery-supervised studies to supplement the two-month term of the UP Divinity Hall.\textsuperscript{36} In all these systems, theological study was therefore closely integrated with ministry practice. Tutors and supervisors were usually ministers and students’ theological study was focused on service of the church in ministry.

In Otago, university theology was the goal, however, with presbytery-supervised formation only ever a temporary expedient. Founding Presbyterian settlers such as Burns, pressing for university theology, may not have grasped the significance of shifts in the theological disciplines already happening within even Free Church theological colleges, changes which would result in Free Church heresy trials in the 1880s. Even if they did, later events would indicate their belief that they would still be able to control such developments in ‘their’ university. The timing of the inauguration of the University of Otago in 1871 was sufficiently close to the inauguration of the modern research university in Berlin (1810) for the philosophy behind the four-fold pattern to have its effect.

At the Reformation, university study had still focused on knowledge of a God which sixteenth century epistemology found to be knowable.\textsuperscript{37} As Scottish Presbyterians immigrated to New Zealand, a sea change was occurring. An Enlightenment epistemology based on reason argued God could not be known supernaturally and truth could only be accessed through

\textsuperscript{34} James Chisholm (1843-1916) completed “with much satisfaction to the committee.” This was the Dunedin Presbytery Examination Committee. See “Provincial and Colonial Intelligence: Presbytery of Dunedin.” \textit{The Evangelist} II/3 [Lawrence, Otago] (March 1870): 26. He passed his licensing trials in March 1870, having “…read his trial discourses, and was also examined in Greek, church history and theology, all of which were sustained by approbation.” “Provincial and Colonial Intelligence,” \textit{The Evangelist} II/4 [Lawrence, Otago] (1 April 1870): 116.

\textsuperscript{35} Gilpin, “The Seminary Ideal,” 87-9.

\textsuperscript{36} “Indeed, in theory, and often, too, in reality, a student stood more closely related to his presbytery than to his Divinity Hall professors; and the former may have more to do than the latter with the direction of his intellectual pursuits, the unfolding of his professional qualifications, and the formation of his character.” P. Landreth, \textit{The United Presbyterian Divinity Hall} (Edinburgh: William Oliphant And Co., 1876), 299.

rational argument and empirical observation. That which could not be established by rational means therefore became a sort of second-class truth, superstition or speculation, a category in which faith was included.

Just a few years after the inauguration of the University, protest from within the Otago church at the ‘evolutionary ideas’ of a church-endowed professor, Duncan Macgregor\textsuperscript{38} would reveal the rising tension between these scientific and theological/spiritual epistemologies. Some of the Presbyterians hoping for university theology at Otago would have anticipated a continuation of the sapiential theology or \textit{theologia} taught in pre-Enlightenment times. Whatever was thought or imagined, or whatever could be known about the future, for centuries part of the identity of a Scottish minister had been (whether in the Church of Scotland or the Free Church of Scotland) that he had been university educated in the theological and other disciplines. To the Otago Presbyterian settlers, then, university theology was a given.

Money was another key influence at the beginnings of Presbyterian ministry formation. One eighth of the land sales had been put into trust to create a permanent endowment of “Religious and Educational uses \textit{in connection with the Free Church}”\textsuperscript{39} (italics added), by agreement between the Association and the New Zealand Company. The Fund slowly grew despite an early and unexpected withdrawal of the Company.\textsuperscript{40} The Trust played a key role in persuading Presbyterians further north to agree to theological education beginning and then continuing in Dunedin because it could significantly fund teaching salaries and other activities for both Theological Hall and University. An unsuccessful challenge in 1866 to Presbyterian ownership\textsuperscript{41} of the fund showed again that the Otago settlement was not homogeneously Free Church.

\textsuperscript{38} McKean, \textit{The Church in a Special Colony}, 86.

\textsuperscript{39} Gillies, \textit{The Presbyterian Church Trust}, 10.

\textsuperscript{40} The Company went bankrupt early in the settlement, withdrawing in 1850. Ibid. In 1854 the Fund taken over by the Presbytery was only thirty-four pounds. It had, of course, already been used for purchasing land for churches and manses and it paid Burns’ stipend until 1855. Ibid., 18-19.

\textsuperscript{41} “That Act met with opposition from some parties, who envying and grieving at the good of their neighbours, would rather have seen an Act of Spoliation passed, robbing the Church of its money.” Ibid., 19-20. Also Ibid., Appendix V, 44-51 for Select Committee hearing evidence. The appeal was rejected by this Government Select Committee because it was clearly legal the Fund was primarily for the benefit of the Otago Free Church.
Church politics also played a role. In 1860, representatives of all the presbyteries then extant in the country met to discuss a nationwide church. Initially this was warmly welcomed by the southern Presbyterians, but their wish to include early Scottish documents as subordinate standards was not approved by northern Presbyterians who were more varied in origin – some English, others Irish. The southern Presbyterians refused to join, so the New Zealand Presbyterian Church held its first Assembly in 1862, but included only Presbyterians north of the Waitaki river.42

At first the southerners were governed by presbyteries, and from 1866 by the Synod of Otago and Southland which continued to disburse Foundation income.43 Even after union in 1901,44 when the New Zealand Presbyterian Church covered the whole of the country, the Synod continued, its main function now being the disbursement of income from the Trust. These southern funds supported southerners’ requests, first through Otago presbytery in 1862, and confirmed by Synod in 1866, that national Presbyterian theological education would continue to be located in Dunedin.

The University of Otago (1871)

When the University of Otago was planned, however, secularists opposed the inclusion of theology. A significant number of settlers hoped for a new country without the same Church-State tensions as in Britain, including church interference in education. Though disconcerted, Presbyterians turned to the Free Church model many of them knew well from the Disruption, the stand-alone theological college, in order to supply theological training for their first graduates of the University. If the model of New College, Edinburgh, was in the settlers’ minds, they would remember Thomas Chalmers’ ambition that it demand as good a standard as the Scottish university divinity faculties.

It is ironic that the Free Church settlers’ preferred governance decision was for theology in the university and that it was forces outside their control which prevented that decision being enacted. Through no intention of the Free Church settlers, and in contrast with the opening of the University of Berlin, theology does not find a place in the university but has to be confined

42 See map, Fig 1 page ix.

43 By Act of Parliament this money could only be spent south of the Waitaki river.

44 Of the northern church (NZPC) and the church south of the Waitaki river, the Synod of Otago and Southland.
to a church college. Perhaps the professional argument was not used. Although not the original intention, theology therefore will escape to some extent the emphasis on theology (scientia) imposed by the rigours of Enlightenment research approaches, even though, as for New College, Edinburgh, university standards were striven for, as later arguments over the necessity of the biblical languages would demonstrate.

**The Theological College (1874)**

The church now needed to educate theologically ministers-in-training who had graduated from Otago University. First, two tutors were appointed in 1874, parish ministers who taught students on top of their parish workloads\(^{45}\) and in different church halls.\(^{46}\) In 1876, Rev. William Salmond (1835-1917), a United Presbyterian minister, arrived to be the first Professor.\(^{47}\) Salmond was from Edinburgh, had studied at the University of Edinburgh, the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall and, significantly, the University of Berlin. He immediately began designing a curriculum.

1876 was distant enough from 1810 for the influence of the four-fold curriculum designed for the professional education of clergy to have filtered through to Scottish theological education and hence through to this new curriculum made in New Zealand. Additionally, Salmond had studied in Berlin. Although the exact timing of this is unavailable,\(^{48}\) there he would have

\(^{45}\) Rev Michael Watt (1835-1922) was tutor in Biblical Criticism and Sacred Languages and an ‘exact’ and ‘painstaking’ scholar. Watt was minister of the Green Island parish of Otago Presbytery, recruited by William Will on a trip to Scotland. Register of Ministers, Reminiscing in 1926, ‘Proton’ describes Watt as “gentle and patient beyond measure,” adding “Dr. Watt was a very exact scholar, and this showed itself in every bit of his work. It was plain that he did not come to his calls without the most painstaking preparation.” Proton, “Days of Old in the Theological Hall,” *The Outlook* (21 May 1926): 14, 16. He continued teaching at the Theological Hall until the age of 86. Rev D. M. Stuart (1819-1984) was appointed as a second tutor. Stuart was minister of Knox Church (the second congregation in Dunedin). He was an original member of the Otago University Council. From 1874 to 1877 he was Vice-Chancellor and Chancellor from 1879 until his death. He was a member of the NZ University Senate 1873-81 and editor of *The Evangelist* (1874-78). Register of Ministers, www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz accessed 6th May 2005. Stuart’s appointment has been called a “nominal appointment made ... to give the hall credibility during its preparatory years.” Margaret Morgan, “The Right Man for His Time: Donald McNaughton Stuart DD,” MA thesis, University of Otago, 1992, 133. Both were paid the same honorarium of one hundred pounds, so this seems unlikely. The first year, each paid this back to the church, Stuart for prizes, Watt for library books. John Collie, *The Story of the Free Church Settlement* (Dunedin: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1948), 189.

\(^{46}\) First Church and Knox Church both accommodated the students for their studies at different times.

\(^{47}\) Ian Breward, *Grace and Truth* (Dunedin: The Theological Education Committee, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1975), 5.

\(^{48}\) Request was made of the National Library of Scotland archives and Perth local archives. As a United Presbyterian, Salmond’s movement would have been recorded in the presbytery records of that church, which formed only a small part of the United Free Church which later united with the Church of Scotland again, so records are hard to locate. Staff of the archives at New College Edinburgh to which referral was made do not
come in contact with the German theological encyclopaedia movement. As has been seen, this had already influenced North American theological education through visits of North American scholars to Halle and Berlin.

It is highly likely that aspirations for theological education held by Salmond, the theological education committee and other New Zealand Presbyterians interested in a well-educated ministry were strongly influenced by Schleiermacher’s proposals through their implementation at Berlin. Salmond had probably been at Berlin after his University and ordination training, which sets the time somewhere between 1850 and 1876 when the four-fold pattern was already well established. The early ambition of Free Church theological educators to rival Scottish university theology also suggests a desire to keep up with new developments. During the planning of New College, Cunningham was sent to the United States to personally investigate “the constitution and working of some of the most eminent of the American Theological Institutions,” and to fund-raise for building Scottish Free Church churches. He therefore visited Princeton in the 1840s, at the midpoint of the period when the four-fold pattern was being adopted in that country. This suggests New Zealand Free Church ministers, especially graduates of New College, would have known and experienced this system and many such graduates were on the Synod theological committee. It would not be surprising if the theological college adopted a four-fold curriculum in line with the universally accepted encyclopaedic movement which had originated in Germany.

What signs are there, in the governance decisions leading to a curriculum, that theologia was fragmented, or set up for being fragmented in the future? The criteria which suggest signs of fragmentation of theologia include, first, predominant use of the four-fold pattern, especially under strict university control, with the caveat that if that pattern were used in a church college, solely by church teachers to a class filled with ordinands, delivery might achieve

respond to written requests. Stephen Bevans suggests that Salmond could have studied at Berlin in a summer semester during his ministry formation. He found this had happened with John Oman. Bevan’s doctoral research on Oman was published as Stephen Bevans John Oman and his Doctrine of God (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). If Salmond did study at Berlin during his ministry studies, this puts him closer to the inauguration of Schleiermacher’s concept of the right kind of theology for the modern research university, when Schleiermacher’s influence was greater.


50 Of the eighteen ministers who served on university and theological college committees from 1866-1882, thirteen are known to have been Free Churchmen or to have trained at New College, Edinburgh at some stage of their ministry formation. Proc. SOS, 1866-1882, and Register of Ministers, www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 3 July 2006.
some integration; second, pastoral theology as a separate discipline, being used as a bridging discipline with the other theological areas of study; third, strong representation or use of a professional view of ministry which over-emphasises the acquisition of skills, or application of theory-to-practice. Or, in the Synod’s theological college, were there instead signs that some of the criteria for the recovery of *theologia* were present, namely: first, signs of interdisciplinary teaching; second, aspects of the programme which aid integration of academic theology with aspects of ministry; third, use of the word ‘formation’ which leads to good formation opportunities developing? Scrutiny of the proposed curriculum reveals this.

After consultation with the church, in which presbyteries were asked to say what they wanted in the church’s ministry training, the curriculum took shape. Entrance requirements entailed attendance at three Sessions (years) at an accredited University with certain required passes: Latin, Mental Science and English Language and Literature, examined by the Presbytery. University Graduates could enter without examination, if they had adequate Greek. Students needed “Latin and Greek, two sessions each, Mathematics, English Language and Literature, some branch of Natural Science and Mental and Moral Science, one session each.”51 The entering student must produce evidence of church membership and a Presbyterial certificate.52

This indicates that both university and church qualifications were needed and that the presbytery checked the status of the student’s Latin, Mental Science, English Language and Literature. This so far is a general arts education, though some disquiet arose in the church at the evolutionary language used by the Synod-endowed professor of philosophy.53 Scientific epistemology is seen here influencing this precursor to theological education. The protests indicate that the protestors expected philosophy which sided with religion rather than with science, that truly Enlightenment teaching was not welcome to some.

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52 Ibid.

53 He was Duncan Macgregor. “The Presbyterian Church of Otago Lands Act or 1866 made income from the ‘Church Estate’ available to fund a ‘literary chair’ in a college.” McKean, *The Church in a Special Colony*, 83. Macgregor was recommended by a Scottish committee. He had a Masters from Aberdeen and had gained an MB ChB from Edinburgh “and was a sometime Ferguson scholar in mental and moral philosophy.” Ibid., fn 84, 94.
The theological curriculum lasted three full sessions: "...exegesis of the Old and New Testaments, Apologetics, Systematic Theology, Practical Theology, and Church History." This is essentially the four-fold pattern of Bible, Dogmatics, History and Practical Theology. As argued earlier, since Salmond had studied at Berlin, the four-fold pattern of theological encyclopaedia reflected here was familiar.

"Practical Theology" does not appear in the teachers' annual reports. This may reveal lack of interest, their own or the church's or, more probably, less separation for them between practical theology and the other theological disciplines than is presently the case. Rev. Dr. James MacGregor's 1885 report on Salmond and Watt's approach to theological teaching includes answers to his questions about how the Westminster Confession of Faith (WCF) was used in classes. Salmond replied that "...it is habitually in use in his class-work - not as a textbook, but as the Church's authorised definition of her doctrines." Confessional movements were occurring in other branches of Presbyterianism at the end of the eighteenth century, including the United Presbyterian stream of the Church of Scotland, significant to New Zealand in that it trained William Salmond himself. From this report it is also obvious that 'Pastoral Theology' comprised a number of separate subjects in the curriculum. The kinds of questions MacGregor asked is evident in the framing of the answers.

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54 Course of Study, III, Proc SOS, 40.
55 Breward, Grace and Truth, 12.
56 Rev. Dr. James MacGregor was a former Professor of Divinity, New College Edinburgh. Emigrating to New Zealand for health reasons, he was inducted to Columba Church, Oamaru, in March 1882. "A man of exceptional brain power, untiring energy & force of character, he early gave promise of a brilliant & successful career. His literary works, especially of an apologetic character, will bear fruit in coming generations." He was a friend of William Robertson Smith. MacGregor died in 1894. Register of Ministers, www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 6 May 2005.
57 By 1885, Macgregor had already been pressing for more practical training in the course and for a Synod visitation. Breward, Grace and Truth, 12.
59 See illustration showing the vicarious schisms and reunions of the Scottish church up until 1929 Union of the Free Church and the Church of Scotland. Fig 3, xi.
60 United Presbyterian history is convoluted. After a 1711 Act of General Assembly requiring unqualified subscription to the Westminster Confession of Faith, Erskine, Wilson, Moncrieff and Fisher seceded from the Church of Scotland, forming the Associate Synod which, nevertheless, "stressed its continued adherence to the doctrine and Standards of the Presbyterian church in Scotland." Ian Hamilton, The Erosion of Calvinist Orthodoxy: Seceders and Subscription in Scottish Presbyterianism (Edinburgh: Rutherford House Books, 1990), 2. The Associate Synod, however, also split in 1747 into Associate Synod and General Associate Synod. In 1752 Thomas Gillespie was deposed from the ministry of the Associate Synod and the Relief Synod formed in the 1760s. Later, in 1847, the Relief Synod and the by now United Secession would re-unite to form the United Presbyterian Church. See Fig 3, xi.
He [Salmond] gave careful instruction on Homiletics, the theory and practice of worship and did something on pastoral work ‘although not so elaborately as on Homiletics.’ Three months were given out of the three sessions to these practical subjects of which two were spent in Homiletics. Salmond did not think there was time for evangelistic preaching and visitation under his superintendence. Nor did Watt devote any time to the historical study of Presbyterian evangelism in England and North America. This was not surprising, for neither he nor Salmond was an enthusiast of evangelism or rigid confessionalism.61

The practical theology described here is not yet the burgeoning contemporary specialisation which is in danger of becoming more allied to satellite disciplines than to Christian faith, 
habitum or theologia. It may be integrated by teacher if not by connection theologically, as Salmond teaches both Systematic Theology and Homiletics. Either way, whether by person or theologically, integration between the academic science of theology and the faithful art of preaching is more likely than not. Lynn’s observation that specialisation of theological education continued as separate professors were appointed in different disciplines62 is apposite here. This has not yet happened, so integration is probable through the teachers themselves.

An 1892 revision added Biblical Theology and Pastoral Theology to the curriculum.63 Cyclical teaching within the established framework of Apologetics, Systematics and Ethics, Old and New Testaments, and Church History is evident in the exit examination schedule for 1891-1894. The four-fold pattern is clear, content revolving in cyclical fashion, subject divisions similar to the more fully described 1851 New College curriculum.64 Practical theology, however, is not examined, suggesting a different view is taken of it from the other theological disciplines, also indicating it has not yet become an academic specialisation carrying the burden of bridging the disciplines. Perhaps the fruits of practical theology were to be seen in the conduct, demeanour and character of the student rather than in anything which could be answered in a written paper. The Scottish and Berlin patterns prevail, but with a church college twist.

The twist is that though they prevail, here they are taught in a church college staffed by only two men. This allows for some integration of theology if only by the teacher. The person who taught Systematic Theology and Apologetics was also teaching Homiletics. MacGregor

61 Breward, Grace and Truth, 12.

62 Lynn, “Notes Towards a History,” 126.


64 College Committee Report, Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (GAFCOS), 1851, 184-185.
reports Salmond as teaching theology against the background of church doctrine, suggesting integration between theology and church practice. *Theologia* is not severely fragmented here. The disciplines have not become specialisations taught by different departments. Practical theology taught by the theology professors stands a good chance of being integrated with the theoretical subjects. There is also no rhetoric in the college committee reports about professional education for ministry. The integration of academic work with ministry practice, which could be presumed to be present when the theology professor teaches homiletics, is a kind of interdisciplinary teaching, one of the criteria for recovery of *theologia*. The other criterion for recovery of *theologia* is not present, but is not necessary at this stage, since there is an excellent chance of *theologia* being kept intact.

This is not to say that all church college professors of the time necessarily held *habitus* concerns as one of the primary objects of a church college. Speeches emphasising the scientific aspect of theological study given by both Chalmers and Cunningham as New College came into being in Edinburgh in the 1850s would have reached New Zealand Free Church Presbyterians. Chalmers’ New College foundation stone speech given barely three years after the Disruption, for example, had distinguished between treatment of theology for church and college and for church-goer and ministry student. Here is the beginning of a clerical paradigm in Scottish Presbyterian rhetoric, only clergy needing scientific theology.

... There is no substantial difference between the Theology taught in a College, and the theology taught in a Church. Only in the preparation of minister ... it is necessary that it should be taught in the forms of a science, and receive an academic treatment in the hands of academic men. (italics added)

Chalmers did, however, see teaching of theology as a means to the growth in the knowledge of God and growth in faith amongst those to whom the ministers being trained at New College would later preach.

The great object ... is that our pupils may learn to understand this Bible, and to handle it aright in plying the hearts and consciences of men. It is to teach them how best to wield that instrument ... that they may know how they should bring the Word of God ... to bear, and that with convincing power, on the minds of the people, and, in pressing home for their acceptance the tidings of salvation,  

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65 June 1846. William A. Curtis, “Foreword,” in *New College Edinburgh: A Centenary History*, ed. Hugh Watt (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946), ix. Curtis was Principal of New College at the centenary. By 1946, the centennial history was written from within a re-united Church of Scotland and a College now an integral part of the Edinburgh University Faculty of Divinity. Curtis, “Foreword,” x.

67 Ibid., 2-3.
Similarly, Cunningham’s address at the opening of New College in 1851 had emphasised mental rather than any spiritual qualifications young men might gain there.

Let me remind you of what is the direct and primary object of a theological seminary and a theological curriculum ... those who pass through it shall possess in a respectable measure the mental qualifications which are thought necessary on entering the office of the ministry. This is the great primary object for which theological seminaries are established... God forbid that I would undervalue the importance of spiritual qualifications for the office of ministry. I have repeatedly endeavoured to enforce as plainly as I can the sinfulness of men entering the ministry unless they are animated by genuine piety and devotedness, and influenced by love to Jesus and a desire to save souls... But there is nothing inconsistent with this in the position, that the implanting of genuine piety in a man’s heart is not the direct primary object for which theological seminaries were established, and for the accomplishment of which they are responsible.  

Cunningham saw encouragement of student piety as one of several collateral objects within the seminary, another the development of love for academic study. While these were desirable, Cunningham reiterates the seminary’s primary object must be that students knew examinable knowledge.  While valuing spiritual formation, Cunningham does not see it as a primary role of the theological college. Again, the division between piety and the scientific treatment of theology is apparent. If a Principal of a church college does not see spiritual formation as a primary goal, then governance decisions which follow will not place spiritual formation in a primary place in the curriculum.

The main three curriculum objectives named by Cunningham were, first, professional knowledge “which would make it becoming and safe to sanction a young man entering... the... ministry;” second, biblical studies, “initiating the students into critical and accurate investigation of the meaning of the sacred Scriptures in the original language...;” and, third, theological study, instruction in “leading features of scriptural doctrine or revealed truth.” What is seen here is influence of Schleiermacher’s concept of theological education as professional training for ministry, mediated for Cunningham through his visits to North American seminaries. Also obvious is the relegation of sapience or theology (habitus) to the more private domain of the church.

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68 Professor of Church History, 1845-1861; Principal, 1847-1861, the second Principal after Chalmers.


70 Ibid., 516.

71 Ibid.
Emphasising scholarship did not mean, however, that Cunningham was uninterested in students’ spiritual growth. While theological education should be efficiently organised, “...all concerned ought to make it their object to cherish spiritual life among the students ... To promote the spiritual well being of students is a part of the work of teachers of theology, though not the direct object of a theological institute.” Cunningham even declared ordinands needed to be converted. “We are all of one mind on this subject. ... We ought to feel as strongly our responsibility and concern in the spiritual welfare of our theological students, as in the spiritual welfare of those who are our children according to the flesh.” For Cunningham, therefore, the pastoral role of the professors was an ideal, if occasionally found wanting in execution as time and pressures of work built. Theological studies are the primary responsibility of the College. Theology (habitus) may be developed there or not. The full responsibility for this lies elsewhere, with the Presbytery.

The role of the Presbytery in this period for the assessment of and sometimes the inculcation of habitus should not be under-estimated. It was more ‘hands-on’ than it would be a century later. It has already been observed that Scottish presbyteries were partners with the theological college or university in a student’s ministry formation and that, in the United Presbyterian church which trained Salmond, the presbytery frequently had more contact with the student than did the Divinity Hall.

In the year of the opening of New College, and while New Zealand presbyteries were still supervising the training of ministers, a Free Church Assembly debate thrashed out the issue of who held the ultimate responsibility for ascertaining whether or not a graduating student was ready for ministry. The debate revealed the contemporary value placed on both piety and learning and also the suspicion held by presbyteries of approving students only on academic grounds. Underlying the discussion is also the long-held and valued role of presbyteries in keeping in touch with ‘their’ students and evaluating readiness for ministry, even if this was honoured in the breach by presbyteries offering few students.

72 Ibid., 236. If leading by example is one way professors made their mark, this was true for the young James MacGregor. Of Cunningham he writes: “Of all the living theologians of Scotland, this is undoubtedly the greatest, of all living Scotchmen, there is only one who in strength of intellect may be compared with him ... He is, with one exception, the best reader of lectures that I have heard. The voice is the exact exponent of the thought.” James MacGregor, “Stray Thoughts and Suggestions, Miscellaneous and Fragmentary,” unpublished manuscript, 1853-62, 17. Presbyterian Archives, NZPC, 3/60.

73 Rainey, Life of William Cunningham, 236-237.
The occasion of the debate was the presentation to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (GAFCONS) of the New College curriculum in 1851. At the same Assembly an overture on examination of students was presented.\textsuperscript{74} It proposed that a General Assembly-appointed Board of Examination examine students entering and exiting the College. Under discussion was “...the means which ought to be employed in promoting and testing the personal piety of students.”\textsuperscript{75} This debate revealed presbytery-held values for adequate ministerial qualifications in the fears expressed that Boards might give “…undue prominence to literary and intellectual qualifications for the Ministry.”\textsuperscript{76}

Cunningham argued that if the Board judged such qualifications, presbyteries “would be likely to give more time, and more attention, and more prominence, to what might be said to constitute their more important and special functions of attending closely and carefully to the characters, principles and piety of the students under their superintendence.”\textsuperscript{77} (italics added) This argument delineates the relative responsibilities of presbyteries and theological colleges in monitoring suitability for ministry – the colleges assessing ‘literary and intellectual’ qualifications, the presbyteries assessing ‘character, principles and piety.’

Robert Candlish (1806-1873)\textsuperscript{78} expected both examinations to operate, presbytery examinations being held after Board examinations so the Board would not judge the decisions of church courts. He argued that ‘lighter’ presbytery examination of literary and intellectual qualifications gave more “freedom in devoting their attention to an examination into the spiritual condition of the student, and his fitness for the work on which he purposed to enter.”\textsuperscript{79} (italics added) The question was also raised whether ministers in presbyteries which seldom examined students could be expected to keep up with contemporary scholarship. The

\textsuperscript{74} Proc. GAFCS, 1851, 190-196.

\textsuperscript{75} College Committee Report, Proc. GAFCS, 1851, 184.

\textsuperscript{76} Ibid., 191.

\textsuperscript{77} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{78} Robert Candlish’s church was used for the first meetings of the New College classes, leading to an impression that 80 George Street was the first site of the College. “The first days, and indeed weeks, of the new session were in Free St George’s Church.” Watt, ed., New College Edinburgh, 13. He also “took the lead in raising an endowment” which would allow a Free Church college to be built in Aberdeen. Ibid., 38. There was a move to have Candlish as Principal after Cunningham died in 1861 (he had originally been appointed to replace Chalmers in the Chair of Divinity but, because of a problem with the succession in his church, he did not take up the appointment at the time). He followed Cunningham as Principal while continuing in his ministry role at St George’s from 1862 to his death in 1873. Ibid., 59.
contemporaneity of ministers’ knowledge with that taught in the theological institutions thus is called into question, undermining the role of the practising minister in formation, assessment and evaluation of ordinands, also suggesting fragmentation of *theologia* is advanced. Objections were made to the "un-presbyterial" proposal. Mr Sawyers of Gargunnock claiming the proposed Board was "...an infringement on the divine right of Presbyteries..." Others thought it an assistance to presbyteries which were already busy enough.

The Board was enacted, with students applying first to the Board and then to the presbytery for admittance, and, on finishing, being examined by the Board before applying for presbytery licensing trials. Two distinct roles in assessment of the ordinand were thereby defined, those of the college and the presbytery, the former concerned with theological formation, the latter with spiritual and professional formation. While this would have seemed like a good compromise, and preserved the church's right to finally assess suitability, it is a theology-faith splitting of *theologia* which was likely only to become more entrenched as modernity continued. Although the scheme was carefully devised to allow the church's decision to be the final one, one wonders, as time went on, how confident presbyteries would be in disagreeing with College results. These statements by Free Church leaders and this debate over examination of readiness for ministry would have been well known to those in governance over New Zealand theological education in 1882.

When the 1882 curriculum was approved in New Zealand, Presbyteries had not long taken full responsibility for training and been consulted over the college curriculum. Entering students had to produce evidence of church membership and a Presbyterial [sic] certificate, indicating

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79 *Proc. GAFCS*, 1851, 192.
80 Ibid., 194.
81 Ibid., 196.
82 Ibid., 194-195.
84 Original copies of the *Proceedings of the Free Church of Scotland* are in the Presbyterian Archives and reports of the Free Church Assemblies were made by the editor of the *N.Z. Presbyterian* only a few months after the Assemblies were held.
85 Course of Study, III, *Proc. SOS* (Dunedin, 1881), 40. The word ‘Presbyterial’ now refers to presbytery groupings of parish Association of Presbyterian Women (APW) groups. In this context, ‘presbyterial certificate’ referred to a certificate awarded by the whole presbytery.
church endorsement was important. It was also the presbytery’s responsibility to check the status of the student’s Latin, Mental Science, English Language and Literature on the conclusion of their university education. This should indicate that presbyteries knew their student well as they entered the college. The type of licensing trials already seen in Mr. Gorrie’s and Mr. Chisholm’s process of formation continued, the relative responsibilities of college and presbytery informed by the 1851 Board-Presbytery debate in the Free Church. This close role of the presbyteries provided a further formational process alongside the teaching of theology, however scientific this was or might become. It could fulfil one of the criteria for recovery of theologia, integration of academic work with ministry requirements, though, depending on how it was handled, it could also simply become a test of professional ministry skills.

It is ironic that, had the Presbyterians got their wish and theology been admitted as a university subject, a different conclusion would have been drawn. Though initially there would have been only one theology professor, allowing the same integration by person, integration of scientia with habitus may have been difficult under secular scrutiny. Their preferred governance decision, to have theology in the university, would have brought theology more quickly under the results of the four-fold pattern, especially with vigilant secularists involved in the governance of the university. The second-best governance decision to develop a theological college inevitably constructs a clerical paradigm in that a church college of the period would only admit students for ministry formation. In 1882, because of limited funds and, as yet, small numbers of students, integration of the four disciplines is achieved by person rather than perhaps by intent, but pastoral theology is not yet required to bridge the disciplines. More by accident than by governance design, theologia could not yet be said to be totally fragmented.

The differences between professional ministry education at the University of Berlin from 1810 and Presbyterian ministry training in New Zealand from 1879 lie in the inclusion of theology at Berlin and its exclusion at Otago. The church in Otago was forced to retain educational responsibility for theological education of its ministers and thus retained control of its curriculum and ministry formation. In Berlin, the control was now under the university, with resulting fragmentation. While southern Presbyterians longed for university theology and
tended to ape it in their own structures, there was still close cooperation and interaction between church and college over the education and assessment of suitability of candidates.

The church initially thought it could have the same interaction with the University professors. The behaviour of the Synod of Otago and Southland over the theological orthodoxy of Duncan MacGregor, the first Synod-funded Professor of Philosophy, and in the appointment of his replacement makes it clear the Synod wished to be assured of the “theological integrity” of University professors of philosophy. Had a Professor of Theology been appointed in the University of Otago, the church would also have been dismayed at the lack of input it may have had. In fact, when William Salmond was later appointed professor of Philosophy, moving from the church’s theological college, the church-controlled method of appointment was disapproved of by the University and public perception was that Salmond’s appointment was “a case of ‘jobbery.’” It is again ironic, after all this fuss, that some in the church were later dismayed at the apparent universalism expressed in his 1888 Reign of Grace, an issue rendered irrelevant by the passing of the Declaratory Act in 1893.

The desire to examine theological orthodoxy and to readily search out heresy indicates “churchly restiveness with academic developments in the late nineteenth century.” In this context, it is again significant that Salmond was a United Presbyterian. The late eighteenth century formation of that church was accompanied by an early movement towards what Ian Hamilton describes as the “erosion of Calvinist orthodoxy.” The Formula to which all elders and ministers must subscribe was then revised in the General Associate Synod and Associate Synod churches, which later would combine with others in the United Presbyterian Church.

87 McKean, The Church in a Special Colony, 103.
89 Ibid., 113.
91 The Formula was signed by ministers and elders to show they subscribed to the subordinate standards of the church, of which the chief was the 1642 Westminster Confession, a Calvinist Scholastic document.
In effect, the 1797 preamble was a compromise measure. It was designed to alleviate the scruples of those who baulked at the Confession’s teaching on the supposedly intolerant duties of the civil magistrate, and to pacify those who were against any tampering with the Formula itself. The measures led to a great deal of turmoil within the Church, but it was retained.93

A similar Declaratory Act of the Free Church was adopted by the Synod of Otago and Southland, in 1893, easing the degree of subscription to the WCF required by ministers and elders,94 and including on the subject of election the key words “...[t]hat this Church does not teach, and does not regard the Confession as teaching the fore-ordination of men to death irrespective of their sin.”95 While theologia was not substantially fragmented in the nineteenth century New Zealand Presbyterian Theological College, progress in scientific theological study elsewhere in the world was not fitting well with the habitus of church doctrine.

This indicates a generally widening divide between theology scientia and theology habitus. The revision of doctrinal standards and attitudes, increasingly important as time passed since the seventeenth century adoption of the Westminster Confession, occurred through difficult and acrimonious church heresy trials, as the two locations of theology, church and university seemed unable to converse as they once had. The freedom to keep open inquiry and critical review within the church was maintained through the intervention in some of these trials by wise heads within the church courts.96 These men advocated not pillorying Salmond, who as a University professor was unlikely to act as parish minister again. John McKean’s comment that condemning “Salmond’s theological explorations would leave the Synod open to ridicule” highlights the different standards being applied to knowledge in both university and society.

Robert Rainy, then Principal of New College, is credited with doing that for the Free Church of Scotland in the trials of William Robertson Smith, who was eventually deposed as professor in 1881. Rainy told the General Assembly that critical questions could never be

93 Hamilton, The Erosion of Calvinist Orthodoxy, 12.


95 Ibid.

96 McKean, The Church in a Special Colony, 116-7.
settled. The Church, he argued, would need to move, but in her own time. Avoiding "settling this critical question," Rainy ensured that the freedom to question was retained within the Free Church. Smith continued to be the subject of articles in *The N.Z. Presbyterian*, making this debate part of the New Zealand theological context.

As the Synod trials of William Salmond and later also James Gibb showed, the same conflict over what was faith, what could be questioned and to what degree change could occur was as evident in the late nineteenth century Otago church as in the mother church in Scotland. Post-Enlightenment theology was moving on, increasingly fragmented from private faith and piety. In 1881, Free Church Professor Dr Blaikie’s comments in a *Catholic Presbyterian* symposium, which named the epistemological issues in both resistance to and the importance of reason within the church, were cited for New Zealand Presbyterians. "I have no doubt it will be felt ere long that instead of the avalanche of condemnation that has been poured upon Dr. Rainy, he deserves the credit of having saved the friends of reasonable freedom from annihilation in the Free Church." McGean notes that the resistance to Salmond’s theology by some was simply because he seemed to criticise traditional theology. "They did not ask whether Salmond was taking his intellectual task seriously as he assessed a time-honoured doctrine, by placing it alongside a central Christian understanding of God." The fact is that in the end, the issue was dealt with by terming the problem “unfortunate turns of phrase” resonates with William Robertson Smith’s apology to the Free Church Assembly for “… statements …so incomplete that even at the end of three years the opinion of the House has been so divided… a very weighty lesson to one who is a teacher in the Church…” While apologies and defence on


98 “The loss to one of the church’s Colleges of the prince of believing critics was a blunder; but a far greater blunder …would have been the loss of the man and of the principle of toleration of criticism in an evangelical communion.” P. C. Simpson, cited in Alexander C. Cheyne, *The Transforming of the Kirk: Victorian Scotland’s Religious Revolution* (Edinburgh: St Andrew’s Press, 1983), 51.


100 McKean, *The Church in a Special Colony*, 116.

101 Ibid.

the grounds of language or misunderstandings may be political expediency at work, the use of these terms indicates the former mutual understanding between church and university theology was at an end. Conversation between scientific, academic theology operating under a clerical paradigm and between church-based theology which encouraged piety and faith was increasingly diphonic, an indication fragmentation was beginning to occur, even well advanced.
New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry Formation Between 1887 and 1961

The focus of this thesis is the period 1961-1997. What happened to theologia in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation between Salmond’s Principalship and 1960? This period falls naturally into three parts, from John Dunlop’s arrival as Salmond’s replacement in 1887 to student pacifism in 1930; from the 1931 arrival of the first New Zealand-born Professor, John Collie, to the end of World War II in 1945, the last year of non-university theology; from the 1946 opening of the University of Otago Faculty of Theology to a foreshadowing of the later development of Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE) by the arrangements made for a hospital chaplain to supervise pastoral visiting in 1960.

Presbyterian Ministry Formation from 1887 to 1930

In this period theologia begins to be further threatened by increasing numbers of teachers allowing specialisation in the theological disciplines. The rhetoric of professionalism is as yet unknown, nor is pastoral theology a separate, specialised discipline. Provision within the curriculum for integration of theology with world events, such as world war, is not evident, however.

The 1882 curriculum held for some time, and in 1901 the Synod of Otago and Southland and the (northern) New Zealand Presbyterian Church united to form a nationwide Presbyterian Church of the same name. The theological college in Otago was now officially the training centre of the national church. Increasing student numbers enabled Rev. Andrew Cameron to successfully promote a residential college and Knox College, opened in 1909, housing both theological and university students and library and classrooms for what would now be called the Theological Hall.

William Salmond had been replaced by John Dunlop in 1887. Supporters spoke highly of his intellectual ability, ability to communicate “with perfect simplicity and lucidity” and his

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103 Though some northern students had already been attending.
104 Dunlop had been a Gold Medallist at Glasgow University and lectured in Apologetics at Dundee. Undated newspaper clipping, John Dunlop, Presbyterian Archives, 3/26. He was not a strict Calvinist either. “As a theological student he reacted against the strict Calvinism of his professors.” Breward, Grace and Truth, 13. Reports of his farewell claim that had he waited in Scotland he may have been appointed Professor of Church History at Free Church College, Aberdeen, for which he had been recommended by his Presbytery. Register of Ministers.
“thoroughly positive” faith.¹⁰⁵ Farewell speeches from Dundee describe “a very able minister” and comment that “…a growing colony like New Zealand, where Presbyterianism is not broken in pieces by the jealousies of sects, offers a freer field than Aberdeen…”¹⁰⁶ Some saw more liberality in Dunlop’s views. It was predicted that on Dunlop’s arrival “…[i]here will be no narrowness in the theological teaching at Dunedin.”¹⁰⁷ Dunlop would teach Systematic Theology, Church History and New Testament until his death in 1909. He was accompanied by Rev. Michael Watt still acting as tutor.

With all theological subjects being covered by these two men, integration by teacher was still in place. Despite controversies with Salmond and Gibbs, and Dunlop’s broader Calvinism, theologia is hardly threatened yet. Even when Dr Dunlop died,¹⁰⁸ and the Scottish-recommended Rev. John Dickie¹⁰⁹ was appointed Professor of “Systematic Theology, Ethics, Apologetics & NT Exegesis” in 1910, all subjects were still taught by only three men: Dickie, Watt and William Hewitson.¹¹⁰ Watt would not retire until 1921. Convenor of the


¹⁰⁶ Dunlop was recommended to New Zealand by a variety of Scottish Presbyterians: Professors Bruce (Free Church), Flint (Established Church), Duff (U.P. Church) and Rev Dr Marcus Dods (Renfield Free, Glasgow). Breward, Grace and Truth 13; and photocopy of an undated newspaper clipping, John Dunlop, Presbyterian Archives, 3/26.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. Reminiscing later, ‘Proton’ describes Dunlop as “sharp and caustic … a somewhat impatient spirit curbed by a will of unusual strength.” This impatience was not with lack of intelligence, but with pretentiousness or conceit which some amusing anecdotes show. Proton, “Days of Old in the Theological Hall,” The Outlook (31 May 1926): 15.

¹⁰⁸ Rev James Chisholm, whose ministry training had been supervised by Otago Presbytery, acted as temporary tutor between Dunlop and Dickie. Chisholm had completed a theology degree at New College.

¹⁰⁹ John Dickie (1875-1942) came from the Free Church of Scotland. He spent a few years teaching, then studied at Edinburgh University in theology and then did postgraduate study at Jena, Germany. He occupied several assistantships in Scotland and was ordained in Tarland, Scotland in 1906. He continued theological study and published a joint translation of Haering, The Christian Faith (from German). When Dr Dunlop died, the Committee sought advice from several authorities in Scotland who recommended Dickie, inducted Professor of ‘Systematic Theology, Ethics, Apologetics and New Testament Exegesis’ on 23 March, 1910. In late 1915 he competed by examination for the Aberdeen Chair of Theology, coming second of eleven, “much to the relief of New Zealand.” Dickie taught New Testament until a separate professor was appointed in 1919. Dickie was Moderator of Assembly 1934. He authored The Organism of Christian Truth and Fifty Years of British Theology, (his Gunning lectures, Edinburgh). Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz. accessed 12 July 2006.

¹¹⁰ The Very Rev. Prof. William Hewitson, B.A. (1860-1932) was Australian-born. From working in a bank, he went to Melbourne University, then the Presbyterian Church of Victoria’s Theological Hall, Ormond, in Melbourne. Licensed in 1888, Hewitson was ordained assistant in Brunswick. He came to Knox Church Dunedin in 1895. Hewitson became the Master of Knox College Dunedin and Professor of Practical Training at the Theological Hall, Dunedin in 1908, retiring at the end of 1928. Hewitson was Moderator of Assembly 1928. “He brought to his duties physical vigour, fine culture, social influence, moral power, and religious enthusiasm, together with the rich experience of a large ministry. (Motion passed by the Theological Education Committee).”
Theological College committee, Rev. Andrew Cameron, \textsuperscript{111} with his committee attempted a 'more practical' approach to the curriculum. Written exercises were introduced and students' sermons and lectures critiqued. "Modern Thought and Religion," taught by Dunlop\textsuperscript{112} in 1904, was a response to students' requests for work on biblical criticism, which indicates the increasing influence of modern biblical research methods had not yet affected the core curriculum. Hewitson's and Cameron's observations of Practical Training overseas led to Hebrew, Church History and New Testament exegesis being limited to two years so as to include Practical Training and English Bible.\textsuperscript{113} College and Hall interests had been linked when Hewitson was appointed both as the first Master of Knox College and to teach Practical Training and English Bible. This was a new development as now a separate teacher took practical theology and the less academic English Bible but did not teach one of the major disciplines alongside, so some separation of \textit{scientia} and \textit{habitus} is now occurring.\textsuperscript{114} Classes associated with professional skills or practical theology also began to enter the curriculum at this point: Voice Production in 1906, and student-requested Religious Pedagogy in 1909.\textsuperscript{115}

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\textsuperscript{111} Rev Andrew Cameron, BA, LL.D (Edin) (1855-1925) was Scottish born, a baker's son, who emigrated in 1863 with his parents to Otago in the "City of Dunedin" aged 8. Cameron gained a scholarship to Otago University, from where he graduated with a BA in 1879. Cameron was at the Theological Hall Dunedin 1880 for few months before transferring to the United Presbyterian Church Theological Hall in Edinburgh to complete his theological studies (another contemporary connection with the ministry training approaches of the United Presbyterian Church). Cameron was licensed in Edinburgh, November 6th 1883 and returned to New Zealand in early 1884, "confirmed in the Liberal tradition which he maintained all his life." He supplied pulpits in Wyndham and Lumsden in 1884, then was ordained and inducted into Andersons Bay Parish Dunedin, 11 December 1884, subsequently serving his whole ministry there, (35 years), retiring in 1919. Cameron was member, secretary and later convener of the Theological Committee; he began the plans to establish Knox College, and "more than anyone carried it to completion; he raised large sums for scholarships;" he was also a pioneer of Presbyterian Support Services Association (PSSA) work in NZ. Cameron was also on many other committees and boards in the community, was Vice-Chancellor of Otago University (1910), appointed Chancellor (1912) and from 1902 was a member of the Senate of NZ University; Moderator of the General Assembly (1912); Moderator of the Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland 1905; and received an Hon LID (Edinburgh) in 1919. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

\textsuperscript{112} Dunlop replaced Salmond when he was appointed to the second Synod Chair at the University. According to newspaper reports of his farewell at the time, his Dundee congregation deeply regretted his leaving. They also reveal he had been recently nominated for a Chair at Aberdeen. NZPC papers, "Dunlop, John, (Rev.)," newspaper articles, c. 1886, Presbyterian Archives, 3/26. Ordained in 1870 to Dundee, he arrived at the Theological Hall in 1887. He was Moderator of the Synod in 1893. "A man of very wide and exact learning with a most reverent, humble and devoted spirit." Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

\textsuperscript{113} Breward, \textit{Grace and Truth}, 22.

\textsuperscript{114} It is notable that when Hewitson eventually retired, this particular combination of Practical Training and English Bible was not given to a replacement, but he was replaced by a specialist position in the theological disciplines – a taking back by the theological teachers of the practical subjects as part of their teaching load.
The 1912 curriculum\textsuperscript{116} therefore included a three-year theological course which comprised three years of Church History and Systematic Theology, two years each of Hebrew and Greek Language and Literature, with Old and New Testament Introduction and Theology respectively. The addition of English Bible, Practical Training and Voice Production\textsuperscript{117} reflects the influence of Cameron and Hewitson, two long-serving colonial parish ministers who understood the New Zealand context and believed it essential that students should “know men [sic]”\textsuperscript{118} as well the classic theological disciplines, so that their ministry would be relevant. Students were jointly supervised by the Hall and the presbytery where they resided. The Hall conducted class examinations and the Committee the exit examinations. Still rigorous presbytery licensing trials based on skills applicable to ministry also maintained the partnership between presbytery and Hall in ministry formation. These included a doctrinal thesis, a popular sermon, a Lecture on a scripture passage and exegesis of either an Old or New Testament passage, helping keep \textit{habitus} a requirement for ministry.

A model of ministry training apparently using close to what would now be called action-reflection method existed alongside the residential programme from the end of the nineteenth century. Home Missioners assisting ministers in large rural parishes, essentially training on the job, was intended to be temporary, but lack of university trained ministers meant Home Missioners continued.\textsuperscript{119} A theological course was devised to include “field training, with general reading and basic theological study, biblical exegesis, Church history and elementary

\textsuperscript{115} Sixty-six students were at different stages of ministry training in 1910. Some were at the Hall, others continuing their university course and three studying theology overseas. Report of the Theological College Committee, (TCC), \textit{Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (GAPCNZ)}, Auckland, 1910, 160.

\textsuperscript{116} Considerable effort had gone into this revision. A Committee on a Course of Study was appointed by GAPCNZ which consulted with other colleges in Britain and America. Correspondence was received from the United Free College, Glasgow, Westminster Presbyterian College, Cambridge, Edinburgh University, Knox College, Toronto, and Manitoba College, Winnipeg. Report of Committee on Courses of Study for Students for the Ministry, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1910, 166. The preferred prerequisite university qualification was an undergraduate degree in either arts or science, with English Language and Literature and Mental Science required. For those unable to complete a degree, some other partial certificates were also acceptable, with matriculation standard in English a requirement. Report of Committee on Courses of Study for Students for the Ministry, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1912, 118A.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid., 119 A.

\textsuperscript{118} Breward here describes Hewitson who “...also advised reading history, sociology and anthropology.” Breward, \textit{Grace and Truth}, 26.

\textsuperscript{119} Though when home missionaries’ poor pay and conditions were made public, the Church was forced into better terms. Laurie Barber, “1901-1930: The Expanding Frontier,” in \textit{Presbyterians in Aotearoa}, ed. Dennis McEldowney (Wellington: The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990), 81.
English language and literature.”\textsuperscript{120} The work was hard and the many problems only partly alleviated by summer schools begun in 1908.\textsuperscript{121}

Breward describes this as an alternative route into ministry. “For the married, the poorly educated, and those who were plain hard up, this offered poorly paid employment, accommodation, and the chance to study extra-murally to a point where admission to the Hall was possible.”\textsuperscript{122} There was more possibility of integration as ministers practised alongside their study. This accommodation to local needs gave Presbyterians, proud of their university-educated ministry, a two-tier system of training. Pressure from remote settlers led to allowing “established home missionaries to be ordained (though still as home missionaries), permitting them to administer the sacraments and be entitled to the honorary title ‘reverend.’”\textsuperscript{123} In this training \textit{theologia} is less threatened by the separation of theology \textit{scientia} and \textit{habitus}, though the desirability of university standards to most Presbyterians meant home missionaries were always accorded a lower status.

Despite theological questions raised by Dickie and others throughout World War I, no curriculum changes were thought necessary after it. Although New Zealand was no longer a British colony, a particularly New Zealand identity or theology was not yet sought and “[t]he Scottish model remained.”\textsuperscript{124} War had made duplication between denominations seem immoral, however,\textsuperscript{125} and the 1919 General Assembly unanimously approved of proposed inter-church cooperation in social work, instructing “…the Theological Committee to consider the possibility of co-operation in Theological Education, and, if advisable, to confer with the authorities of other Churches thereabout.”\textsuperscript{126} The Assembly had been overruled on union,\textsuperscript{127} but neither church union nor greater co-operation in theological education came to pass.

\textsuperscript{120} Ibid., 82.
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{122} Breward, \textit{Grace and Truth}, 18.
\textsuperscript{123} By 1913 there were 120 home mission stations and 111 home missionaries employed, though often under-funded. The only distinguishing feature between regular ministers and home missionaries was their status in Church courts. Home missionaries had no vote at presbytery and could not attend General Assembly as ministerial members. Barber, “1901-1930: The Expanding Frontier,” 83.
\textsuperscript{124} Breward, \textit{Grace and Truth}, 33.
\textsuperscript{125} “Then, think of …the present waste of men, means and money involved in their separate denominations. That waste had always seemed to many of them foolish. In the face of present conditions, it seemed simply scandalous.” Ibid., 27.
Dickie’s work as Convenor of the Brief Statement of Faith committee influenced his lectures on confessional theology at the Hall. Alan Watson\textsuperscript{128} claims his views on church and state were affected by classroom discussions with Dickie.

He was a Church of Scotland man with whom we had many an argument on the relationship between Church and State. He made us see the distinction between a national and state church ... this part of his teaching has influenced my subsequent life, notably in the part I took in the formation of the National Council in NZ and the Australian Council.\textsuperscript{129}

In the continued absence of university control of the theology taught at the Hall, an integrated theology remained possible; however, more teachers brought greater specialisation as R. E. Davies\textsuperscript{130} arrived in 1919 to teach Old Testament and James Cumming\textsuperscript{131} in 1920 to teach Church History.

\textsuperscript{126} Proc. GAPCNZ, Christchurch, 1919, 50. It also appointed a Union Committee, a central Committee based in Dunedin with Gibb as Convenor and including Cumming and a branch committee in each presbytery. Ibid., 52.

\textsuperscript{127} “Church Union: Debated in General Assembly,” The Outlook (4 March 1919): 29. The motion to seek the mind of the church was carried by a large majority, though some dissented. Ibid., 30. By 1920, a Basis of Union with the Congregational Church was proposed and unanimously sent down to presbyteries for comment. “Church Union: Congregationalists Approach Assembly,” The Outlook (29 November 1920): 15. The vote was lost and a later venture for union by southern Congregationalists foundered on legal property difficulties. Proc. GAPCNZ, 1923, 13. While the majority voting for union was large, only a quarter of the church had voted: 8,000 for, 2,000 against, only 10,000 out of 40,000 members. A further Congregationalist approach faltered at their own Council. Union Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1923, 91.

\textsuperscript{128} Alan Watson (1900-1976) was at the Hall from 1923-5 and ordained to East Taieri in 1927. He was one of the founders of the National Council of Churches during the 1930s. He later ministered in Australia and served as Moderator of the Federal Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Australia. Register of Ministers, www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

\textsuperscript{129} Letter from Alan Watson to Ian Breward, 14\textsuperscript{th} July 1975, “Rev Ian Breward, Grace and Truth correspondence, notes, paper re:,” Presbyterian Archives, 3/130.

\textsuperscript{130} R. E. Davies (1871-1929) was Welsh. He worked in business in his early youth, then went to Aberystwyth College where he gained an MA through the University of Wales and Christ’s College, Cambridge, where he did his theological education. He ministered in Petersham, Sydney, Australia from 1903-9, also lecturing in New Testament exegesis at St Andrews College, Sydney. He was inducted as Professor of New Testament at the Theological Hall on 10 November 1919. “Kindly & approachable, with deep devotion.” “Unfailing kindliness and charm – on friendliest terms with students.” Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

\textsuperscript{131} Rev James Cumming, MA, MSc, BD (Melb), DD (Lond) (1864-1946) came to New Zealand as a Free Church probationary minister. He was ordained at Cromwell, on 20 April 1892, and inducted at Waikiwi on 29 June 1898, and Khandallah on 28 November 1913. He was inducted as Professor of Old Testament at the Hall on 9 March 1914, retiring on 28 February 1929. He was Moderator of General Assembly (1923); Moderator of the Synod of Otago and Southland (SOS) in 1909 and Clerk of the SOS from 1 January 1930 to 28 April 1938. “Cumming had an extensive knowledge of Church law and procedure. Sound scholarship, ripe judgement, and friendly counsel.” Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.
By 1923, Hewitson wanted changes, believing that theological education was tradition-bound and "... under the influence of the dead hand of the past. I had 20 years on the pastorate, sufficient to test the value of a man's training, and I have no hesitancy whatever in saying that if I could order my own course of study, it would not be that which we prescribe." To Hewitson's irritation, James Cumming disagreed. Breward comments: "Like most Scots theological teachers he was not persuaded of the need for practical training." Cumming arrived in New Zealand in 1892, so would have studied at New College under Blaikie, who had found when he began at New College in 1868 that pastoral theology was in some "disrepute" because of the culture within New College. "The impression was general that the objective of divinity hall was to cultivate the theological intellect, and that ... nature would supply all the rest. It was necessary, therefore, in dealing with pastoral theology, to create, in the first instance, a sense of its value." In the opinion of one of Hewitson's students travelling in Scotland, this attitude still prevailed in 1926. He wrote that while New Zealand students sought to "fit ourselves to be good pastors and preachers" Scottish students were more interested in being "a learned intellectual" and "I think the Scottish student worships 'learning' whether it is useful to him or not." Despite Blaikie's best efforts at raising the value of pastoral theology, it is probable pastoral theology was still similarly regarded as unnecessary in Cumming's student days.

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132 Hewitson had called a Senatus meeting in 1923, "... with a view of considering our work in the light of the end for which the Hall exists, namely, to turn out effective ministers in these difficult days." Letter from William Hewitson to H. McLean, Convenor of the Theological Hall Committee, 5 September 1923, 1, Presbyterian Archives, 391/3.

133 Ibid., 4.

134 "Some of Dr. Cumming's animadversions seem to me rather unusual in character as coming from a colleague. I was appointed by the Assembly to do certain work, and it is not customary to modify an arrangement without the person concerned." Ibid.

135 Breward, Grace and Truth, 36.


138 Cumming left for New Zealand one year before the building of the Settlement in the slums of the West Port area of Edinburgh. Here a student warden and some students stayed "in the belief that more good would be done if the students most actively involved were to stay in the district." David Lyall, "Christian Ethics and Practical Theology," in Disruption to Diversity: Edinburgh Divinity 1846-1996, ed. D. F. Wright and G. Badcock (Edinburgh, T & T Clark, 1996), 135-150. It is clear from further comments of McLean's about Settlement work and classroom demands, that able students who might have been interested in subsequent academic careers (such as prospective teachers at Knox Theological Hall) would find much Settlement work too distracting.
Hewitson described his course in 1924 thus: “Constant use of the material was made in the preparation of children’s addresses and sermons.”\(^{139}\) First-year Practical Training consisted of “A series of lectures on (1) the ends and means of the Christian ministry and the training therefor. [sic] (2) preaching – the preacher, the congregation, the sermon, its preparation and delivery. There was frequent class practice.”\(^{140}\) The third-year class concentrated on Homiletics, Worship and Polity.\(^{141}\) Also included were voice production and elocution.\(^{142}\)

Hewitson’s examination papers from 1922-1927 presumably reveal what he thought significant within his Practical Training programme. They include questions on “the care and culture of personal religious life,”\(^{143}\) “the doctrine of persuasion,”\(^{144}\) and the “objects of Christian ministry.”\(^{145}\) Questions did not always require much in-depth analysis as students were asked to outline courses of study: in “intellectual training,”\(^{146}\) preaching\(^{147}\) and elocution,\(^{148}\) for instance. Elocution theory was examined in detail, for example, timbre, harmonics, rhythm, the speaking voice.\(^{149}\) Church polity questions examined Presbyterian principles and the power of Synod,\(^{150}\) the rights and responsibilities of ministers, session and deacon’s court’s with respect to the sacraments,\(^{151}\) filling a vacancy, ordination of elders and the “two great doctrines” of Calvinism.\(^{152}\) Most papers had questions on preaching, often


\(^{140}\) Ibid., 127.


\(^{142}\) From a specialist teacher.

\(^{143}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, May 1922.

\(^{144}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, Term II, 1922.

\(^{145}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, May 1923.

\(^{146}\) Ibid.

\(^{147}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, October 1924.

\(^{148}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, 1927.

\(^{149}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, October 1924.

\(^{150}\) Ibid.

\(^{151}\) Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, October 1926.
relating to the texts used. Some bordered on formation as much as the mechanics of preaching. One asked, “If the sermon is regarded as an act of worship, what effect should that have upon the preacher and the sermon?” and another asked students to “Discuss the emotional element in preaching.” Yet another required students to discuss three statements by Brooks, one of which alluded to the theological school as “professional”:

1. “Truth through Personality is our description of real preaching.”
2. “The preparation of the ministry is the making of a man.”
3. “How small a part of the culture of the most successful ministers came from their professional schools? It is a real part but it is a small part.”

In 1926 Hewitson was incensed by an article on “Preparation for the Ministry” in The Outlook in which the Rev Tom Miller, long-time opponent of Dickie, criticised practical training at the Hall, calling it “…too detached from the vital realities of a minister’s work.” He also believed elocution taught preaching only as an art. Miller called for the Church to develop a City Mission in Dunedin with a “vital relationship” with the Theological Hall. Miller may have been thinking of the slum work which Scottish theological students had experienced through projects such as West Port and Tolbooth since the middle of the previous century.

However, Hewitson had the previous month received a letter from a former student, A. C. McLean, now in Scotland, who compared New Zealand and Scottish training and “… found nothing in them [the Scottish colleges] to make me feel in anyway ashamed of our own college in New Zealand.” McLean felt that Scottish practical training lacked method. “In

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152 Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, Practical Training, 1927.
153 Knox College [sic] Examination paper, Third Year Practical Training, September 1925.
154 Theological Hall, Knox College Examination paper, October 1925.
155 The Theological Hall Knox College Examination Paper Practical Training 1st Year men, First Term, 1927.
156 Hewitson wrote in high dudgeon to the Theological College Committee claiming the article was defamatory. Letter from William Hewitson to H. Maclean, 24 November 1926. He was on the eve of departure for Melbourne. Hewitson’s papers include rough notes on ship’s paper for what he obviously intended to be a letter to the editor, entitled “Pernicious Mischievous Nonsense.” “William Hewitson Correspondence (inward from overseas 1925-1927),” Presbyterian Archives, 3/160.
158 Ibid., 16.
159 Ibid., 17.
the sermon class, for example, students are asked to prepare sermons without being taught the basic principles on which such preparation should be done. Rather sink-or-swim method, it seems to me."\textsuperscript{161} He also doubted the value of students' slum work at the New College Settlement. Settlement work demanded a high ability if students were to also cope with classroom work, which he himself obviously saw as the primary duty of students. Settlement-style work was not done in New Zealand but he thought that even if it was "...the only thing done in Scotland that is not done with at least equal success in New Zealand ... I am very doubtful of its value to the student when one considers the short time at his disposal to train his mind for the labours of future years."\textsuperscript{162}

Dickie's Systematic Theology lectures did grapple with international events. His 1925 examination questions included State action in industry, the Co-operative Movement, special treatment of women and young people and whether or not agriculture should be distinguished as an industry, alongside questions on the Atonement. Here theology, societal and ethical issues are juxtaposed, and class work dealt with the theological implications of contemporary issues,\textsuperscript{163} suggesting a \textit{theologia} approach to theology. Following World War I, the Depression had its effect, "...the demands for a gospel relevant to the agonies of the Depression left most ministers and their people baffled ... New Zealanders were looking for salvation in the political kingdom, for the Kingdom of heaven was not able to give them either food or employment."\textsuperscript{164}

New blood was also needed at the Hall by this stage. "A staff whose average age was fifty were [sic] well equipped to hand on the traditions of the past. Whether their liberalism could cope with the depression was another matter."\textsuperscript{165} The post-War period and the Depression strongly challenged modern optimism and theism. The Church faced three issues: "...its ministry to those in need; maintaining its structure in the face of falling income; trying to articulate a Christian response to government policies."\textsuperscript{166} At first the church identified with government, but later it and other denominations distanced themselves from government

\textsuperscript{161} Ibid., I-2.

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., 3. McLean had enjoyed the lectures on preaching by Dr Coffin, but not his Sunday sermons. "He seemed to me to break all the rules he had laid down during the week...." 4.

\textsuperscript{163} Breward, \textit{Grace and Truth}, 29.

\textsuperscript{164} Ibid., 42.

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
policies, calling for "radical social and political change in order to initiate a new system where human values, and not cost-benefit analyses would become the major criteria by which economic and political decisions would be made."167

Formation was also happening internally for some students as they reflected on church statements and the world around them. As the Depression deepened,168 peace issues emerged. Pro-war Dickie privately disagreed with the pacifist stances of Alun Richards169 and Lex Miller170 in 1929 when they refused military service.171 They were, however, supported by "two decorated returned servicemen and ministers with developing pacifist sympathies, the Reverend D. C. Herron, (1882-1955) and the Reverend E. J. Tipler (1884-1935), both of whom had been students of John Dickie."172 Three ministry students claimed conscientious exemption from training, citing General Assembly's 1926 call for abolition of compulsory military training.173 They found their particular integration of Christian practice (habitus) and

167 Ibid., 104.
168 Export prices fell sharply, along with the price of wool, between 1928 and 1932, after a short-lived recovery between 1923 and 1925.
169 Alun Richards (1907-2000) studied at the Hall 1931-2 after being a Home Missionary in 1929. He completed his course at New College, Edinburgh (1932-3). He spent four years at Totara Flat and then worked at Victoria University, as a Workers' Education Association Lecturer, Pro Internal Marketing Division, and as a Carpenter/Joinery worker at Fletchers. He was honorary Editor of SCM Student and Church & Community, c.1939-46, ZEB copywriter, "NZ Listener" correspondent (1943-4) and Corso Organiser (1946-7). He was also editor of The Outlook (1948 -1955). He ministered at St James (1956 -1964), Normanby and was an acting minister at Hawera (1967-8), was at Balornak, Auckland in 1969 and Otara-East Tamaki, in 1970, from where he retired in 1972. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz. accessed 12 July 2006.
170 Having emigrated with his widowed mother and two brothers from Scotland, Alexander Miller (1909-1960) began work as an office boy in the New Zealand Herald, Auckland. He was educated at University of Auckland and at the Hall, (1932-4). He was General Secretary of NZSCM (1935-6). After a brief ministry in Christchurch Miller travelled, working in a Glasgow dockyard parish, followed by an assistantship to Rev George McLeod in the Iona Community. After a brief return to NZ, he returned to Iona where he worked closely with George McLeod. In Detroit he liaised between Christian students and industrial workers. He was recommended by Reinhold Niebuhr as a Lecturer in Religion at Stanford University. Miller built up their Department of Religion, becoming its Head and first Professor of Religion. He gained his doctorate and wrote two books for Niebuhr's 'Christian Faith' series, and authoring eight books in total. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz. accessed 12 July 2006.
171 Richards and Miller were completing their literary course at Auckland University.
172 King, "Organising Christian Truth," 287.
173 John Allan (1897-1979) and James Gibb (1857-1935) were also supportive in their roles within the Public Questions committee. Allan's support is remarkable given his tightening up of a 1935 Assembly resolution on war in 1939. He wrote to Richards as a member of the Public Questions Committee. Allan refused intervention by the church when called up for World War II and served in the war (1917-1919) in machine gun corps. Allan's MA from Victoria University was with First class Honours in Philosophy; and he completed his theological study at New College Edinburgh. Allan served at St. Ninians, Christchurch and Mount Eden. He was appointed
theological study (scientia) was different from the theologia held by many Presbyterians. Richards considered the Church’s position illogical. “I am trying to do my bit; the Church is not nor is it even supporting those who are ... I was carrying out the Assembly’s resolution to its logical conclusion so far as it affected me. If military training is wrong, we should do our utmost to end it.”

The PCNZ Public Questions Committee supported the students, unanimously approved by an Assembly “…outraged at their treatment by the State.” While Assembly agreed to an application for removal of the ten-year deprivation of civil rights imposed on Miller and Richards in 1929, and supported their right to conscience on military service, it did not condone pacifism. Public Questions submissions to Cabinet Ministers therefore carefully distanced the Church from responsibility for the objectors’ civil disobedience but, by 1930, the committee had successfully insisted on “…recognition of the rights of conscience and equal treatment of all conscientious objectors claiming exemption under the Defence Act.” It is a moot point whether this was a political difference between students and those working in the structures of the church or an example of fragmented theologia. This conflict

Professor of New Testament at the Hall (1938), and was made Principal in 1947. He was Moderator GAPCNZ in 1958, and retired in 1962. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

174 Underlining from the original letter. Alun Richards to John Allan, 30 June (no year given), 2. Public Questions Committee, Presbyterian Archives, GA21 91/68.

175 Reaffirmation of the 1927 resolution on military training and the rights of conscience was carried in 1928 by a margin less than the previous year. In 1927 the vote was 150 to 47. Report of the Public Questions Committee, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1928, 214. In 1928 the vote was only 99 to 60. Proc. GAPCNZ, 1928, 38.


177 Given this major conflict with Church polity, it is significant that neither Richards nor Miller spent much time in New Zealand Presbyterian parish ministry.

178 Members of the Public Questions Committee met at least three times with Cabinet Ministers: The Hon F. J. Rolleston, Minister of Justice, on 7 October 1927, with Rolleston as Minister of Defence on 9 May 1928, and with the Hon T. M. Wilford, Minister of Justice, on 10 July 1929. Public Questions Committee minutes book, 12-40, Presbyterian Archives, 91/68.

179 This point was also discussed at length when the Public Questions Committee formed a delegation to meet with the Minister of Defence and later the Minister of Justice on 10 July 1929.

180 Under the convenorship of Ernest Merrington, successor to Hewitson as Master of Knox College. Rev Ernest Northcroft Merrington, ED, MA (Syd.), PhD (Harvard) (1876-1953) was born on 27 August 1876. He trained in Sydney and then went to Harvard for post-graduate study. He was ordained in 1902. Merrington was called to First Church Dunedin from Brisbane and was inducted in 1923. He became Master of Knox College in 1929, then went to Seatoun parish (1941) and retired from there in 1945. Merrington authored A Great Colonizer: Rev Dr Thomas Burns. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.
does reveal the difficulty with which *habitus* is integrated with *scientia* in this period, despite the teachers each taking a role in practical/pastoral theology. It may indicate that practical theology was narrowly focused on the role of the parish minister in his parish, but did not analyse his role as conscientious citizen.

From 1901, union of the southern and northern churches had meant that a home for the Hall was built and curriculum changes made. This governance decision did achieve what Cameron and his allies had hoped for – a place where theology students would live alongside students from other disciplines as well as establishing rapport amongst ministers-in-training, which would later benefit them and the church. Socially-conscious Rutherford Waddell\(^1\) endorsed the concept of ministry students mixing with others as a form of formation, by deploiring the possible effects of its absence.

> It would be calamitous from every point of view if these residences should only be available to theological students. Such a specialised segregated life would do little more than develop and confirm the mere cleric... A melancholy object belonging to no real world, educated out of vital theology because so deeply drilled in it.\(^2\)

Although not even Waddell overtly articulated integration or formation as a goal, the close community of ministry students in the residential hall enabled much informal integration of theology and faith as private *habitus* was able to enter theological dialogue. There are signs of fragmentation as more teachers led to separation of the teaching of the theological disciplines, and the integration of theology (*scientia*) and theology (*habitus*) in dealing with issues of peace and war became more of a struggle. *Theologia* may have been suffering some cracks, but still the community within Knox College, the lack of talk of professional ministerial education and signs of struggle in dealing with the practical problems of ministry in the modern world indicate it was not yet seriously fragmented.

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\(^1\) Rutherford Waddell was born in Ireland, educated at Queens College, Belfast and the Theological Hall, Belfast. He volunteered, but was not accepted for missionary service in Syria. Ordained in Ireland in 1876, he arrived in New Zealand in 1877. Waddell ministered briefly at Lincoln and Prebbleton, then for forty years at St Andrews, Dunedin, retiring in 1919. He was an advocate for workers involved in sweat labour, becoming the first President of the Seamstresses Union and was founder and first editor of *The Outlook*. Register of Ministers.

Presbyterian Ministry Formation from 1931 to 1945

In this period a new teacher opened the Hall to world issues, informal integration was revealed and war again raised issues for debate. In 1931 the first New Zealand-born professor, John Collie, was appointed in New Testament, on the surface suggesting a coming of age in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation, though Collie did not have a doctorate. At the turn of the decade, there was considerable change in staffing. Dickie had been made Principal in 1928, this appointment in itself a governance decision indicating greater complexity at the Hall, through the introduction of another level of governance within the staff. Watt had retired in 1921 and Hewitson in 1928. When James Cumming retired in 1929, Dickie picked up Church History alongside his Theology responsibilities. Samuel Hunter arrived to teach Old Testament in 1931.

The Hall's Christian Education classes were more connected with life outside after the arrival in 1932 of another teacher, the New Zealand-born but American trained lecturer in Christian Education, J.D. Salmond. The Hall staff now consisted of three professors: one in Old

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183 John Collie (1872-1946) acted as a temporary lecturer in Systematic Theology pending Dickie's arrival. He was born in Limestone Plains, Southland and studied at the Hall (1895-7). He was assistant minister at Knox Church (1899-1900), inducted to Crookston in 1901, then to North Invercargill, 1914. This became a fully sanctioned charge so he was inducted as minister in 1917. Collie was then inducted to Queenstown in 1925. He was appointed Professor of New Testament Studies at the Hall in 1931. When Prof Dunlop died, Collie had previously been appointed to supervise the work of theological students in Theology and to examine. He lectured in New Testament at summer schools because of his known expertise and was known for his "gift of lucid exposition and command of material." Collie retired in 1937, but returned in 1942 to relieve Dr J. A. Allan, who had left to be a war chaplain. Collie was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1931. He authored Rutherford Waddell and wrote a history of Presbyterian Church in Otago and Southland. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

184 Rev Samuel Fowler Hunter, MA (Glas), DD (Melb), DD (Glas) (1880-1963). Hunter's family emigrated to Queensland where he was educated, and became a teacher. He returned to Glasgow University in 1903 for his MA and then studied at Free Church College, Glasgow. Back in Australia, he was ordained at Ipswich in 1911. He was appointed the first Lecturer in Old Testament at Emmanuel College, Brisbane, when it opened. Hunter was inducted to St Pauls, Oamaru in 1915, Essendon (Victoria), Australia in 1923, and as Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Hall, Dunedin in 1929, retiring in 1946. Hunter served on the NZ Alliance (anti-liquor), NZ Leper Trust Board, and the Board of the Dunedin Art Gallery. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

185 The Very Rev Dr. James David Salmond, OBE, MA, PhD (1898-1976), was born in Queenstown. He was educated at Otago University when he graduated with an MA in History and at Dunedin Teachers College. He was Senior Scholar in History at Otago University and Macandrew Scholar in Economics, Ross Fellow (1923) and Tutor at Knox College, Dunedin. He completed a PhD in trade unions. After teaching at Otago Boys High School and Timaru Boys High School, Salmond went to Yale, Boston and London for further study. He travelled extensively in the USA, UK, and Europe, with three weeks in the USSR, 1929-31. He was appointed the PCNZ Youth Director, successor to R. M. Ryburn, in 1931. Salmond was ordained Youth Director and Lecturer in Religious Education at Theological Hall Dunedin in 1932, and promoted to Professor of Religious Education at Theological Hall, Dunedin later that year. Salmond resigned as Youth Director in 1947, but continued as Professor of Religious Education at Theological Hall from where he retired in 1964. Salmond was Moderator of Assembly 1958; Secretary to the Theological Education Committee and Senatus at Theological Hall (1949-63);
Testament, one in New Testament, one teaching both Systematic Theology and Church History and one a lecturer in Christian Education. Richards called Salmond “…a welcome piece (at last!) of the 20th Century.”186 The context in which Christianity found itself was discussed; in 1931 the last two centuries were studied at senior students’ request. “Special attention was paid to …the new situation created by the advance of general knowledge and the diffusion of Christianity by the expansion of Europe.”187 Theology was being integrated with real-life issues.

For some of the students who had radical views on what ought to be done by the ministry to draw Christian attention to the social problems of the day, the appointment of Dr. Salmond in 1932 was a breath of fresh air and a sign that the existence of the real world was after all recognised by the church. It concerned Dickie and some Dunedin Presbyterian businessmen, who feared that student radicalism, stemmed from Salmond’s influence in Knox College. 188

Watson also remembered frequent visits of Walter Nash.189 Salmond’s doctoral dissertation had been on trade unions and that influence can be seen here.

He [Salmond] embodied Presbyterian concern to proclaim a Gospel which judged and redeemed every aspect of New Zealand society, while not departing from the middle of the road approach which helped him understand radicals, without identifying with them. In his earlier days, some felt he veered too much to the left.189

Chairman of the Committee organizing the Theological Hall and Library Block building at Knox College, Dunedin; Chairman of the NZ Council for Christian Education, representing the Public Questions Committee; Vice-Chairman of Otago High Schools Board and served on many General Assembly Committees. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.


188 Breward, Grace and Truth, 45.

189 “His visits were always stimulating, because he had ideas and was also an active C/E laymen. [sic]” Letter from Ian Watson to Ian Breward, 1. “Rev Ian Breward, Grace and Truth correspondence, notes, paper re.;” Presbyterian Archives, 3/130. Nash was invited by his friends Salmond, Bellhouse and Watson. Geoffrey T. Bellhouse was the son of a Methodist minister and studied at the Hall (1921-23). He left for study in Edinburgh and was later minister of Regent Square until the church was destroyed in World War II. He then retired. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006. Walter Nash (1882-1968) was leader of the Labour Party from 1951-1963 and Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand (1957-1960). At the time he was a book agent for SCM. Breward, Grace and Truth, 45. “He had a simple faith in a divine power to whom he prayed regularly, and he accepted that it was a Christian’s duty to work to bring about God’s kingdom on earth. Puritanical in many ways, he was more concerned with Christian morality and ethics than with the supernatural and ritual. He became an advocate of the views of Leo Tolstoy on pacifism, unselfishness and avoidance of evil. Unlike Tolstoy, however, Nash believed that Christianity and socialism were inseparable. His views on political economy reflected the writings of John Ruskin, who argued that the just distribution of wealth to maximise the happiness of the majority of a population was the most important principle in economics.” Barry Gustafson, “Nash, Walter 1882-1968,” Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 22 April 2002. http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/., accessed 25 May 2002.

190 Dickie was one such person. “Dickie asked Dunedin Presbytery to press for the withdrawal of a booklet Christ and Tomorrow which Salmond had edited.” Breward, Grace and Truth, 47.
The students who welcomed his arrival were radical already and their interest in social issues brought negative reactions from some staff:

Richards tried to persuade students to go to meetings of the Plebs society in the Trades Hall, as well as acting to relieve physical distress at the Mayoral Relief depot, or the Methodist Central Mission. Dr. Dickie warned them against forgetting that they were Presbyterians and advised them to work through the P.S.S.A. They went, nevertheless. Led by Miller, a group also established a small community in Leith Street to live on the same level as the unemployed.

In 1932 Government “passed repressive legislation annulling the traditional safeguards of personal liberty” in reaction to Depression riots. Salmond was involved in the Church’s effort to address the economic and spiritual issues of the period. Along with some practical proposals, Assembly set up an economic committee “…to study the whole subject in the light of Christian teaching…” Salmond was to convene it and this convenorship may have meant this work spilled over into his lectures. The next year, his sub-committee deplored “subsidising idleness” and attributed the Depression to “bankruptcy of our spiritual resources.” The Hall was affected too, as church contributions dropped. Students could not

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191 Presbyterian Social Service Association, the social service arm of the PCNZ. Andrew Cameron had been instrumental in setting this up. It is presently known as Presbyterian Support.

192 Breward, Grace and Truth, 47. This was called “The Bach” at 208 Leith Street. The visitors’ book in the Presbyterian Archives shows many visitors were young women as well as fellow ministry students and newly ordained ministers. J. D. Salmond visited in its first year. Presbyterian Archives, 2000/45.

193 “There was rioting and looting in Auckland and Wellington, ugly scenes elsewhere. 'Special police' were enrolled… Communists, liberal academics, outspoken public servants were alike penalized for their opinions. New Zealand had reached its nadir.” Keith Sinclair, A History of New Zealand (Auckland: Penguin, 1969), 258-259.

194 General Assembly unanimously recorded “…its deep conviction that the present world-wide economic crisis is a challenge to the Christian Church to set the principles of the Kingdom of God … before the world as the great hope of security and progress, believing as we do that it is only by the application of these principles to the problems of international, political, social, moral, educational, economic, and family life that the true interests of humanity can be realised.” Proc. GAPCNZ, 1932, 14.

195 That Bible Classes and ministers “...study the moral and spiritual aspects of unemployment, keeping before their member the ideals of willing co-operation and voluntary sacrifice for the common good;” that Presbyteries co-operate with local agencies providing relief work; that ‘spiritual ministrations’ be provided in unemployment camps. “That Bible Classes do all they can to assist unemployed members, and that Bible Class members be urged to cultivate the habit of adopting positive attitudes of helpfulness towards all in need.” Report of the Economic Sub-committee of the Public Questions Committee, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1933, 84.

196 Proc. GAPCNZ, 1932, 15.

197 The committee reported that 45,000 were registered as unemployed at this time. Economic Sub-committee Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1933, 84.
In this period, there was considerable unrest amongst a minority of the students, who sought more correlation between culture and faith.

Questions on social justice, peace and war, became urgent and led some to doubt the validity and relevance of the liberal orthodoxy which had profoundly shaped the Hall’s ethos. For a minority it was hopelessly irrelevant and the course a bore. They wished to apply the liberal method of correlation much more radically than their teachers. Others were groping for something more orthodox which did justice to the menacing clash of ideologies.

Richards found the curriculum outdated. He had already had two years as a Home Missioner before entering the Hall, but both Dickie and the Committee found him difficult, expecting a more compliant attitude: “We have no right, even if we had the will, to let the students ... prescribe the curriculum. The men who are of use to the Church are the men who do the day’s work conscientiously just because it is the day’s work, whether at the Hall or in the ministry.”

Richards’ conflict with staff was too sharp to effect change. “A. M. Richards used his sermon half-hour to tell us all, students and teachers, what he thinks of us. My colleague, Hunter was at fever heat. But the heavens have not fallen. However, Tipler thinks we ought to tell the Auckland Presbytery just what we think of him …”

This reference to the Presbytery which the teachers considered should be kept informed, is a reminder that it was still the presbytery’s role to decide on Richards’ suitability for ministry. Breward comments that Richards’ lack of fit with the “Presbyterian mould says as much about the rigidity of the mould as it does about Richards’ conviction that the church is far too attached to the past.” This dissatisfaction is indicative of a personality clash, but it also highlights that this student was looking for more integration, albeit along a particular political line. For everyone’s sanity, in the end Richards finished his ministry studies at New College, Edinburgh.


199 Breward, Grace and Truth, 44.

200 Ibid., 58.

201 Letter from Dickie to Gibb, 3 July 1931, “Rev. Dr James Gibb,” Presbyterian Archives, 391/1.

202 Breward, Grace and Truth, 58.
In 1932, James Gibb visited the Hall as parish minister. Despite his keen interest in peace and church union, these themes do not feature in his lecture notes. He delineated the primary qualifications for ministry as knowledge of God, man and the Bible, that is, theologia. This indicates theology (scientia), which Gibb calls ‘theological learning,’ was known as distinct from the ability to minister which is more of a habitus.

The knowledge of God now in view is not the knowledge gained by the study of theology, though the value of theological learning to a minister cannot be over-prized. Even the knowledge of God imparted by the Bible is not enough, for a man may be familiar with the Scriptures and yet be a stranger to their power. Your knowledge of him must be the fruit of fellowship and communion with him in the Spirit.

Gibb also relativised historical criticism in relation to pastoral effectiveness. “If you are reading in Deuteronomy it matters nothing that the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch cannot be substantiated. The question is: What does God say to me in this ancient oracle, no matter who wrote it or at what date it was produced?” He urged the students to engage in regular daily devotions, and commented on preaching and personality. The listening students heard what necessary integration of theological learning, preaching technique, administrative efficiency, devotional rigour and pastoral heart Gibb regarded as essential for good ministry. Breward calls the ministers’ lectures “… spasmodic injections of pastoral wisdom …” and argues that “[t]hough Gibb’s lectures had much wisdom they were scarcely what was needed in 1933.” This indicates that the theology (habitus) supplied by Gibb sat uneasily within the more university-oriented Hall.

Breward’s comment shows that separation has occurred by the 1930s between the wisdom needed in cultivating theology (habitus) and the rigour thought to come only through theology (scientia). The fact that Gibb was even present in the building as a pastoral theology lecturer is consequent on theology being in a church college. Had it been at a university, this pastoral

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204 James Gibb, “Making Proof of the Ministry,” lecture delivered at Knox Theological Hall, 1932, 4. Ibid.

205 Ibid., 8.

206 "Phillips Brooks defined preaching as “the impartation of truth through personality”, but it must be personality instinct [sic] with God … It cannot be too strongly emphasised that without this your preaching will not amount to much. You may be what is called an eloquent preacher, you may be much run after, and highly approved by your deacons or managers, because of your buoyant congregational finances... But it will all amount to little in the end of the day." Ibid., 10.

207 Breward, Grace and Truth, 44.
experience would not have been available to students. Even so, without the disciplinary strictures of university theology in the 1930s, Gibb’s comments imply that theologia is fragmenting, despite the professors in the Theological Hall still sharing the main teaching of practical theology.

Formation also occurred outside the classroom as students discussed theology, philosophy, classes and professors walking in the Dunedin Botanical gardens across from Knox College.208 These discussions outside the classroom were formation for ministry. When the proposal for Church Union was dropped again209 at the 1933 Assembly, ideas formed in the Upper Gardens had a startling effect. Four theological students who had been at the heart of these discussions and who would later be influential ministers in the PCNZ, took the floor210 as newly ordained ministers. Duncan Hercus describes the making clear of their convictions about Church Union at the 1933 Assembly as a “put-up job” which they had pre-planned. Jim Steele had developed a motion expressing penitence which he had asked James Gibb to vet.

If you look the motion up, you will find that the phrase, ‘sense of shame’ was the one which had bite in it. An amendment was moved to delete it, and then the battle began in earnest. Bates was not there, but most of us had a go, and Jim Steele came up with a tremendous speech in which he flourished the Westminster Confession over his head but had no need to


209 “Reports from many important quarters indicate that there is a large amount of indifference to the question of Church Union.” Report of the Economic Sub-committee Report, 1933, 84. It was a bitter moment for Gibb, who died in this year. The subsequent resolution of regret was proposed by M. W. Wilson and H. A. Mitchell. M. W. (Mac) Wilson was at the Hall (1929-30), did a final year at Westminster College, Cambridge and was ordained in 1931 to Huntly. He was moderator of PCANZ in 1962. Henry Alexander McDonald (Alec) Mitchell was at the Hall (1927-9) and had been ordained to Clutha Valley (Clydevale) in 1930. He was later an army chaplain (1940-6) and taken POW in Italy in 1942. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 14 July 2006. The motion was carried “...with about 2 votes against it.” Letter from D.M. Hercus to Ian Breward, 22 May 1975, “Rev Ian Breward, Grace and Truth correspondence, notes, paper re;,” Presbyterian Archives, 3/130. “Although the Assembly could not, in the circumstances set forth by the Church Union Committee refuse their request to abandon for the present this movement towards union with the Methodist and Congregational Churches, nevertheless the Assembly desires to place on record an expression of its deep disappointment and sense of shame at its inability to make a definite contribution to a cause so dear to the heart of our Lord as the corporate union of His people with Him and one another; so congruous with the polity of a Church claiming continuity with the Catholic and Apostolic Church of Christ; and so essential to the perfecting of the witness of the Church to the truth and power of the Gospel.” Proc. GAPCNZ, 1933, 55.

210 The others involved also became influential ministers in the church. J. M. (Jack) Bates was at the Hall (1929-30) and at Takapuna (1930-33) when he became acting Head of Philosophy at Otago University. Bates studied under Emil Brunner (1934-35), returning home with his doctorate unfinished because of the threat of war. He wrote The Manual of Doctrine (1951) for the Bible Class movement and was Moderator of PCANZ in 1965. J. T. V. (Jim) Steele was at the Hall (1927-29) and was ordained after illness in 1932 to Duntroon, North Otago. He co-edited The New Zealand Journal of Theology with Bates (1931-35). D. M. (Duncan) Hercus was at the Hall (1928-30) and was ordained to Brooklyn in 1931. He was influential in the church as the first Convenor of the Architecture Committee and his founding of the Church Service Society. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 14 July 2006.
open it, he recited very relevant chunks from it and from Calvin. ... it was quite a do, but it all began in the Upper Garden walks.\textsuperscript{211}

Wilson also moved successfully the formation of a Committee on Reformed Church principles.\textsuperscript{212} Ongoing teachers at the Hall, however, preferred students' time to be spent on the theological basics. Three years later Collie deplored time used in 'discussional interests'.

Perhaps the chief danger for the present-day students in the Hall is the number of discussional and kindred interests in which they have to take part. In moderation this is all to the good. But there is a danger, which, I feel, has not always been avoided, of finding these more alluring than the steady preparation for their life-work which our course requires. Laudable zeal for the moulding of public opinion on the prompt and proper application of Christian principles to the life of the time may make them regard exegetical studies as among the weights that might be laid aside in the race set before them.\textsuperscript{213}

It is always a possibility that gaining basic theological and biblical tools can seem tedious work, less exciting than 'discussional interests'. Was this lack of interest due to the exegesis they were being taught being the cognitive fragment only of what should have been an holistic biblical discipline?

Teachers appointed earlier in the century were also getting older. Salmond who had arrived aged thirty-three in 1932, was still only forty, but Collie, who had joined in 1931 at the age of fifty-nine, was now sixty-four and Dickie, who had arrived aged thirty-five, was now sixty-one. He had also been teaching at the same institution for twenty-six years. Dickie's powers as lecturer were declining and students found him anecdotal and out-dated. "When he turned to current matters from time to time he was all bookish errors instead of responses to actual situations (This was Slump and Riot years !)... A splendid natural teacher largely sterilized by living exclusively in academia."\textsuperscript{214} This was a later comment by Dickie's bête noir, Richards.

There is little evidence that theological reflection on issues of aggression, nationalism, ecumenism, union and peace were included within formal classes, although Dickie's pro-war views were aired and the onslaught by newly ordained ministers at the 1933 Assembly

\textsuperscript{211} Letter from D. M. Hercus to Ian Breward, 22 May 1975. The Upper Gardens referred to here are the top section of the Dunedin Botanical gardens which are just across the road from the Theological Hall and Knox College, where these students would have been in residence.

\textsuperscript{212} Successfully proposing J. T. V. Steele as Convenor, and W. Maclean, A. B. Kilroy, Dr Gibb and Dr Dickie for its membership. Ibid. Kilroy was a close friend of Hercus, who had spent a summer vacation working with him in Oamaru while in training.

\textsuperscript{213} TC Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1936, 129. Collie was one year away from retirement.

\textsuperscript{214} Letter from Alun Richards to Ian Breward, 1.
suggests that Gibb’s church union ideals were discussed when he lectured at the Hall in 1932. Students had to ask for teaching on contemporary issues, however, when war again seemed imminent. Although a major change of staff occurred with Dickie’s death in 1942 and the rise of the Old Testament Professor, S. F. Hunter, to Principal, there was little change of curriculum. Because students asked for help with contemporary issues, theological issues concerning war were discussed in class, but not because the usual curriculum allowed for this. In 1938, they “...asked Allan to speak to them on war, social reconstruction and social relations. Salmond also helped by discussing J. H. Oldham’s *The Spiritual Issues of War* with them.”

For some the decision whether or not to enlist if conscripted was “...an agonising crisis of conscience.” Ministry training continued, however, substantially unchanged. Even had the Church not followed the more liberal or radical lead of Gibb and others, it did not make any other contextual responses other than poor relief. The post-war Hall would see John Henderson appointed in Systematics, and G. A. F Knight in Old Testament, and with

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216 Ibid.

217 Rev John Henderson, MA, PhD (Edin) (1897-1982). As a young man Henderson battled against ill-health. He studied at Edinburgh, also under Heim at Tubingen, and Barth at Bonn. He was minister of St Margaret’s, Juniper Green, Scotland when appointed to the Chair in Dunedin. Inducted as Professor of Systematic Theology and Church History (1944), he retired in 1962. His nickname in the Hall was ‘Long John’ while Professor J.A. Allan was ‘Wee John.’ He was, with ‘Wee John,’ instrumental in securing the Faculty of Theology at Otago University. On retirement Henderson returned to Scotland in 1963. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.

218 The Very Rev. Dr. George Angus Fulton Knight, ON, MA, BD (Glas), DD (Glas, Iowa & Melb, Otago) (1909-2002) was educated at Glasgow University and Trinity College, Glasgow. He graduated MA (1927) and MA with 2nd class Honours (1932). He graduated BD in 1935. Knight was active in SCM and Boys’ Brigade. Knight worked in a Glasgow slum mission and lectured to Glasgow’s Jewish community while assisting in Pollokshields. After ordination in Glasgow in 1935, Knight was appointed Director of the Church of Scotland Jewish Mission and Schools in Budapest, Hungary, doing confidential part-time war work in Budapest. Knight was appointed to Ruchill Church, Glasgow and appointed agent of the Jewish Mission Committee for the Church of Scotland in 1942. He was an official Lecturer to the Military forces. Knight returned to Hungary in 1947 to report to the Church of Scotland on post-war Hungary. He was inducted as Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Theological Hall Dunedin in 1947. Each summer Knight relieved other Ministers in rural parishes, believing “A theology not worth preaching is not worth teaching.” He established the Otago BD programme and also was highly involved in the life of the City, with refugees and displaced persons from Europe (he knew some 12 languages). Knight also lectured throughout New Zealand on anti-Semitism. He took six months’ leave of absence in 1955 partly to study at Edinburgh University and also to visit Holland to gain an understanding into the life and background of the Dutch settlers coming to New Zealand. He was appointed Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Studies at St Andrews University, Scotland (1959) then was appointed Professor of Old Testament Studies at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago USA, (1960). He received several honours for his work. Knight was appointed first Principal of the Pacific Theological College, Suva Fiji, in July 1966 and afterwards to a lectureship at St Andrews’ College in Sydney Australia, in 1972. Knight retired to Dunedin in 1985. He was Moderator of GAPCNZ (1974) and awarded an Honorary D. Div. by Otago University, NZ (2000). Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.
Salmond and Allan continuing in Christian Education and New Testament respectively. Helmut Rex was also appointed as a lecturer in 1940 and his wider European experience enriched the Hall immensely. While in some cases there is evidence that theoretical theology (scientia) is the preferred mode of the teachers at the Hall from 1912 to 1945, still the absence of a separate department of pastoral theology and with evidence that teachers and students were integrating theoretical theology with Christian and ecclesial practice, as well as a general absence of the rhetoric of professionalism, theologia could be said to be battered but still not entirely fragmented as the Presbyterians' theological college neared its seventieth anniversary in 1946.

Outside the Hall, formation of the National Council of Churches (NCC) in 1941 was a development which would later prove significant for New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation. Presbyterians were at the forefront of this development. After World War I, inter-denominational cooperation in war chaplaincies, and between servicemen in this second world war, had led to a greater co-operation back in New Zealand, and now this was formalised in ecumenical structures. The NCC would affect Presbyterian ministry formation through its influence on the development of theology at Otago University.

One significant finding in this period is evidence of the strong influence of the students' own discussions in forming their ideas on issues such as peace and church union. Friendships created by communal living in Knox College, continued after ordination to different parishes throughout the country, creating effective alliances on the floor of General Assembly. During this period formation of the prospective minister was informally achieved as much through these friendships as through formal lectures. This suggests that Breward's theory of ministry formation has merit, although he puts the formative influence back further to parish experiences before ministry training even began.

I am trying to clarify in my own mind what kind of roll [sic] the Theological Hall rightfully should be expected to play in the formation of a man's outlook and vision of the Ministry.

My theory at the moment is that a theological hall has by no means a major roll [sic] to play

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219 Rev. Alan Brash, and A. T. McNaughton, the first two general secretaries of the NCC were Presbyterian. Rev Allan Thomas McNaughton, MA, BD (cum laude) was President of the Young Men’s Bible Class Union (YMBC) from 1929-30 and had studied at Yale Divinity School and had worked in Australia as Director of Board of Religious Education for the Presbyterian Church of Australia from 1935-52. He was General Secretary of the National Council of Churches in New Zealand from 1952-55. The Very Rev Alan Anderson Brash, OBE., MA, BD (Edinburgh), DD (1913-2002) studied Philosophy for his Otago MA. He left in 1935 for New College, Edinburgh and graduated DD from Knox College, Toronto, Canada. In Scotland in 1937, he took part in the formation of the World Council of Churches. Brash was General Secretary of National Council of Churches, Christchurch 1947-52 and for a second time 1956-64. He was also Deputy General Secretary World Council of Churches (WCC) in Geneva 1973-77 and served as Moderator of the General Assembly 1978-79 after his retirement. Register of Ministers. www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz, accessed 12 July 2006.
but that we tend simply to shape and refine hopes and expectations which are already there through men and women’s experience of Ministry in their own congregations. (italics added)

On most occasions, contextual shifts in the New Zealand situation seldom brought about change within the PCNZ and if students were to discuss these contemporary contextual issues they needed to do it amongst themselves, or to request such critique from their teachers, as the curriculum did not have the flexibility to provide it for them.

**Presbyterian Ministry Formation from 1946-1960**

In this period, *theologia* faces the greatest danger of fragmentation thus far, as the long-term goal of theology in the university is fulfilled. Theology is, however, still substantially taught by church-appointed teachers in church colleges and no separate department of practical/pastoral theology is yet formed, despite requests from the church. Differently from Berlin, the rhetoric of professional education for ministry is not employed in the negotiations for university theology.

Theology at the University of Otago was made possible after the PCNZ, with other churches, formed the National Council of Churches (NCC). The support of this interdenominational body was able to effect the desired change in University legislation to allow degrees in divinity to be awarded. This would have a long-lasting effect on ministry training within the Presbyterian Church through its creation of disciplinary structures which exacerbated the fragmentation of *theologia*. It is an indication of the continued reluctance of secularists within the university that, despite continued pressure from the Presbyterian Church since 1909, the Otago Faculty of Theology was only instituted when the combined churches, represented by the National Council of Churches, agreed to underwrite any losses. It is again another irony that theology teachers in the 1946 Faculty were, however, lecturers all funded by churches whose church colleges in Dunedin were recognised as teaching centres associated with the

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221 In order to keep any such losses to a minimum, examiners decided to examine the divinity papers without claiming fees, as indicated in a letter from the Dean of the Faculty to Rev. J. M. Bates, one of the examiners living outside Dunedin. “One of the conditions of the institution of Div. degrees was that the University should suffer no financial loss, and you may recall that the NCC promised to pay to the Univ. whatever loss may be entailed. To reduce considerably the sum to be paid over we down here agreed to examine gratis.” Letter from S. F. Hunter (Dean of the Faculty) to Rev. J. M. Bates dated 25.11.46, Faculty of Theology papers, Presbyterian Archives, 99/154.
University. Church-funded teachers (mostly Presbyterian-funded teachers) with some departmental costs met by the university would teach the theological disciplines at Otago until 1992, both to students resident in Dunedin and many extramural students throughout the country.

From his arrival, Dickie had persisted with attempts to secure a University degree in divinity. When Roman Catholic bishops did not wish to co-operate, Dunedin churchmen of the Presbyterian, Anglican and Church of Christ denominations worked on the issue coordinated by E. J. Tipler, convenor of the Theological Hall Committee. In 1939, the University of Otago Senate approached the Minister of Education, and THC was given permission by the Church to confer with other interested churches, but by 1940 divinity degrees were shelved again because of the war. Consequently, Melbourne College of Divinity BD examinations were first used by the Hall in 1942.

We are deeply indebted to the Melbourne College of Divinity for the ideal standard placed before our students and the resultant enthusiasm with which they face the prescription set out.

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222 The Theological Hall Committee of 1945 reported on the long-awaited establishment of the Faculty. "However, there was the proviso 'that no degree in Divinity be instituted unless a reasonable part of the teaching is done by at least one of the University Colleges.' The Council of the University of Otago set up a Faculty of Theology, and recognising the three church colleges in Dunedin as teaching centres, and the three Professors in Knox College, with the heads of Selwyn College and the College of the Church of Christ as lecturers within the University. The machinery is therefore ready." Theological Hall Committee Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1945, 124.

223 These costs amounted to assistance with refresher leave and some office support, although the Dean of the Faculty, H. H. Rex, in 1963 identified that the Presbyterian Church was bearing all costs relating to the Faculty at that time. These included a library grant and refresher leave assistance from Synod, payment of all teachers and provision of lecture rooms at Knox College, as well as provision of the Knox College library and librarian. H. H. Rex, "An Application by the Faculty of Theology for Consideration of Inclusion in the Submission to the University Grants Committee for the Coming Quinquennium," Faculty of Theology papers, Presbyterian Archives, 99/154.

224 King, "Organising Christian Truth," 251-260. The 1928 THC reports notes, "It is hoped ... that the long-standing reproach that the University does not recognise theoldest of studies will be removed in the near future." TC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, Auckland, 1928, 107. The University Senate was proceeding with the matter in 1932. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1932, 90.

225 E. J. Tipler (1884-1935) was one of the first resident students in Knox College, Dunedin. An outstanding student, he did advanced work in Latin, Hebrew and English. After studying at the Hall (1912-15), he was ordained at Carterton in 1915. He was chaplain to the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (1917-19), having first enlisted as a private. In 1918 he had a leg amputated which caused constant suffering. He ministered at Roslyn (1921-33) when he was convenor of the Theological Hall Committee "...and did notable work as such." Register of Ministers. Dickie’s death in 1942 meant he did not see his dream of theology in the university come true.


227 By the Senate of the University of New Zealand.


229 THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1942, 214. Eight students were preparing for the BD in 1943. Hunter had been pushing for entrance exam standards to reach Australian standards. Breward, Grace and Truth, 42.
...It is to be hoped that our New Zealand University will soon grant degrees in divinity, for this can only result in a high standard of theological studies.\textsuperscript{230}

THC also considered awarding a Diploma of Theology to students doing only ‘Hall courses’ in 1943, perhaps to distinguish between Theological Hall courses and degrees,\textsuperscript{231} but finally the decisive move came in 1945.\textsuperscript{232}

An historic move was made ...The Senate of the University accepted the regulations and prescriptions for the Bachelor’s degree ...postponing consideration of the Master’s and Doctor’s degrees, and later agreed to request Parliament to pass legislation permitting the granting of degrees in Divinity.\textsuperscript{233}

It has already been seen that the breakthrough had been due partly to the intervention of the National Council of Churches (NCC), particularly through the NCC’s offer to underwrite any costs of the programme.\textsuperscript{234} Approaches from the combined churches may have reassured secularists this was not a sole-church (Presbyterian) takeover. The actual teaching of theology continued as before in the Dunedin-based church colleges because of the way Otago University chose to meet “...the proviso ‘That no degree in Divinity be instituted unless a reasonable part of the teaching is done by at least one of the University Colleges’”\textsuperscript{235} – a requirement of the University of New Zealand. The Otago University Council set up the Faculty and then recognised “…the three Church colleges in Dunedin as teaching centres, and the three Professors in Knox College, with the heads of Selwyn College and the College of the Church of Christ as lecturers within the University.”\textsuperscript{236} Hunter was appointed Dean and the PCNZ expressed its “satisfaction that the University of New Zealand has instituted degrees in Divinity.”\textsuperscript{237} Theology was back in the University, so the Scottish-style of theological education with university-based theology was finally attained. The question is whether, with teaching still in the church colleges, \textit{theologia} would be fragmented or not.


\textsuperscript{231} Ibid., 202.

\textsuperscript{232} With Principal Hunter, and Professors Allan and Henderson as three members.


\textsuperscript{234} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{235} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{236} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{237} \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1946, 6-7.
Tension between the requirements of academic theology and of ministry formation was immediately obvious in Hall reports to the Church. The BD did influence programming and community at the Hall: "...students capable of taking the BD degree will be given the full tuition required while a less exacting course of study will be required of less well-equipped men."238 Some breadth of teaching was also available. BD candidates attended Philosophy of Religion lectures by the Warden of Selwyn College;239 Theology for the BD was a broader subject, allied as it now was with other disciplines, something which Farley argues causes greater specialisation and therefore increased difficulty for teachers to converse or work together. The 1947 official appointment of H. H. Rex240 to teach Church History would relieve the Systematics Professor "...since in recent years the scope of this ground covered in his department has been widened to cover a thorough treatment of the Philosophy and Psychology of Religion and Comparative Religion as prescribed for the BD degree."241 Questions raised within the Church meant that the 1948 THC report clarified at length the implications of the new BD for the Hall. A tug of war between academic and ecclesiological requirements is revealed. The first argument in support of the BD was greater stimulation for staff and students. "There is now an objective standard of work, so that the amount of work covered in class is not determined by the convenience or inclination of the teachers, nor have the students any motive for desiring the rate of progress in class to be retarded."242 It was argued that the value of this objective standard lay in its acceptance by "all the Churches as representing a good grounding in the essentials of theological education."243 The reference to


239 Lecturer in this subject for the University of Otago. "...an interesting and valuable beginning in co-operation in theological education which we hope may be carried further." Ibid.

240 Helmut Rex’s (1913-1968) name was formerly Rehbien, but he changed it to Rex, a Latin form and thus more international in post-war 1945. He was born in Potsdam, Germany and studied in Berlin in the 1930s. A Confessing Church pastor, he left Germany as a refugee because of the Jewish connection of his fiancée, Renate. He was ordained in 1938 and received by the PCNZ Assembly in 1939. Rex had been appointed temporarily as lecturer in Church History in 1939, his appointment being made permanent in 1947. (An appointment at the Hall was felt to be more prudent than a regular parish appointment during wartime). He was appointed Professor of Church History at the Hall in 1953, but retired due to ill health in 1964. He held classes in literature (1950-60); introduced hermeneutics (1955), was largely responsible for developing Religious Studies in the Otago University Arts Faculty (1963), had great interest in and knowledge of Maori culture and affairs and served on the committee which planned the Maori Synod. Breward, Grace and Truth, 52; and Register of Ministers.


242 THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1948, 204. This is an intriguing glimpse into what classes were like before the B.D.

243 Ibid.
objectivity reveals Enlightenment values of reason and logic. In the view of the Hall staff and its committee, this ‘objective’ standard was provided by university level theology.

Fears of University domination were addressed by the Hall in its report. “Yet it should not be imagined that the Hall is now enslaved by the regulations of the University of New Zealand.” BD standards were always desired from the best students, the report argued, denying academic work dominated ministry training or that teachers limited themselves only to requirements that were academic in the “tone and scope” of their teaching. “Much of our teaching goes beyond the limits of the BD prescriptions, because we never lose sight of the fact that our aim is to produce not merely academic graduates but effective ministers of the Presbyterian Church.” (italics added) Students wanting good coverage of examination material would hardly welcome teachers going beyond the prescription to include material which created effective ministers, but did not contribute towards their academic grades.

The distinction which developed between degree courses and ‘Hall courses’ as time went on, in theory and in practice, meant ordinands did put greater effort into academic papers rather than into courses required only for ministry formation, as academic pressure operated through the need for good grades in order to gain degrees. Equal report space was spent on those not capable of the BD: “[t]hus the Church may be assured that the coming of the BD degree has served only to advance the efficiency of the Hall and in no way bears adversely on the less advanced students.”

Farley’s comments that rewards for academic staff come through the scholarly guilds are apposite here. University recognition was welcomed by the Hall professors, shown by their willingness to take on extra teaching. The defensive tone of these reports indicates this was a development favoured by the Hall, but one which left the church in two minds. It is not the Church which had advocated this position on theology, but academic teachers and their

244 Ibid.
245 Ibid.
246 As a lecturer, the author directly experienced this different attention paid by ordinands to papers they were taking only for Hall purposes as late as in 1996. Attendance at class by those doing the paper only for Hall credit was spasmodic and assignments were not completed if pressure in examination subjects became intense.
247 THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1948, 204. After the BD degree, Senatus information on individual courses no longer appeared in THC Assembly reports. The BD prescriptions were then available publicly in the University Calendar. Non-degree ordinands in fact found their position difficult within this two-tier training system.
committee. Most of the teachers were still Scottish trained. It would be natural to them that University theology was adopted as the governing paradigm of ministry training. Their continuing reliance on Scottish models of theological education made it difficult for teachers to do any different, and still feel they offered the best kind of theological training to their students and could hold up their heads among the international academic theological community.

There are signs in these reports that theology is being taught more self-consciously as an academic subject, even though it was taught by the same teachers in the same classrooms as before. What effects would the inevitable dislocation and specialisation of the theological disciplines from each other and from the confessions of the church have on ministry training and the church? One effect is that the BD later opened up routes to postgraduate study for Presbyterian ordinands, Otago’s own MTh beginning in 1966. It will be remembered that, in Osborn’s view, this would encourage the pursuit of academic aims which are not so useful in the parish setting as the generalist approach. In his view, emulation of their academic professors was not the model which prospective parish ministers should follow. It was, however, the model under which they were now being taught.

More than university theology was happening in ministry formation in the 1940s and 1950s. Three other types of training which did not use university education as their base were being supervised or taught by Hall staff. Contact with overseas theological education through increased staff refresher leave, visiting lecturers and students, allowed comparison and prompted updating of programmes. The first calls from the church for a professor of pastoral theology brought about an exhaustive description and rearrangement of existing practical theology at the Hall, suggesting scientific theology taught through the Faculty-church teachers was regarded by some in the church as increasingly inadequate for formation. These church members could be right about this, or this cautious attitude indicates a lack of understanding of academic theology within the faith community springing from the fragmentation of theologiam which Farley describes. The desire of the Hall to keep up with recent developments in scientific pastoral theology, even without a dedicated Chair, indirectly led to the beginnings

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248 Henderson studied at Edinburgh University and in Germany; Hunter, though he had emigrated to Australia as a child, went back to Glasgow University and the Free Church College there for ministry training. Allan was a New College graduate. Only Salmond was not Scottish-trained, having gained his MA in New Zealand and his doctorate in the US, neither of which was in theology.

249 See Appendix E for the movement in Theology and Religious Studies at Otago from 1946 to 2000.
of Clinical Pastoral Education; pastoral theology taking on a scientific and professional but also formational approach.

The three other training systems were for home missioners, Maori elders and deaconesses. Initially the THC had not allowed preparatory courses for Home Missioners without class attendance at the Hall and association with the Hall community, but few home mission stations were close enough to Dunedin to allow this. The dilemma was how to supply a reasonable programme for men who could not get to Dunedin. Extra-mural regulations were tightened, then shortages in 1949 occasioned discussion of a special emergency course. In 1950, an existing extra-mural Arts course was used and the Hall agreed to train Home Missioners by correspondence; theological study was by textbook, rotating amongst different departments of theological study. By 1952 the Hall was running four correspondence courses – one for home missionaries over 40, the extra-mural arts course, the Home Missionaries’ Training course and the reading course for older Home missionaries. The arts course was replaced in 1959 by Victoria University’s Corresponding Department in Palmerston North.

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250 Teachers were involved with Deaconess training, Home Missioners’ courses and a preliminary arts course.

251 To five years service and an age range of between 30 and 40 years of age. Proc. GAPCNZ, 1947, 66.

252 For home missionaries over 40 who would be granted full ministerial status. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1949, 199.

253 This was for mature Home missioners who might make good ministers. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1950, 190.


255 These 14 students spent twelve days in residence at Knox College. Ibid., 182.

256 With five students.


Maori Theological Education was also ministry formation ‘on the job.’ After three Maori students entered the Hall on reduced requirements in the early 1940s, THC members and the Maori Mission discussed developing a “Maori School of Theology” in 1948 – its syllabus, textbooks and lectures. This began with three students in 1953, training Maori Elders in Bible, Theology, Church History, Practical Training, Church Government and Discipline and Youth Work. Again, despite the goal of university-educated ministry, the Church found itself with two ministry training situations where university study is either unsuitable or too difficult to access. Reports suggest this non-university-based programme achieved integration through its “tutorial method” and “intimate” situation. At the time Maori educational standards were poor and not a government priority. It was still a rare thing for Maori to attend university. After visiting in 1958 the Hall Principal argued for ministry training in the

260 In 1943, the Missions Committee had asked for a special two-year course for a Hemi Nikora, who would return to minister to Maori. The University course was waived on condition he return to the Bay of Plenty Maori Mission and two other Maori students with only University certificates entered full-time. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1943, 203-4.


262 The Very Rev J. G. Laughton who acted as Principal was succeeded by Rev L. M. Rogers. Rev John George (Hoani) Laughton, CMG, JP (1891-1965) emigrated from the Orkney Isles aged 12, attended Otago University, then entered the Home Mission service. He was ordained in 1914 to the home mission station at Pio Pio, Waikato. “In 1916 an arrangement was made with this energetic worker to release him from Home Mission service to do work among the Maoris. He returned to Home Mission work in summer 1916-17, in 1918 his services as a volunteer were accepted & he resigned from the Home Mission service.” Was inducted to the Maori Mission, Maungapohatu in 1918. With Sister Annie Laughton began pioneering work at Maungapohatu. He was ordained by Assembly in 1921 as Minister and Missionary to Maoris. He married Horiana Te Kauru, a member of the Maori Mission staff, and they continued at Maungapohatu until they were transferred. Laughton retired to Taupo in 1926. This was their headquarters for the next twelve years. In 1933 he was made Maori Mission Superintendent, and in that year gave lectures in the Hall, Dunedin on Maori Mission, religion and customs. When Home, Maori, and Foreign Missions were amalgamated, he continued as Assistant Superintendent, in charge of Maori Mission, at Ohope Beach, Whakatane, in 1938. He was mainly responsible for the translation and production of the Maori Service Book, first introduced at Nuhaka Conference May 1933, and greatly used. Laughton edited Te Waka Karaitiana, the official Maori Church organ, which commenced in December 1933. Te Katikihama Foto (Shorter Catechism) is another publication of his. “He had an intimate knowledge of all that concerns the Maori people; in his wide ‘bishopric’ he was highly esteemed & beloved by both Maori and pakeha.” Laughton retired in May 1962, was part-time staff from June 1962 and died suddenly in July 1965.

Rev Lawrence Moter (Laurie) Rogers, MA (Hons) (1898-1984) after working in the Post & Telegraph Office studied at Otago University and at the Theological Hall in 1924-26. He was Student Assistant Knox Church Dunedin in October 1926 (while at Hall) and served at Frankton Junction, Waikato and St David’s, Christchurch. Rogers served as Editor and Manager of “The Outlook” in Christchurch from 1937. After ministering at St Peters, Tauranga, he was made the first Principal of the Maori Theological College, Whakatane (Te Wananga-A-Rangi) (1954-1963). Rogers served as Convener of the Temperance Committee, the Bills and Business Committee, the Home Ministry Committee and the Maori Missions Committee. He wrote “The Early Journals of Henry Williams,” published in 1961. Register of Ministers.


Maori language, stating that the Hall could not offer anything comparable in Dunedin; "... they would be quite lost in the lecture rooms at Knox College, while the intimate, direct, tutorial method used at Whakatane, so well adapted to a small group, is just what they need." 266

The Hall also took responsibility for deaconess training. Deaconess students are listed amongst the Hall students from 1951. 267 Part of J. D. Salmond’s teaching responsibilities in Christian Education included deaconess students and in time, the Theological Hall and Deaconess College were jointly administered. Sister Helen Hercus, Principal of the Deaconess College, lectured on women’s organisations and the work of the parish deaconess to the Hall students from 1958. 268 Once women could be admitted to the ministry, the end of the Deaconess College was inevitable and it closed in 1969.

These three ministry training situations sat alongside the ideal of university-based ministry education, causing dilemmas along the way. All three programmes produced graduates who gained only low status within the church, accompanied by poor remuneration in comparison with Ministers of Word and Sacrament. Though of low status, the ministry offered by home missioners, Maori elders and deaconesses was not necessarily of low standard and often greatly appreciated by parishioners.

Increased overseas contact resulted from university assistance for the Hall staff’s refresher leave and visits by lecturers and students as the Hall moved into the 1950s. Reports give

265 The Principal also commented: "I was surprised and delighted at their readiness to follow the line of thought I put before them, and a couple of written exercises showed that they thoroughly grasped the point of view to which I was introducing them." Ibid.


267 Norah Calvert, a deaconess student, was the first woman to complete an Otago BD in 1953. Rev Nora Lindsay Calvert, BA, BD, ThM (Princeton), DipLit (NZ) (1925-) completed her Otago BD at the Hall while at Deaconess College 1950-3. She was ordained Congregational Deaconess at Titahi Bay Wellington, in 1953. Calvert worked as Librarian at Knox College, Dunedin (1955-62) and then worked for the Presbyterian Social Service Association (PSSA) in Dunedin and Wellington in 1963. She travelled to the USA for study and experience, training there as a CPE supervisor and being ordained as a minister in the USA (1968). Calvert worked as hospital chaplain in Invercargill (loc ten) in 1978 and as chaplain at National Women’s Hospital, Auckland (1980-1981). She was a Pastoral Counsellor with PSSA Wellington in 1982 and Honorary Assistant, St Andrews Church, Wellington. Calvert worked as a Presbyterian Support Counsellor in Wanganui from 1985, retiring in 1990. Register of Ministers. After retirement, Calvert continued to work for some time as a CPE supervisor in Dunedin.

268 Hercus was the only female speaker alongside 15 ministers in the practical training lecture series. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1958, 228a.
evidence of issues and developments in common with international theological education. In 1947, the award to Emeritus Principal Hunter and the new Principal Allan of Honorary Doctorates of Divinity by Glasgow and Edinburgh Universities respectively was described as a “recognition of the high standing of our Theological Hall.”

Staff refresher visits overseas were regularly scheduled from 1953. On study leave designed to review theological education overseas, Principal Allan made contact with twenty-one colleges, faculties or departments. His comparison of those colleges with the New Zealand Hall reveals the similarities which the New Zealand situation bore to Britain in particular, indicating that the Hall had not deviated from the “Scottish model” of decades ago. His comments on Greek and Hebrew reflect a contemporary debate on languages in the curriculum within the New Zealand Presbyterian Church.

My general impression is that we in New Zealand have little to learn from overseas as to the general set up of the training we provide. Theological education everywhere seems to be much on the same lines as those with which we are familiar. This is only to be expected since our system has been closely modelled on that of Scotland and our Hall has been kept in touch with what has been done in Britain by the bringing of two new teachers from Britain in the last ten years and by Dr Henderson’s trip of a few years ago. While there are differences, our curriculum is probably better adapted to our local conditions. I found no college where Greek is not compulsory for all students, and no Presbyterian College where Hebrew is not also compulsory. As regards practical training, what we do is, as far as I could ascertain, as good as what is done in most colleges and better than in many.

Allan supports the status quo when he ends by advocating refresher leave for invigorating teaching rather than for generating “radical changes.”

Rex appreciated the chance to “get ‘the feel’ of present-day theological trends” during his leave at Tübingen, gaining his doctorate on the ethics of St Paul in 1954. Salmond went to the USA in 1955 to observe “... development in Theological education, in Christian Education, and in Youth Work generally.” His comments on standards, publicity for


270 Including the San Francisco Theological Seminary of the PCUSA, the four University centres in Scotland, and Manchester, Bristol, Wells, Oxford and Cambridge.


272 Ibid., 57a.

273 Fuchs, Ruckert and Thielicke are names he mentioned appreciatively. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1954, 60a-61a.

recruitment and selection procedures reflect contemporary debates in New Zealand: “The Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, USA has a testing officer who gives intelligence and personality tests to all ministerial candidates.”

All Presbyterian ordinands were expected to complete BDs with at least one year’s Hebrew and two years’ Greek — another contribution to the languages debate. He reported classes in hymnology and in pastoral counselling, where “…theory is correlated with field work in hospitals, mental hospitals and in other forms of pastoral experience.” Fieldwork was “exactring,” students being graded on class exercises and attitude in class, fieldwork reports, as well as exam results. His visit coincided with the rising concern about theological education which would be reflected in the commissioning of Feilding’s study.

In contrast, George Knight’s leave was partly political. In 1956 he visited Scotland, Holland, Israel, Egypt, Ceylon, Thailand, Indonesia and Singapore, often lecturing in these places. The latter three visits included discussion of PCNZ possibly aiding theological study there. The same year Henderson took leave as locum for the Professor of Theology at Glasgow University. The fact that Henderson reports he found the precise relationship between Trinity College and the Faculty of Theology “shrouded in impenetrable mystery” suggests interest in this relationship as one similar to that of the Hall and the Otago Faculty of Theology. Comparing Glasgow students with those in New Zealand, he states: “[T]he results were on the whole reassuring. The majority were comparable to our own students who have taken a full University course. On the other hand, there were two or three in each class who were rather better than we normally get.”

275 THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1955, 121a. It would not be long before a national selection group was established in New Zealand.

276 Ibid.

277 Salmond had also noted that marriage at age 22-23 was common and that 40% of Princeton and 70% of San Anselmo students were married. He comments on required courses in Christian Education and the training of men and women as parish-based Directors of Christian Education. Ibid.

278 Ibid. “At the present time a Commission on Theological Education, under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard Neibuhr, is investigating the whole field of Theological education in the U.S.A.” This resulted in H. Richard Niebuhr, Daniel Day Williams and James M. Gustafson, The Advancement of Theological Education (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).


280 Ibid., 133a. “...the Church may well be pleased at this recognition of the quality of one of its theological teachers.”

281 Ibid.
be gained outside the church for capable students in New Zealand’s more secular society, so the church missed out on some of the best, perhaps.

The views expressed in these reports indicate the need for some catching up with trends and theology elsewhere. They also reflect a general satisfaction, however, that the Hall was keeping pace internationally in general and in some places surpassing British theological education. The American report from Salmond foreshadows future changes, from a higher proportion of married students in future to psychological assessment of students, which would later affect ministry formation in New Zealand. Their value to this thesis is the view they give of the Hall during this decade, still Scottish oriented, similar to the four-fold theological pattern happening elsewhere, a little ahead of other British college in practical training, though not yet comparable with American processes.

Overseas visitors in the 1950s included Principal McIntyre of St Andrew’s College, Sydney; Dr Brooks of the University of Natal and Seward Hiltner, Professor of Pastoral Counselling in the Federated Faculty of Theology in the University of Chicago, who came in 1958 as a Fulbright Scholar. This latter event was as significant as its build-up suggested it would be, leading eventually to the beginnings of Clinical Pastoral Education in New Zealand. “The subject of Pastoral Counselling is only in its infancy in New Zealand and so the visit of such a leader in this field as Dr. Hiltner is an event of great significance.” It was looked forward to immensely: “...his visit will enable the churches to estimate the value of the best

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282 THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1957, 259a. Visits were also paid to Edinburgh and St Andrews, including New College. On his return he spent a day at Union Theological Seminary, New York where he met Reinhold Neibuhr, John C. Bennett, D. D. Williams, and an “incomprehensible” Martin Buber. At Princeton he renewed acquaintance with the Principal who had been a fellow student under Karl Barth in Bonn.

283 Students were allowed to be married after the war when returned servicemen would otherwise have had excessively long engagements. The percentage of married students was, however, at the time of Salmond’s visit to the US, very low. Married students created a formational issue, since they no longer lived within the residential college, which still took only single males.

284 Psychometric testing was not begun until 2003, after the author’s suggestion was picked up by the Policy Group and National Assessment Work Group.

285 McIntyre was a visiting lecturer at the Faculty of Theology and a ministers’ refresher course was arranged around his presence. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1956, 130a. McIntyre was “on the eve of his departure to occupy the Chair of Theology in Edinburgh until recently held by Dr. John Baillie.” Ibid., 134a. He brought news of the Angus heresy case in Sydney.


American work in this field with a view to future developments.\textsuperscript{288} The event did not disappoint: “[H]is work throughout the country in introducing the latest ideas and methods in Pastoral Counselling has been greatly appreciated by ministers and students of all denominations.”\textsuperscript{289} Institution of the Burns lectures by the Synod was another opportunity for overseas contact. In 1958 and 1960 the Burns lecturers were both from England.\textsuperscript{290} These and the overseas students who attended the Hall through what would come to be an East Asian Christian Conference scholarship\textsuperscript{291} brought different ideas and cultures into the mostly mono-cultural Theological Hall.

In pastoral theology the influence of psychology began to show. The 1947 Assembly had resolved to “…investigate the matter of post-graduate courses in Christian psychotherapy” and the Hall looked for a suitable lecturer.\textsuperscript{292} The following year, while still investigating ‘Christian Psychotherapy,’ Senatus was given authority to “arrange a course… on the problems of personal counselling, especially in relation to mental and spiritual health.”\textsuperscript{293} As the 1950s opened, what would come to be called “summer training” was begun: all students were to give a long vacation “to full-time service under the supervision of a Minister or Moderator.”\textsuperscript{294} “The Committee is concerned about ensuring that students have as much practical experience as possible before they go out into their parishes and, as a result of its experience with students who have voluntarily undertaken vacation work under the Home

\textsuperscript{288} TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1958, 228a.


\textsuperscript{290} In 1958 the Burns lecturer was E. L. Allen (Presbyterian Church of England, formerly head of the Department of Religion at Durham), and in 1960 the Rev Canon Alan Richardson, Professor of Christian Theology, Nottingham. TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1960, 180a.

\textsuperscript{291} Overseas students also arrived in this decade. A post-war gesture to assisting the church in Japan took tie form of a 1947 suggestion that an Asian student be invited to the Hall. The General Assembly asked for an investigation into arranging for a “Japanese, Chinese or other Oriental student to further his studies in our Theological Hall.” TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1948, 200. In 1953 an Indian student came for a refresher course through this ‘Oriental Student Scheme.’ Comment was that the South-East Asia scheme was “…a policy that will make a really effective contribution to theological education in the Churches of South-East Asia.” TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1955, 119a. This was prompted by a Malayan student coming to the Hall in 1955. TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, 1956, 130a. A United Church of India student came in 1959. TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1959, 165a. By 1961 the arrangement would develop into an East Asian Christian Conference Scholarship scheme by which a South East Asian theological student gained free lodgings and tuition for a year’s study at the Hall. TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1961, 139a.


\textsuperscript{293} TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1949, 198.

\textsuperscript{294} TH\textsuperscript{C} Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1950, 188.
Ministry Committee.Senatus also reported it was investigating “more effective” practical training “and proposes to develop further what is at present being done.”

An overture brought to the 1950 Assembly calling for a Chair of Practical Training prompted this report of practical training by the Senatus. The overture called for the proposed Chair to supply: “(1) spiritual guidance of students; (2) lectures on pastoral theology, (3) lectures in homiletics, (4) lectures in liturgics, (5) lectures in parish organisations.” The thorough information on practical training provided by the Hall in response shows this had hit a nerve. This debate is also significant because it would not have been forgotten eleven years later in 1961 when the request for a Chair in Pastoral Theology was also made, this time successfully. The details presented by the Hall to the Assembly form a background to the case study on Pastoral Theology in the next chapter, along with the Hall’s counter-argument to the idea of a Chair of Practical Training.

Tension between ‘practical’ and ‘academic’ was also obvious at the same Assembly when an amendment to refresher leave proposals for teaching staff at the Hall was moved: “That the Theological Hall Committee give consideration to the values that would be secured through spending some part of the leave period in the ministry of some vacant parish.” The amendment was lost. This amendment and the argument for a “limited” tenure of 5-10 years highlights an opinion often heard from the church, that once teachers in theological halls have spent over a decade in teaching, they have sometimes forgotten what are the real demands and realities of parish ministry. At this stage Salmond had been at the Hall for eighteen years, Allan for twelve years and Henderson for six. They were not yet elderly; Salmond was fifty-two and Allan and Henderson both fifty-three. They were, however, each born well before the First World War and were a different generation from returned servicemen and young students in their twenties. Salmond would remain at the Hall for another fourteen years and Allan and Henderson each another twelve years. By the end of their tenure, their parish ministry days were certainly well behind them.

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295 Ibid., 188-189.
296 Ibid.
In 1951, a student's Hall course included three sessions (years), studying Old Testament Studies, New Testament Studies, Church History, Theology, Practical Training, Voice Production and Religious Education.\(^{299}\) A complete change of approach from the practice in exegesis and public speaking as well as preaching, which had been required of James Chisholm, was a change to essays for presbytery exit exercises. A quiet note in the 1951 Hall report records that the exit exercises which students did for the presbytery had been changed to three essays.

At this stage, the exit essays were written solely for the purpose of licensing trials. This begs the question whether an essay can indicate to a presbytery whether a student is ready for ministry or not. This would have reduced student workload and accommodated the fact that many students were not resident in their home presbyteries, making the arrangement of trials for licensing difficult. Did the Hall staff also feel that presbyteries should not judge preaching and exegesis since the average minister was not up with the latest developments in biblical studies? Whatever the reasons, this is a move towards presbyteries judging suitability for ministry on cognitive and intellectual grounds alone. Presbyteries did, however, have responsibilities regarding summer exercises, and were reminded that "Faithful dealing with the exercises is an important contribution to the practical training of our students."\(^{300}\)

A major change occurred in 1959 when Clinical Pastoral Training (later known as Clinical Pastoral Education or CPE) started. Seward Hiltner’s 1958 visit had helped introduce\(^ {301}\) two new elements into New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training, the professional model and the use of a clinical approach to pastoral education.

The Hiltner tradition ... had two marks: (1) a basic commitment to a professional model for theological education—a model that equips seminarians for effective pastoral work and creates a research community dedicated to empirical inquiry into the religious dimension of life, and (2) a commitment to relate science and religion by the mode of correlation—moving dialogically between theological presuppositions and cases; between behavioural science and theology.\(^ {302}\)

This is the first overt mention of the professional model of theological education. The clinical approach to pastoral care also owes it roots to Enlightenment thought and the use of psychology as an allied discipline in pastoral theology, a beginning of the specialisation and


alignment with satellite disciplines which Farley describes as a fragmenting feature. This more specialised and scientific handling of pastoral care training bears similarities to the situation in which Farley argues *theologia* was first fragmented – the approach is professional, the study scientific, and pastoral theology is being separated out further from the other theological disciplines.

The training course for Clinical Pastoral Training (CPT) began late in 1958 after Hiltner’s visit.\(^{303}\) It was planned that two students annually would do CPT and Allan represented the Hall on the ecumenical committee formed to administer it. The inauguration of CPT in New Zealand had also benefited from ecumenical connections through the National Council of Churches, which had sponsored a Theological Education conference in Christchurch\(^{304}\) that year,\(^{305}\) where Theological College staff members and Governing Bodies had asked the NCC to investigate “...ways and means of co-operating in the Clinical Pastoral training of students.”\(^{306}\) In later years several Presbyterian students attended CPT.\(^{307}\) The course intentionally set out to develop the pastor’s personal qualities; “in all this the student should gain fuller knowledge of himself and the adequacy of his own religious faith.”\(^{308}\) This suggests that CPT is a formational programme which can be personally transforming. Operating outside the university as it does it can, however, also miss out on integration with theology (*scientia*).

Alongside this definitively specialised scientific approach to pastoral care, the usual programmes continued; a hospital chaplain lectured in “The Care of the Sick” and supervised hospital practical work in 1960.\(^{309}\) Funds for a trip to USA for specialist training for six

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\(^{303}\) This visit did not just drop out of the air. Dr Williams from Trinity College in Auckland who had been assisting PCNZ with pastoral training had studied under Hiltner and was instrumental in making the necessary connections.

\(^{304}\) On May 20-22. Allan, Salmond, Knight, Henderson, Byers, Rogers and Bates attended.


\(^{306}\) Ibid., 220a.

\(^{307}\) Also known as Clinical Pastoral Education (CPE).


\(^{309}\) Funds for 6 months specialist training in the USA were approved by Assembly. THC Report, *Proc GAPCNZ*, 1960, 32. Three students would do the CPT course the following year at public hospitals in Dunedin and Cherry Farm (a mental hospital). This was in co-operation with the P.SA (Presbyterian Social Services Association). Rev I. B. Wilson also lectured at the Hall and supervised clinical experience for third years. Seven objectives from Andover-Newton Theological School, Massachusetts, USA are listed for this. THC report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*,
months\textsuperscript{310} were approved\textsuperscript{311} and the number of students doing CPT was increased to three for the following year.\textsuperscript{312}

The Hall then has arrived at 1960. Its student body is young, white and male, still a majority of them unmarried. Its teachers have been teaching at the Hall for thirteen to eighteen years, with the exception of Lloyd Geering\textsuperscript{313} who arrived in 1960, aged forty-two. Allan and Henderson were sixty-three and Salmond sixty-two years of age. The curriculum pattern is four-fold, but still the sixty-three year old Professor of Systematic Theology, whose test of theological understanding is the Westminster Confession, is teaching Church History as well, delaying the ultimate separation between historical and theological studies. The church teachers in Theology, Church History and Old and New Testaments are affiliated as university teachers, though still paid by the church. The majority of students complete Otago BDs during their time at the Hall, while others complete Hall courses not for university credit and receive a Hall Diploma in Ministry. CPT is available for a few students each year. The rest of Practical training is shared amongst the teachers, visiting lecturers and summer vacation exercises supervised by parish ministers and presbyteries.

While CPT under the "Hiltner method" is described by an American writer as a professional model of theological education, the word ‘professional’ is not at all so far used in New


\textsuperscript{311} Ibid., 32.

\textsuperscript{312} Ibid., 180a.

\textsuperscript{313} Rev. Dr. Lloyd George Geering, CBE, MA, BD (Hons, Melb), DD (Otago), PCNZM (1981-) studied at the Theological Hall (1946-42), was ordained \textit{loc. ten.} at Kurow in 1943, then went to Opoho, Dunedin (1945) and St James, Wellington (1950). He resigned from St James in 1956 to be Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Presbyterian Church Hall, Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. Geering was made Professor of Old Testament Studies at the Theological Hall, Dunedin in 1960. He became Principal in 1963 and resigned in 1971. A charge of heresy was brought against Geering at the 1967 Assembly by Mr R. J. Wardlaw, elder, and Rev R. J. Blaikie. After full discussion (transmitted live on TV) the Assembly dismissed the charge. This trial raised interest and controversy throughout NZ, and beyond, not only in the Church, but in offices, shops, factories and wherever people gather. It caused religion to be talked about almost everywhere. For many it brought relief, revealing the Christian faith as rational in modern terms, which are acceptable in the Church. For others it contradicted the essence of the Christian religion. After a period Geering resigned from the Church to take up a post as Professor of Religious Studies at Victoria University, Wellington, where his classes were crowded, and he also gave public lectures which aroused considerable interest. One course of public lectures was published each year for a number of years. Geering served as Professor of Religious Studies at Victoria University Wellington from 1971 to 1983 and served as Honorary Associate Minister, St John's, Wellington. In retirement Geering continued public lectures at St Andrews Church, Wellington for period, becoming Honorary Assistant, St Andrews, Wellington, in 1989. Register of Ministers.
Zealand church reports or personal letters. The spirited defence by the Hall staff and the Theological Hall committee in relation to a Chair of Practical training, however, suggests a commitment to what integration the curriculum offered. The fear of Practical training becoming too academic or too specialised is real and, future events will show, warranted. *Theologia* is still formally fragmented by the structure of the curriculum, and comments from the church about refresher leave and a Chair of practical training refer to a perception of lack of relevance to the actual reality of parish ministry in the Hall’s programme. Actual teaching practice within the Hall, the closeness of its community and the involvement of the church through summer exercises and presbyteries have the potential to keep theologia more or less together. Further influence from patterns of study and academic specialisation which Farley describes as causing fragmentation of theologia are about to arrive, however, and will be seen in the two case studies which follow.

The pressure from the church towards a Chair of Pastoral Theology continues in the 1960s and this time is successful. The church’s relationship with the University becomes more entangled, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. These two developments are considered in depth in the case studies in Chapters Five and Six. The first case study follows the development of pastoral theology as a separate subject, evidence, Farley argues, of the fragmentation of theologia. The second case study follows the relationship between the Theological Hall and the University to its end, to assess whether and where within Presbyterian ministry formation theologia is fragmented in the process.
Chapter Six
Case Study: Pastoral Theology

Edward Farley identifies the ambiguity which pastoral theology encounters in contemporary theological education, especially within the university, as a major sign that theologia has been fragmented. Efforts to reform the lack of unity of the theological disciplines, such as Rainy Harper’s introduction of the need for professionalisation of the ministry at the end of the nineteenth century, in Farley’s view simply led to another problematic: a two-fold pattern of theory versus practice. In the case of pastoral theology, Farley specifically argues this distortion arose from a misunderstanding of the Reformed understanding of theologia (wisdom), which originally incorporated both habitus theoreticus and habitus practicus. “In other words, theologia itself had a praxi element.”

Farley views present-day practice in theological education as not only splitting theologia into different disciplines labelled academic or theoretical but also requiring practical/pastoral theology to act as a bridge between theoretical theology and theologically-informed practice. The original disciplines then leave this bridging task to practical theology and do not attempt to form bridges between theory and practice within their own field of study. This negates the reality “…that the ‘faith-ful’ activities of ministry arise out of insightful postures and enduring perspectives which are themselves practically shaped by a disciplined paideia.”

Under this paradigm, systematic theology may not then connect with preaching practice or with catechetical development, church history may not connect with church growth movements and their philosophies, and biblical studies may not connect with faith development through use of scripture.


2 ‘Practical’ and ‘Pastoral’ are used variously to describe this branch of theology. Pastoral theology seems to be the usage in Britain and practical theology more common in American literature.

Theory and praxis, argues Farley, are not separate activities or entities, but exist together in both the ‘practical’ and ‘academic’ arenas. This concept of theory arising from within practice has been developed more recently in professional education theory by Donald Schön, who advocates recognition of the “competence and artistry already embedded in skillful practice – especially, the reflection-in-action (the “thinking what they are doing while they are doing it”) that practitioners sometimes bring to situations of uncertainty, uniqueness and conflict.” Farley claims that the use of pastoral theology to ‘bridge’ academic subjects to practice implies that all the theological disciplines are atomistic identities – separate entities rather than parts of a greater whole.

A second effect is that the “education experience is seen as the experience of a plurality of bridging rather than a shaping, a formation, a process...” In other words, individual acts of bridging ‘theory’ with ‘practice’ become isolated activities rather than coalescing in an integrated flow of formational development. Further, if integration of theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) is thus experienced as a string of separate incidents, bridging activity encourages unhelpful “preoccupation with technique.” Technique is seen as the mode of application of theory to practice and so the acquisition of technique itself is erroneously seen as a shortcut to successful professional ministry.

When ordinands’ theological education is pieced together from separate disciplines, several difficulties arise. Theological study can be seen as not making much sense unless subsumed under functional requirements of ministry. Anti-intellectualism results as non-academic subject matter is highly prized by some ordinands because it is perceived to help them to more successfully perform ministry functions. A second problem is the control exerted by satellite disciplines, to which theological disciplines attach in the absence of an integrating umbrella – and, in the case of pastoral theology, in the absence of an academically-substantial home base. As a result, the ability of the theological school to critique its surrounding culture is compromised. “The main consequence is that the theological school becomes unwittingly an institution of culture religion or culture Christianity.” Pastoral theology, for example, can be

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5 Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education,” 104.

6 Ibid., 106.

7 Ibid., 108.
ideologically captured by psychology, theology by philosophy, church history by general history, and sociology and the biblical disciplines by literary criticism.

A third problem is the blockage of new paradigms from entering theological study. The dominating four-fold pattern excludes new perspectives, such as that of liberation theology, from the mainstream curriculum. "...[T]he curriculum as such is not structured [so] as to indicate that faith as such, ministry as such has to do with corporate and global realities. Hence, these concerns retain the status of ministerial hobbies and individual interests." This view is echoed by Rosemary Radford Ruether when she critiques incomplete integration of women's studies in religion into mainstream study of religion.

The new material in them [women's studies] does not affect the foundational curriculum. In other words, women's studies in religion goes on as a marginal and duplicate curriculum. There is now a course in systematic theology and a second one in feminist theology. The foundational courses continue as before. Therefore, implicitly, they claim the patriarchal bias in theology as the 'real' or 'true' theology.9

The mainstream theology with the apparently 'true' status which Ruether cites is academic theology which has been separated from faith and advocacy positions as expressed, for example, in feminist and liberation theologies. A further problem is that pastoral theology is seen as a soft discipline within the university because of its connection with practice within the faith community. Christian practice operates on a different epistemological basis from the more cognitively based theological disciplines, a basis not as valued in the university. To be acceptable within the university, an understandable response is for pastoral theology to in fact become more academic, using literature from disciplines such as psychology, medicine, education, sociology and the arts to provide a substantial academic base.

Farley argues therefore that the very presence of pastoral theology (with an expectation that it will provide the bridge between academic, theoretical theology and ministry practice) renders the so called theoretical disciplines more theoretical and leaves practical theologians seeking appropriate theory anywhere – including the satellite disciplines named above. Following Farley, the presence or otherwise of pastoral/practical theology in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation as a separate theological discipline is an indication of whether or not theologia is fragmented. This case study therefore traces the development of pastoral

8 Ibid.

theology within New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation from 1961. This date has been chosen as the starting point for the case study because in this year a call was made by a special church committee for a Chair in Pastoral Theology. Unlike other, earlier calls of the same type, this one was eventually successful.

Pastoral Theology in New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry Formation Prior to 1961

It has been seen in the previous chapter that, just over a decade earlier than 1961, a call for a Chair in Practical Training had been made. The 1950 Assembly overture asked for a professor whose duties would include: "(1) spiritual guidance of students; (2) lectures on pastoral theology, (3) lectures in homiletics, (4) lectures in liturgies, (5) lectures in parish organisations." This produced a plethora of information in the Hall's Assembly report about the state of practical theology at the Hall, revealing a home-grown method in which all the professors of the major disciplines participated in practical training. Every one of them, apart from Salmond, had been parish ministers before entering the Hall. It is ironic that Salmond was the teacher most associated with the practicalities of parish ministry through his religious education portfolio and yet had no parish experience, having been ordained directly to the Hall position after non-theological doctoral study in the United States.

Practical training at the Hall in 1951 was listed as comprising thirty lectures on Homiletics given by Knight (Professor of Old Testament); thirteen lectures on public worship by Henderson (Professor of Systematic Theology and Church History); eighteen lectures on pastoral theology by Principal Allan (whose speciality was in New Testament). So far as the above lecturers are concerned, full opportunity is reported as being given for discussion of students' questions and problems. Students also gave an annual sermon and conducted public worship before a member of Senatus in their second and third years and submitted a written sermon to a Senatus member for critique. All students attended a half hour of voice production weekly. Every exit student had a broadcasting audition so that they could hear their own voice. The summer vacation exercise was due to start the following summer. This would be reported on by their Moderator (supervising parish minister) and the Home Ministry Director (a national church appointment). Students would also submit their summer exercises

11 Register of Ministers.
12 THC Report, 1951, 177.
to presbyteries for comments. Youth work experience, supervised by Salmond, was also described:

...[L]ectures are given on the place of the home, Sunday School and Bible Class and Church in the work of Christian nurture. In the second year the student teach classes under the Nelson system [Bible in schools]. A written report is given to men observed at work. Second year men have begun observing Sunday School work. Their observations have been discussed with them. This year some of our students are participating in parish survey work. Most of our men have been active in Bible Class work, and have attended camps, training leader’s weekends, etc. Some of the older men have had considerable parish experience before coming to the Theological Hall. 

Lectures on pastoral care by Dr Williams of Trinity Methodist College, Auckland had fulfilled “a long-felt desire.” All single Divinity students lived in community at Knox College. Office-holders within the Church visited annually and outside speakers were described as welcome.

After detailing the current situation, the Hall Committee then described the suggested Chair as a “radical departure from the present course,” with too wide a scope for one position. The reasons given for this rejection were that a new Chair would make demands on an already over-crowded curriculum, that it would be costly, that a limited tenure of five to ten years would be difficult for the incumbent, that there was a danger of such a Chair making other subjects more academically focused than it was feared they already were, and also that “[i]t is only too likely, as proved by the experience of similar chairs and lectureship in the Old Land, that the new professor or lecturer could become as academic or department-minded as any of his colleagues.” The latter two objections are similar to those made by Farley to the loss to the other disciplines if integration was seen as only the responsibility of pastoral theology. This indicates the present staff members were conscious of the need to keep the subjects which they taught integrated with their practical implications for ministry.

The committee also objected that oversight of students should not be in the hands of only one person: “each member of staff has special gifts or qualities which may appeal or be helpful to different students. All members of staff need and welcome the opportunity of sharing in this

13 Ibid., 178.

14 Ibid., 178. This course was 8 lectures plus availability to students for discussion and questions. Dr Williams held a DLitt in psychology and “extensive experience in Psychotherapy.” Ibid., 182. “It is deeply gratifying that this gap in our curriculum has at last been filled so satisfactorily.” Ibid., 183. The hope was that such a course could be arranged every 3 years, as long as Dr Williams was available.

15 Ibid., 179.

16 Ibid.
side of training.” The question was also raised whether the proposed workload was too much for one person, “without being a burden to himself, his colleagues, and his students.” Finally, the report queries the wisdom of having “all practical training in the hands of one man of one viewpoint?” The impression is gained of an academic staff fighting to be seen as well-rounded ministry educators, to defend the present system and perhaps to keep out of the Hall those of a certain ‘viewpoint’. Their arguments regarding the effect on other disciplines and the academic pressures on pastoral theology are exactly Farley’s argument.

The Committee argued that practical training could be achieved under the present system with less inconvenience and cost. Its suggestion was for present Senatus duties in practical training to remain, with the addition of an annual two-week visit by a parish minister for lectures and informal discussions with students, if possible, at the time of the annual retreat, special attention being paid to exit students. Other lecturers on different topics might also be occasionally used, the committee suggested. This was approved by the Assembly, though the fact that this did not satisfy some was evident when a later overtture regarding Practical Training was moved and seconded, but a procedural motion to pass on to the next business was agreed.

The Hall proceeded therefore with the visiting lecturers scheme in its revised practical training. In 1952, Rev W. B. Black of Auckland delivered eight lectures in the two weeks he resided in Knox College. “The Committee is satisfied that the new venture in practical training has been an undoubted success, and does serve to keep the practical training of the Hall in vital touch with the work of the parish.” Other visitors lectured on Maori Work and on Ecumenics. The 1953 report quietly notes: “The Senatus will probably suggest a few minor additions to the practical training of the Hall curriculum as a result of ideas gathered by

17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., 180.
19 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 THC Report, 1951, 32.
22 Ibid., 70-71.
23 Ibid., 248.
24 J. G. Laughton.
25 Principal Haddon (Church of Christ).
the Principal during his tour.26 This was Allan’s visit to twenty-one colleges, from which he had reported that the New Zealand theological college was as good as and better than some overseas.

In 1953, Rev R. J. Griffiths of Waimate lectured, ran small groups, personally interviewed students and emphasised requirements of rural parish work in “preaching, public worship, services of baptism, communion, confirmation marriage and burial, youth work, visiting, personal work, church courts and community activities.”27 He reported that the visiting parish minister scheme was “…acceptable and valuable to the students.”28 Griffith was followed by Rev M. W. Wilson29 in 1954, who taught both Hall and Deaconess College students on the task of contemporary ministry, ministerial character, teaching, preaching and conduct of worship, and commented: “I was impressed by the keen interest shown by the students and am convinced that there is considerable value in this scheme whereby each year a parish minister spends some time amongst them to discuss the practical work of the ministry.”30 The minutiae of the reporting on these schemes suggests anxiety in the Hall that the church found their alternative to a Practical Training Chair acceptable. Even teething problems with the summer exercises which showed in their second year are reported:

Every effort is being made to help students to get the utmost benefit from the compulsory summer vacation work and a member of staff discussed the work and the reports on it with each of the students involved. The Senatus is planning to secure fuller co-operation with the Moderators under whom these students do their work.31

The Hall had been using Dr Williams from Trinity Methodist College, Auckland for pastoral psychology. After studying pastoral counselling in the USA in 1954,32 he visited as practical training lecturer in 1955.33 The 1956 Practical Training programme added four lectures in Hymnody and Church Music34 while, in 1957, hospital Chaplaincy and rural ministry were

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27 Ibid., 54a.
28 Ibid.
29 The Mac Wilson of the 1933 Assembly church union debate, now twenty years into ministry.
30 THC Report, 1953, 57a.
32 Ibid.
33 In a week, he taught eighteen periods on pastoral counselling and pastoral work generally. THC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1955, 119a.
covered in two week-long visits as an experiment. The Church was told that three visiting ministers (a Christchurch hospital chaplain, a rural minister and Dr Williams), apparently “…greatly enriched or widened” the programme. Students had also requested an hour a week “…to promote free exchange of ideas among the men and to deepen the devotional life of the Hall.” This alternated between discussion groups and devotional services conducted by visiting ministers, though “[i]t has not been possible yet to assess the value of this arrangement.”

1957 summer training reports were scrutinised in order “to be clearer as to the capacities and needs of each student, and to see that the best use is made of the practical training offered.” As a result, the 1958 report concluded: “There is no doubt that valuable experience is being gained by students under this scheme of compulsory vacation work, and with very few exceptions moderators are cooperating very helpfully in guiding students.”

An experiment with a student doing chaplaincy work in public and mental hospitals and in a prison was being tried and further experimentation in the visiting parish minister scheme led to the 1958 Pastoral Theology class being taken by fifteen ministers and Sister Helen Hercus, Principal of the Deaconess College. “The change has proved in every way satisfactory and brings the Hall into direct contact with the actual life of our parishes. Some minor defects have been observed, and improvements will be made next year…” Changes in approach and frequent rearrangement of practical training schemes, and comments on whether it was effective, indicate the Hall governance and teachers were constantly seeking to improve.

The introduction of hymnody is an influence from Salmond’s refresher leave. Other changes no doubt were the result of other staff member’s refresher leave, so some changes might be due to fresh observations from overseas. They could also indicate, however, that these rather ad hoc arrangements were not proving successful. Still, the basic pattern remained as permanent staff in other disciplines shared the main courses in pastoral theology amongst

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36 Ibid., 257a.

37 Ibid., 261a.

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid., 262a.


41 Ibid.
them, while teaching their own disciplines, both as BD papers and as Hall courses for those unable to cope with the BD curriculum (which did not include practical theology).

According to Farley’s definition, theologia has been fragmented through course structuring into theology (scientia) and theology (habitus), but by teaching the main practical training classes, the permanent staff might have been still integrating theologia as individuals if not in actual classes. It is to be expected there was some crossover between Old Testament and Homiletics, Public Worship and Systematic Theology, and Pastoral Care and New Testament when one teacher taught both. There was also, at this stage, no need to accommodate non-Christians, students of other denominations or even many independent students, as classes were comprised mainly of Presbyterian ordinands of Presbyterian deaconess students. Any independent students came in on the Hall’s terms.

The Church’s governance decision about practical training up until the 1960s was therefore to keep a certain informality about practical training, to keep it outside the province of a separate Chair, and to use a mix of existing professors, visiting ministers and lecturers to provide, in the first case, relevance and, in the second, professional expertise. This governance decision may have delayed the fragmentation of theologia through the creation of practical/pastoral theology as a separate subject. In another sense, because of the governance decision to participate in university theology with a BD with no practical theology, following the criteria developed from Farley’s argument in the previous chapter, theologia is already thoroughly fragmented for the BD students, who were generally characterised as more able intellectually. It was likely that this split between theology scientia and theology habitus would be perpetuated by these students when they went into their parishes.

**Pastoral Theology from 1961**

The defined period of the two case studies in this work begins in 1961. The status and future of pastoral theology/practical training was decisively affected in this year by the report of the Special Committee on Theological Training (SCTT) in 1961. The committee took:

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42 It was an enthusiasm, for example, of G.A.F. Knight’s that the Old Testament foreshadowed Christ and this is something likely to have been emphasised when he taught homiletics.

43 This Committee was formed after an overture on theological education from the Bay of Plenty about the Theological Hall. It was to consider recruitment and moved on to the image of the ministry, since: “...recruitment requires that a satisfactory image of the ministry be held and conveyed.” Report of the Special Committee on Theological Training (SCTT), Proc. GAPCNZ, 1961, 149a.
individual formation for ministry very seriously, so its findings related specifically to the state of pastoral theology at the Hall. Its recommendation of a students’ pastor for pre-Hall students echoes the concerns about spiritual formation already argued by Forster Freeman in the North American literature. “These years should not lack in the formative aspects of the devotional life and it is unfair to the student to expect that he will somehow stumble on what it is best to do.” It was argued that ordinands needed Christian maturity even more than parishioners and so assistance in ordering their devotional life was important. “The devotional life is not some isolated ‘good thing’. It has to be related to the task that the student is preparing for – his general studies, his preaching, his conduct of worship and “practical training…” Habitual suppression of difficulties during training, it was stated, might mean ministers later hid them “behind a professional and parsonic demeanour...”

The SCTT believed someone needed to take pastoral care as his or her “special responsibility.” It proposed a Professor of Pastoral Theology who could ensure all students received “…help in the formation and development of the devotional life.” The committee thought the four-fold pattern of studies should be retained, but seminars and practical training be co-ordinated under “the whole concept of Pastoral Theology…” This was not simply to train in techniques, but to inculcate “…a positive attitude to the meaning of the ministry.” “Pastoral Theology” implied practical work but also, argued the committee, “real depth of intention and purpose… this position ... is as seriously academic as any other position in the Hall, even though it is also of a very practical nature.” (italics added) This is a contrast from the ‘Scottish’ way, model practical training was thought unnecessary. It is also different from Farley’s integrated ideal for theological education. Pastoral Theology is suggested here as a separate discipline, one aspiring to academic rigour, though without preoccupation with technique.

44 Ibid., 153a. The SCTT suggested weekly seminars at University centres for Bible study and guidance, coaching in Bible study methods and exegesis, or short vacation courses.


46 Ibid., 154a.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid., 148a.

49 Ibid., 157a.

50 Ibid., 154a.

51 Ibid., 155a.
After the report’s presentation at Assembly, the Theological Hall Committee (THC) requested a sessional committee in order to put its case, rather than deal with the recommendations on the floor of Assembly. The Sessional Committee on Theological Education (SCTE), however, approved appointment of a Dean of Students, and asked TEC to continue planning a Pastoral Theology Department and “arrange for additional instruction in the Theology and Practice of Prayer...and for Schools of Prayer to be conducted by visiting ministers...” It stated: “...the aim of theological education is the making of a minister in its completeness, particularly in a truly theological perspective of his pastoral responsibilities and his own maturity. There is need for continued inquiry in depth in this field.” (italics added) More attention to “…the theology of the total mission of the Church, including evangelism” was also advised.

The SCTE’s recommendations overbore Hall resistance. The governance decision of the sessional committee was for more intentional work of formation – ‘the making of a minister’. It is ironic, however, that according to Farley’s argument, approval by the church of a Department of Pastoral Theology was a governance decision which would exacerbate rather than recover the fragmentation of theologia which was the root cause of church dissatisfaction with contemporary formation of ministers. Teachers of other disciplines would begin to have less of a practical training role which might inform their theological teaching, and when a professor was appointed (the end result of the work of the SCTT) students would have pastoral concerns bridged to theological studies through only one person, rather than by several. The very separation of theological and pastoral studies which the church’s committee found unsatisfactory would then be exacerbated.

As often when a special committee reported, the Hall responded with full descriptions of its work, giving a fresh window into the state of the curriculum. In 1963 THC listed the four main disciplines as “Old Testament, New Testament, Church History and Systematic

52 Ibid.
53 Addendum to the THC Report, Proc. GAPC NZ, 1961, 369a. This was obviously written after seeing the report of the SCTE. Proc. GAPC NZ, 1961, 26-27. A sessional committee is one which meets during General Assembly, that is, meets while assembly is in session.
54 THC was to consult with the Christian Education Department. THC Report, 1961, 54.
55 Report of Sessional Committee on Theological Education, Proc. GAPC NZ, 1961, 408a. This conclusion was specifically recommended to THC.
56 Ibid.
Theology.” Significantly, following the Scottish attitude towards pastoral theology, practical training is considered a supplement, therefore adequately staffed by “...the half-time lectureship in Christian education, the tutorships in Clinical Pastoral training and Personal Counselling, the honorary lecturing by parish ministers ... and ... Homiletics and Liturgics provided by the full-time staff.”

Despite Farley’s arguments against separate departments of pastoral theology, it can be seen from this list of part-time and honorary activities in practical training that practical training is signalled in these structures to be of lower status and appears less important than the ‘main’ disciplines, literally supplementary to them. The status of a department and of its own Chair would be seen by those concerned about lack of pastoral ability in exiting students to be a desirable end in comparison to ad hoc and piecemeal approaches, such as pertained in the 1960s. Farley’s argument suggests it would be preferable that these ‘bits and pieces’ of practical training were studied alongside and integrated with biblical, theological and historical studies and that these three disciplinary areas were also integrated with each other. In contrast to the SCTT request for specialisation in pastoral theology, however, a Biblical Studies lecturer was requested by the Hall for academic reasons.

... the Hall has entered into partnership with the university and is honour bound to preserve a high academic standard. On the other hand, the contemporary world has presented some very critical challenges to the Church and her Gospel. These can be met ultimately, not by devising new techniques, but only by reinterpreting the church’s heritage and giving expression to it in today’s terms... Professors responsible for research in their own fields of study must be given ample time in which to develop this basic work of the Church.” (italics added)

Since professors taught primarily in the four major disciplines, this research would only serve to deepen specialist expertise, not to promote integration of theology (scientia) and theology (habitus). Focus on specialised academic research furthers the fragmentation of theologia. At this stage of the Hall’s life, the four-fold pattern is evident and the place of theology seen as in the university, under university standards. That the Hall asked for another teacher in one of the four main disciplines indicates their priority was with these rather than a separated pastoral theology. Farley would applaud this if it meant that, within the other four disciplines,

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58 Ibid., 215a. Emphasis is placed on the extra burden to staff by increased individual attention given to students, following greater accessibility of staff now installed in Knox College. Honorary Deaconess College lecturers had retired and provision was needed for cover during teachers’ study leave.

59 Ibid., 214a.

60 An interesting study would be to scrutinise the research actually carried out by Hall professors to see whether their research was to do with this “basic work of the Church.”
the pastoral and practical implications were integrated in the classroom. As pastoral/practical theology was not part of the BD, supplementing the pastoral teaching with a dedicated position was seen as unnecessary. While this may not mean they denigrated the pastoral theology which ordinands required, but in fact valued the more piecemeal, but grounded, methods being used overtly, the overall perception is that pastoral theology is seen to be valued less than the other areas of the curriculum.

At the same time, preoccupation with technique had become more prominent in Practical Training as Clinical Training was introduced in 1961.61 The Hall seemed to be seeking to prove itself sufficiently ‘practical’ in curriculum. Full details of Practical Training are given “in view of the widespread interest in the subject.”62 The list includes many practical hints, tips, advice and experiences although integration of this with academic work is not obvious. A May vacation course in mental and general hospitals was added in 1963,63 showing a spread of the variety of locations in which field work could be done, but indicating also that chaplaincy was exerting pedagogical pressure somewhat like a satellite discipline. If the Hall’s primary task was to train parish ministers, extensive training in chaplaincy work was off-task, though practice in personal work with people in trauma would be also helpful in the parish.

61 At Public Hospitals in Dunedin and Cherry Farm (a mental hospital). This was in co-operation with the PSSA (Presbyterian Social Services Association). Rev I. B. Wilson also lectured at the Hall and supervised clinical experience for third-years. Seven objectives from Andover-Newton Theological School, Massachusetts, USA are listed for this. THC Report, 1961, 138a-139a. Note the American influence. Two Hall students also attended the CPT course in Christchurch. Ibid., 144a.

62 Practical Training included: Lectures in Homiletics (1st year), Public Worship (2nd year), Pastoral Care (3rd year), Christian Education (all 3 years) and fifteen lectures by teachers/ministers and Sr Hercus. Ibid., 146a. Others covered administration of marriage, baptism, funerals and confirmation, Visitation, Organisational duties, Book of Order, Business Procedure, Social Service, Women’s Organisations. Sr Hercus was Principal of the Deaconess College. One lecture comes close to personal formation: “Personal bearing, manners and discipline.” Wilson, Hospital Chaplain, gave four lectures on Care of the Sick, Dunedin doctors gave three and a minister gave five on Personal Evangelism. Students studied Speech, attended lectures in Church Music and Hymnbook use, completed vacation work and summer exercises for presbyteries. “... Moderators ... have now a much better appreciation of the possibility of giving help and guidance ... a much more valuable piece of practical training is now being done this way.” Ibid., 143a. Second- and third-year students did Criticism services. The student conducted a service of worship in a local church, critiqued by staff. Triennially, all students attended Pastoral Counselling lectures given by Dr. D. O. Williams from Trinity College, Auckland. Missionary lectures, Scripture classes for 2nd years, the General Treasurer’s lectures on Church Administration (one lecture to first-years and four to third-years) and practical broadcasting experience were included – an enthusiasm of Knight’s. The Theological Hall Students’ Union organised extra-curricular activities, such as visual aid preparation. Salmond administered this programme as Secretary of Senatus.

1963 also saw a substantial staffing change-over. Frank Nichol arrived to replace Henderson in Systematic Theology and Evan Pollard replaced Allan in New Testament. Geering replaced Allan as Principal. Ian Breward would replace Rex in Church History in 1965. Perhaps as a result of new staff, it is reported in 1964 that Practical Training, was being integrated into a "Department of Practical Training" by a sub-committee of Senatus, which "... began to study the nature of theological education in the light of the contemporary life of the Church and the work of the ministry, with a view to ascertaining the best and most relevant means of equipping the student for the work of the parish ministry." Time for Liturgics and Homiletics was increased and the following year a two-year experiment in Chaplaincy Internship Training began, "...not only to provide training for possible future chaplains, but to train more effective parish ministers." These changes indicate thought was being given to the desirable outcomes of ministry formation. The Hall continued to resist the concept of a Chair of Pastoral Theology, however, as it worked through the Sessional Committee’s (SCTE) recommendations.

Only five years later, another special committee was appointed to investigate matters close to the work of the Theological Hall. Another Special Committee on Church and Ministry (SCCM) report addressed theology of ministry and the church, stating: "... theology of the

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64 Frank Nichol, MA, BD, PhD (St Andrews), DD (St Andrews), was born 30th March 1925. He served at St Andrews, South Canterbury, then became Director of Theological Studies in Perth, Western Australia in March 1955, and came to be Professor of Systematic Theology at the Theological Hall, Dunedin, in February 1963. He was made Principal in February 1963, then retired because of ill health (a stroke) in March 1987.

65 Evan Pollard was born on the 1st of February 1921. He came to New Zealand from Australia having been ordained in 1949. He was appointed Professor of New Testament Studies at the Theological Hall, Dunedin in February 1963 and retired in 1982 due to ill health, returning to Australia. He died in 2006.

66 TEC Report, 1963, 219a. The Department of Practical Training had under its supervision: preaching, summer supply, hospital clinical training, Bible teaching in schools, voice training and instruction by visiting ministers. TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1964, 229a. This is finally the response to the 1961 Assembly directive.

67 Comprising Senatus, lecturers and tutors.


69 Ibid.

70 TEC Report, 1964, 36.

71 Ibid., 226a. The scheme was supported by the Otago PSSA. Students would complete a year in pastoral training during or immediately after graduating.

72 This had been sent down to presbyteries and Sessions from the 1965 Assembly. The SCCM had received replies from all the presbyteries, but only 172 out of 438 Sessions. SCCM Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1967, 255a.

73 Along with other topics: work of the ministry, the parish system, appointment and call, and pastoral care of the ministry.
ministry can only be considered within the context of the theology of the Church.”

Parishes thought the statement “The Theology of the Church” was a clear general statement, though some thought it lacked “a clear emphasis on God’s act of redemption, evangelism, love, unity and distinction from the world.”

Until now theologising on the nature of the church and on ministry had been remarkably absent from church reports. The “Theology of Ministry” was generally approved by presbyteries:

Ministers are to be “helpers of the whole people of God so that the laity can be the church” (Wanganui, quoting Weber). They do this by preaching the Word, administering the Sacraments, teaching and shepherding the flock as servants of Christ to His servants. ...the minister should be a witness to the resurrection, must give leadership, and is servant to the servants of God, but not servant of these servants... ministry as stated by the Committee is more or less appreciated by the committed members of the Church but as one approaches the fringe, it is increasingly obscured.”

Such formation and ecclesiological issues had not appeared in church reports before. That they occur now may be due to the membership decline which had begun before the 1960s but now was becoming obvious in church statistics. These comments challenged the Hall to re-examine the basis of its curriculum and goals.

In response to such calls for practical outcomes, the TEC described theological education as “not completely oriented to today’s needs. It is designed for a conception of the ministry whose social context is rapidly changing,” suggesting the committee members and staff saw a need to revise the curriculum. Until the new ministries of the future became obvious, however, TEC reported it found planning difficult, although “…on the other hand, it may well be that the new forms cannot readily emerge until a developing theological education both allows and encourages them.”

TEC argued that ministry training helps the student “…become theologically competent as a servant of the Church and exponent of the faith in the present century.”

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76 Ibid., 256a. This is interesting in light of the ‘fringe’ groups which would develop in the 1990s, many of which operated within egalitarian leadership. Reactions to “The Work of the Ministry” included calls for flexibility and opposition to detailed definitions of a minister’s duties: “...the need to free the parish minister to do his real work [not defined here!], the need to educate the people, the importance of team work, the necessity for ministers to delegate ... a minister must work as a partner with Christ.”

77 The Committee with oversight of the Hall was renamed the Theological Education Committee in 1963.


79 Ibid.
The Committee called for an apprenticeship period between academic work and full-time ministry for one year, perhaps two. This would shift the present Hall responsibility for integration into this apprenticeship, freeing up time for the theological disciplines within the Hall programme. TEC also argued that “[s]tudents need to understand ...the way in which what is relative to the times must be distinguished from what is of abiding significance” – an apparent rejection of the search for new ways and relevance which were characteristic elsewhere in the 1960s. It notes that “...in our own time a deepened historical understanding, a secular (though not necessarily anti-Christian) context, and the dominance of science and technology in human thought, all pose questions to Christian faith which no earlier person was required to face.” The Hall staff are described as being well aware of the changes which would later be called the beginning of the postmodern era. The report describes the minister of Word and Sacrament as:

...an ambassador for Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, representing Him among His people; as a man of prophetic insight and zeal who will faithfully proclaim the relevant Word of God to both church and community; and as a pastor, sensitive to the needs of men and bearing to them the grace of God.

A minister... needs, on the one hand, to be as thoroughly conversant with the entire Christian heritage and as able as he can be to draw upon it for the nurturing of the Christian faith and life of his people. On the other hand, he needs to be as familiar as it is possible to make him with the nature of the world in which he lives and of the particular society to which he belongs. (italics added)

Two marks of the minister here are ‘preaching the world’ and ‘sensitive pastoring’. Such a minister needs to know both church and world well, though this description did not lead to an elevation of practical training/pastoral theology nor to integration of it with the main disciplines. Knowledge of the heritage – theology and history of the church as well as scripture – would fulfil this description, together with an ability to relate such knowledge to the contemporary situation. This is more a call for the four main disciplines to be taught well than support for a Chair in pastoral theology, or support for an integrated, interdisciplinary approach to ministry formation.

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80 Ibid. This theological competency still does not extend, obviously, to pastoral theological competency.

81 Ibid.

82 TEC asked Assembly to form a sub-committee of TEC to give the matter more thought. This was investigated and costed and deemed to be too expensive and difficult to arrange. It also interfered with a parish’s autonomy in a way which was not a difficulty for the same kind of curacy programme in the Anglican denomination.

83 Addendum to the TEC Report, 1966, 461a.

84 Ibid. Trying to have religion make sense in the secular world was an aim of Geering.
The 1961 SCTE had cautioned against isolation leading to greater academic emphasis. "A Theological curriculum withdrawn from the burning problems of men in the world does not do justice to the real character of Theology itself. The danger is that Theology is approached almost exclusively from the academic side."\(^{86}\) (italics added) The 1966 TEC subsequently argued that communicating the Gospel to the contemporary world required:

... a critical but appreciative understanding of that world and the human beings that have to live in it... broadened by wide reading and by lively interest in human affairs and current expressions of contemporary thought and life in philosophy, political and economic life, the arts, etc.\(^{87}\)

While such attempts to communicate with the world would involve risk, avoiding risk would "...only result in the betrayal of the Church's responsibility under Christ and her freedom in the Spirit."\(^{88}\)

This advocacy of communication with the world is fighting talk read in the context of church debates which would lead to Geering facing charges of heresy in 1967. James Veitch would later comment on the Geering trial: "The controversy was a symptom of the social upheavals of the 1960's. ... A major shift in the Western world view became apparent and this shift left out religion. ...[M]any churchmen came to regard a Christian critique of the secular world as urgent."\(^{89}\) Veitch is critical of the church closing down controversy and preventing a rethinking of Christianity, suggesting that the real 'heresy' of which Geering stood accused was "...the attempt to rethink and re-express the Christian faith, as honestly as possible, in the thought-forms and language of the secular world-view of the mid-twentieth century Western world."\(^{90}\) It was also a symptom of the fragmentation of theologia so that theology (scientia) did not make sense to ordinary Presbyterians trained only in theology (habitus).

Responding to the Geering controversy, the TEC sub-committee argued in 1968 that rapid change in society meant "many of the time-honoured traditional patterns of ministry are

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\(^{85}\) Ibid., 459a. This definition shows concern for formation, knowledge of church tradition, as well as the contemporary society.


\(^{87}\) TEC Addendum, 1966, 461a-462a. This sounds like this training is deemed to have been gained in the arts degree preceding the theological work.

\(^{88}\) Ibid., 462a.

\(^{89}\) Veitch, "A Church in a Mid-Life Crisis," 16.

\(^{90}\) Ibid. Underlining from the original text.
proving inadequate and changes ... are being demanded. Although new forms of ministry could not be foretold, the sub-committee thought, however, parish ministry would still be the "basic pattern." It was; but it was also moving away, as the denomination continued to decline in numbers from a peak in 1960, from absolute dependence on a parish-based model. This indicated that both Hall and Church needed to have followed their own advice more closely and scrutinised the church's position more critically.

Practical Training has now come to be viewed as the subject most likely to integrate theology and ministry practice, the bridging position which Farley deplored. Midway through the 1960s, the new Practical Training Committee of Senatus was thought to be "... a valuable means of integrating the reports of the student exercises ... It often enables particular weaknesses to be brought to light before it is too late..." In 1965, curriculum rearrangements had concentrated Practical Training in the first year, delaying BD systematic theology a year to ease older students settling into a study routine but also with the intention of "...making clearer the practical implications of the academic work done in the second and third years, and enabling BD students to sit their main examinations at the time they have reached greater maturity, and without the interruption of too many practical exercises." (italics added)

This aimed to benefit BD students, but while showing concern for integration and for 'theoretical' subjects to be studied in a practical context, in this schema BD students study theology without contemporaneous practical work on which to reflect and integrate with their theological studies. The description of practical work as an "interruption" indicates a different valuing of academic and practical work in ministry training, exacerbated by the absence of pastoral theology from the BD curriculum, which automatically gave pastoral theology a lower (non-university) status compared with the other disciplines.

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91 Special Sub-committee on Theological Education Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 97a.
92 Ibid.
94 Ibid., 137a.
The chaplaincy course continued in 1966,\(^{95}\) Knox students mixing with priests-in-training\(^{96}\) at the Hospital Orientation course. "Apart from its inherent value it forms an interesting meeting place with the students of Holy Cross College..."\(^{97}\) This association would result in a more ecumenical Faculty from the 1970s. Final-year students had one week devoted to Practical Training: "...a Radio and T.V. school, and a panel of external lecturers who will deal with moral, social and judicial problems in the community."\(^{98}\) Farley would wince to hear TEC describe Practical Training as a "...bridge-discipline which assists the student to share in the church’s attempt to bring the Christian heritage to bear on the common life of men and women through the Church’s ministry in worship, communication and pastoral concern."\(^{99}\)

Even without a designated professor, the alienation of pastoral theology from the other disciplines is in place and, while teachers in the main disciplines might well draw links between their subject with preaching, the conduct of worship and pastoral care, pastoral theology is left with all the work of integration in the eyes of the committee with governance responsibility for the Hall. Practical Training is described as deepening academic work as it “seeks to shape the Church’s ministering activity so that the whole people of God may bring the Gospel to their fellow-men...”\(^{100}\) TEC writes about “insights, arts, skills and techniques” needing attention to promote “effective contact” with those ministered to.\(^{101}\) In the following list of required skills, clearly it is ministry students\(^{102}\) whom the writers have in mind.

- Effective speech, telling style, clarity of sermon construction; principles and practice of Christian education; pastoral care of parishioners and counselling in special cases; modes of evangelism consonant with the Gospel and effective under modern conditions; the liturgical, pastoral, ecclesiastical and social responsibilities of the parish minister — concern for all these

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\(^{95}\) Funded by TEC and PSSA (Proc. GAPCNZ, 1966, 27). TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1966, 225a. Rev. Ian Wilson, who had been a key person in this development, took leave of absence to study the theology of pastoral care at St Andrew’s University in Scotland.

\(^{96}\) From Holy Cross Seminary, Mosgiel.

\(^{97}\) TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1966, 227a. This would prove to have historical importance as greater cooperation between Presbyterians and Catholics was significant in the latter days of the Faculty of Theology.

\(^{98}\) Ibid.

\(^{99}\) TEC Addendum, 1966, 462a. Note the use of the term ‘bridge discipline,’ an attitude toward pastoral theology critiqued by Farley.

\(^{100}\) Ibid.

\(^{101}\) Ibid.

\(^{102}\) Perhaps also student deaconesses.
and more call for a knowledge of psychology and sociology, the art of communication through public speaking and through dialogue in small groups, and of many other things besides.\textsuperscript{103}

A significant inclusion in this comment is the call for knowledge of psychology and sociology, indicating the influence of satellite disciplines on pastoral aspects of ministry formation is making itself felt.

In the years after the Geering trial, when suspicion between liberals and conservatives had deepened, it was recognised that the process of living and working in community with others of divergent views could be "trying," but a clear view is expressed in the process of the purpose of ministry formation at maturation of the ordinand.

The pastoral care exercised by the staff will take account of this, indirectly through class, tutorials and the marking of assignments, and directly through personal dealings ... The aim of the staff is not only to teach, conduct research and direct the energies of students into fruitful work, but to foster the development of mature, responsible men and women able to provide leadership and exercise pastoral care in the Church ...\textsuperscript{104} (italics added)

TEC emphasised that this process was not to produce carbon copies of the staff themselves, perhaps aiming to allay fears that students would espouse Geering's views, but instead aimed towards ordinands who had faced all the issues and "come to their own mature judgment."\textsuperscript{105} In this way the committee believed God's purpose in gifting the Church with a "ministry rich and varied in its diversity" would be realised.\textsuperscript{106} The TEC's Addendum received a positive, though mixed reaction. Criticisms reflected current perceptions\textsuperscript{107} that the Hall was too academic, suiting the clever student. Criticism was still made that "personal devotion, spiritual discipline, and the inward preparation of students for their ministry - as well as certain aspects of practical training"\textsuperscript{108} - did not receive sufficient attention.

\textsuperscript{103} TEC Addendum, 1966, 462a.

\textsuperscript{104} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{107} TEC felt "...its intention in presenting the statement [addendum] has been well served by the very full discussion the remit has received in Presbyteries and Sessions." Only one presbytery disapproved of the 1966 addendum on theological education, four expressed no opinion, but made comments and the rest approved "some enthusiastically, some generally and some with qualifications." Amongst Sessions, "24 disapproved, 32 gave no opinion, and the remainder - almost 80 percent - approved, some with qualifications and suggestions for improvements." TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1967, 278a.

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid., 280a.
Presbytery formational responsibilities were given direction in 1968 when Assembly agreed “[t]hat Presbytery Student committees be encouraged to enlist the help of ministers in whose Churches students at University and Theological Hall worship, in the pastoral oversight of students and request of them periodic reports...”\textsuperscript{109} These were to be annual, including information on students’ “participation in congregational life, their relationships with others, and their financial and domestic situation.”\textsuperscript{110} Generally, it seems, there is concern that the formation of students be followed closely, though there is a difference of opinion between some in the church and those teaching and governing in the Hall on how this should happen and what would be the outcome.

**Pastoral Theology Becomes a Separate Discipline**

The Chair of Pastoral Theology and Communication of the Gospel was finally to be filled at the 1969 Assembly.\textsuperscript{111} The TEC conceded in its report that despite “effective” work by the Practical Training committee, Practical Training procedures suffered a “... certain lack of direction and co-ordination,”\textsuperscript{112} and that a fully qualified person heading a Department of Practical Training would give “unity and cohesion,” to the relief of other staff members.\textsuperscript{113} This Professor was to be responsible for “direction and provision of all practical training,”\textsuperscript{114} and should be a good organiser, have good relationships with others, perhaps counselling training, “[a]n up-to-date understanding of the modern role of the minister, considerable pastoral experience in New Zealand and a good academic record.”\textsuperscript{115} Some of these requirements were mutually exclusive as a good academic record was not always compatible

\textsuperscript{109} Proc. GAPCNZ, 1968, 15.

\textsuperscript{110} TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1968, 99a-100a. Student committees were to pass such information to TEC.

\textsuperscript{111} Proc. GAPCNZ, 1968, 14. Assemblies came at the end of the year, so this appointment would begin in 1970.

\textsuperscript{112} TEC Report, 1968, 98(a).

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{114} That is, oversight and training in Pastoralia, Homiletics, Public Worship, Parish Duties and Administration, Christian Education, Clinical Pastoral Training, Special Means of Communication (radio and TV, etc.). He would also supervise some vacation parish work or parish-based activities, relate students’ work to the community in which they will minister, and seek to develop the students’ whole life for ministry through the devotional and Worship life of the Hall. Ibid.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. Dixon held a School of Prayer early in 1969. TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1969, 104. At its close he was appointed as the Professor of Pastoral Theology and Communication of the Gospel. Proc. GAPCNZ, 1969, 119. Graham Robinson was also nominated for the position.
with counselling training or "considerable pastoral experience," since academic study took time away from pastoral work.

In the history of pastoral theology to this date, criteria which signify the fragmentation of *theologia* have been appearing. Pastoral Theology has both been named a bridge discipline and planned as a separate Chair. Now, a third criterion appears in 1968 when the TEC's subcommittee\(^{116}\) took a professional view of theological education\(^{117}\) (in the process demonstrating up-to-date knowledge of developments in North American theological education where the professional model had pedigree).

...[T]heological education is to equip committed men and women to function effectively in certain areas of leadership among the people of God, as together all seek to be obedient to their common task of Worship, Witness and Service. With this vocational goal in mind, theological education is of the nature of professional schooling. This means that the educational procedure must be conducted with a careful balance so that academic proficiency is accompanied by the acquisition of elementary skills and the development of personal bearing, values, faith and commitment which should mark off the Minister or deaconess. Charles R. Fielding in his "Education for Ministry"\(^ {118}\) declares the goal of theological education to be "an inter-relation of four objectives" — the acquisition of knowledge, the development of professional skill, human growth and deepening Christian commitment.\(^ {119}\) (italics added)

This statement includes references which suggest four types of formation: academic, professional, personal and spiritual; but also characterises the complete theological schooling as professional training, a view widespread in North America since Rainy Harper's work at the turn of the century. The report, however, does argue that parish ministry training is not less specialist than other 'specialist' ministries. "The complexity of life in our modern society in which our parishes are set, demands a very well-equipped ministry..."\(^ {120}\) Also, integration is called for, "...so that he [the student] will ... not be a practitioner in a variety of separate tasks."\(^ {121}\)

\(^{116}\) This sub-committee had been requested of the Assembly to study papers to do with theological education. TEC Report, 1967, 270a-277a. These included a "Memorandum on Bible Knowledge," by the Senatus; "Pastoral Training," by E. M. Sherrard; "The Deaconess within the Presbyterian Church," by a sub-committee of TEC; "Assistantship Year before Ordination," by a sub-committee of the Home Ministry Committee; "Sociological Change and Theological Education," by I. McLean; "The Place of University Education," by Dr G. R. Fergusson; and "The Devotional Life of Students," by Rev. Ian Dixon.

\(^{117}\) The first major report commissioned by the Association of Theological Schools in America, this was only published in 1966, so it has come quickly to the attention of theological educators in New Zealand, possibly through Robinson's recent time in America.

\(^{119}\) TEC Report, 1968, 57(a).

\(^{120}\) Ibid.

\(^{121}\) Ibid., 98(a).
Coming fresh from America and his doctoral studies in education to take up the lecturership in Religious Education, it is not surprising, given a climate in theological education conducive to the rhetoric of professionalism, that Graham Robinson’s 1968 inaugural lecture was entitled “A Professional School for Christian Ministry.”\textsuperscript{122} In it he trenchantly criticised heavy academic weighting to training, echoing Osborn’s caution about specialising academically during ministry formation. “Perhaps our aim is to train persons to be scholars, to do in their own small way what the professor does as his vocation – to be ‘amateur theologians.’ If the students get this idea they are in for a rude shock once they arrive in the parish…”\textsuperscript{123} Robinson describes Practical Training as fitting “…very awkwardly into the curriculum and is for many an interruption, a nuisance.”\textsuperscript{124} He uses a sustained and ironic metaphor, suggesting that if potential cyclists were trained as ministers were, they would attend lectures on the history of transportation in Western civilization and its spread to Afro-Asian countries, especially in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, and make a “comparative study of the tri-cycle theory and the bi-cycle theory of locomotion…”\textsuperscript{125} Fun is poked at biblical studies’ interest in the Dead Sea Scrolls: “…note will have to be taken of the recent discoveries of manuscripts in Palestinian caves which suggests that in fact a quadrapedal theory predates both tri- and bi-cycle theories.”\textsuperscript{126}

Robinson continued by arguing that an understanding of gravity and acceleration would be vital for this kind of instruction on how to ride a bicycle. Riding of the bicycle could be demonstrated (thanks to an anonymous donation of a bicycle) and students shown relevant manuals and visual aids, while Practical Training departments would advise how to teach others to ride bicycles.\textsuperscript{127} In summary, Robinson adds:

\begin{quote}
I am advocating an experience-centred education … its foundation in experiences of ministry now; which is oriented to the world we live in now, and as we can expect it to become in the next decade or so; which has respect for and learns from the past but gives at least equal time to the world now.\textsuperscript{128}
\end{quote}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{122} Ibid., 93a. The same year he had also gained his doctorate in Education at Columbia University, New York.
  \item \textsuperscript{124} Ibid., 2.
  \item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid., 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{127} Ibid.
  \item \textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\end{itemize}
In company with Freeman, Grubbs and Smith, Robinson argues that "[i]t is irresponsible to leave such integration to the spare time of the student or to trial and error in his first parish," and that 'practical work' should not be "... practicing techniques (though this would be involved) but the observation of and experience in the ministries of the Church and the life-situation of men and women in our present world." Robinson had already been reined in when he suggested changes in Religious Education before he arrived back in New Zealand to take up his lectureship, and he was not appointed Professor of Pastoral Theology the following year. The Church chose parish experience over an American doctorate in education for its Pastoral Professor.

The 1960s therefore end with the church having spent time and effort defining its theology of church and ministry. The Hall’s (albeit shaky) survival of its Principal’s heresy trial has lead to thought being applied to what ministry formation should achieve. The language of both formation and professionalism are being employed and its Professor of Pastoral theology is about to arrive.

At the same time, others in the Church seemed to expect that students were being trained as 'doctrinal instructors'. In 1970, the Doctrine Committee's expectations of ministers as educators in doctrine, in the wake of the debate on resurrection, were made obvious: "The real leader for the doctrinal instruction of our members is the Parish minister, and whatever may be the difficulties, more constructive and systematic doctrinal preaching may be what is called for." While university based theological education would give a minister an academically critical review of doctrinal positions, the increasing separation of theology (scientia) from theology (habitus) separates doctrinal argument (scientia) from inculcation of faith or Christian practice (habitus).

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129 Ibid., 6.

130 Ibid., 7.

131 "...that Mr Robinson be informed that it is normally considered a wise policy in one’s first year to follow the procedure of one’s predecessor, and to consider possible changes in one’s second year.” Senatus Minutes, 7/7/64, Senatus Minute Book 1953-1974, 99. Presbyterian Archives, 96/34/4.

As Schüssler Fiorenza\textsuperscript{133} and Osborn\textsuperscript{134} both argue, the difference between doctrinal discussion within the university and within the church makes it difficult for students to convey to parishioners the content of academic discussion, especially since the university papers are not primarily concerned with education of the faithful but with the pursuit of critical thought and education towards postgraduate study. The separation of \textit{scientia} and \textit{habitus} also exacerbates this difficulty in another way, as the language used in each arena becomes increasingly distinct from that used in the other location. This had already been evident in the Geering episode, where technical use of the word ‘myth’ was unintelligible to many church-goers who translated it ‘fairy tale.’

Some staff, however, saw the relationship to the task of ministry as part of the ethos under which they prepared their lectures. For Maurice Andrew, who arrived at the Hall in 1972, while the first facet of his lectures was subject-oriented, the second was “…applying academic teaching to the ministry, to particular pastoral and preaching matters.”\textsuperscript{135} His third was promotion of the Old Testament as “a resource for New Zealand theology” – this stemming from his view that the Bible was addressed to “places and people at different times.”\textsuperscript{136}

Ian Dixon, a parish minister with army chaplain experience from World War II and exchange experience in an American parish, took up the professorship in 1970, in a Theological Hall and Church still reeling from the aftermath of the Geering controversy. Pastoral Theology was not as greatly under suspicion as Systematic Theology and Biblical Studies, where academic progress in critical research had widened the gap between Hall and Church, but it was still a difficult time to introduce a new department and Chair. For the first two years of his tenure, Dixon taught pastoral theology only as ‘Hall courses’\textsuperscript{137} in the Theological Hall.


\textsuperscript{134} Osborn, \textit{The Education of Ministers for the Coming Age}.

\textsuperscript{135} Andrew, \textit{Set in a Long Place}, 300.

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{137} These are courses taken only for credit towards the Hall diploma, not for university credit. Frequently students did exactly the same course as the university-enrolled students, but with some lesser requirements in essays.
It has been seen that Pastoral Theology was not a part of the Otago BD curriculum, which followed the Scottish pattern of a three-year post-graduate degree in Systematic theology, Church History Old Testament and New Testament, following a three- or four-year degree in the arts. The development of a primary Bachelor of Theology (BTheol) degree was begun that year, however, and this was to include pastoral theology. This would then introduce three tiers at the Hall: some students still studying for the BD, some for the BTheol, and some only for the Hall diploma, creating an academic hierarchy where BD students looked down on BTheol students while they looked down on Diploma students.

With the advent of university pastoral theology, the fragmentation of theologia in this respect is complete. Even the habitus effect of teaching within a Presbyterian church theological school was waning. Part of the reason why a BTheol was now possible was inclusion in the Faculty of Theology of teachers from Holy Cross. Thus pastoral theology papers could be taken by Presbyterian and/or Catholic ordinands. Further, the rationale for a primary degree included the possibility of attracting other students who might want to add a theology paper to their undergraduate degree from another department. With non-Presbyterian and non-ordinands present, continual application to specifically Presbyterian formation was becoming less possible.

Pastoral papers initially proposed for the B. Theol included two related to religious education at Stage One. The Faculty’s proposal for Stage Two papers included Psychology and Sociology of Religion, Pastoral Care and Schools of Psychotherapy, Group Dynamics and Personal Development, Contemporary Ethical and Social Problems, Communication with Contemporary Man, Churches and Education in History, and Moral Education. Two of the Stage Three suggestions for papers included in its list of nine were papers which could be taken within other faculties such as Commerce (Human Relations), Anthropology and Education (The New Zealand Education System or Psychology of Adolescence). The other Stage Three options were Theology and Philosophy of Education, Contemporary Religion and

138 “Faculty of Theology: Proposals for a Degree entitled Bachelor of theology (BTheol),” Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1951-1976, 96, Hocken Library Archives and manuscripts, AG 180 13/01.

139 Personal conversation with Ian Dixon, 20 February 2006.

140 “Faculty of Theology: Proposals for a Degree,” 96.

141 Religious education had been the focus of the religious education lecturer position.

142 A paper developed by Dixon.

143 This included Homiletics.
Educational Problems, Principles of Teaching Religion, Clinical Pastoral Counselling and Community Social Work, Health and Salvation, and Theology of Pastoral Care. All papers are listed as including practical work.\textsuperscript{144}

Dixon describes some of the practical work he organised as students spending a Saturday night in police cars, making a report to the local Superintendent of Police, who then reported to the professor. After initial resistance, police willingly cooperated with this system, as did the Professor of Surgery, who allowed students to watch operations so they could experience the full movement from pre-op through surgery to post-op and convalescence. The professor’s goal was to have students become familiar with both what happened to others in the world outside the church and for them to observe how other professionals coped with people in crisis.

The ambitious first offering of papers in pastoral theology was revised down for the final proposal to two Stage One papers\textsuperscript{145}, six Stage Two papers\textsuperscript{146} and four Stage Three papers.\textsuperscript{147} All papers to have been taken in other faculties were deleted in this revision. The proposal for the degree mentioned that not only would those studying for the ministry for different churches be prospective students, but also “those interested in the Christian heritage, the role of churches in modern society and the relationship between Christianity and other religious or philosophical movements.”\textsuperscript{148}

This would later cause a problem. Students were sometimes found to be unsuitable for doing the practical work component of pastoral theology papers and admittance to those papers had to be made subject to special approval by Senate, since some students were “radically unsuitable for this practical work.”\textsuperscript{149} Professor C. I. L. Dixon was listed as a potential additional teacher within the degree. That he was listed along with teachers from Holy Cross

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[144] “Faculty of Theology Proposals for a Degree,” 95.
\item[145] Introduction to Pastoral Theology and Religion and Education. Ibid., 99.
\item[146] Psychology and Sociology of Religion, Pastoral Care and Schools of Psychotherapy, Group Dynamics and Personal Development, Communication with Contemporary Man, The Church and Education in History, and Principles of Teaching Religion. Ibid.
\item[147] Theology and the Philosophy of Education, Contemporary Religious and Educational issues, Clinical Pastoral Counselling and Community Social Work, and Pastoral Theology.
\item[148] “Faculty of Theology Proposals for a Degree,” 96.
\item[149] “Amendments to Course Regulations for the Degree of Bachelor of Theology: Reason for Proposal.” Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1977-1988, 126, Hocken Library Archives and manuscripts, 13/02.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
Seminary was a new development. These teachers were not yet part of the Faculty, but their potential availability had made the offering of a BTheol more possible. That this made the degree visibly ecumenical would also have been helpful to its acceptance by the University.

Dixon himself was not convinced that a university connection was entirely desirable:

> While thinking that scholarly capability was one of the marks of good ministry, lan thought that the influence of academic degrees inhibited the task of pastoral formation. He thought that all the staff should share in this, and wanted an ongoing debate about the proportions of academic and pastoral work.

Andrew further comments that the inclusion of pastoral theology in the BTheol and also the BD probably did not meet Dixon's objections.

Acceptance of the BTheol by the university was also not a foregone conclusion. Revised course regulations were offered after comments from especially the Faculty of Science. As a result of these comments, it was now made mandatory that students majored in either Biblical Studies or Christian Thought and History, which are described as "the core theological disciplines," thus making it impossible to major in pastoral theology and so placing pastoral theology, again, though with degree status, as an adjunct to the 'core' disciplines. It is significant that a large paragraph of this report was devoted to the role of pastoral theology. This further comment on Pastoral Studies, in particular, suggests questions had been asked by other departments about whether the degree was only for church ordinands and how independent students would fare. The writers of this report obviously felt that pastoral theology, as the new discipline, needed its international university pedigree clarified.

Pastoral Studies is a more recent academic theological discipline which is proving its value in Scottish Divinity degrees, as well as in the Faculties of American universities like Harvard, Yale and Chicago. It has important links with traditional theological subjects, as well as with the social sciences. We have included it in the proposed degree structure because of overseas experience and because we hope that it would make possible some interdisciplinary contact between divinity students and those preparing for teaching, medicine and counselling, etc. The Theological Hall at Knox College has only just created a Chair in this discipline and Holy Cross College is about to do so. It should be emphasised that the proposed courses do not by any means cover all the skills required by the participating churches for ordination. There are additional areas of pastoral preparation which are only appropriate for a theological college. We have included only those courses which have a strong academic content suitable for a university degree, for the degree is not primarily intended to be vocational. To meet the case of any students who do not require the degree as part of their professional training, we have added a regulation permitting such students to offer up to two additional Arts or Science units in place of Pastoral Studies 1 and 2.

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150 Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1951-76, 98.

151 Andrew, *Set in a Long Place*, 338.

152 Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1951-76, 103.
The reference here to including only papers with “a strong academic content suitable for a university degree” shows pastoral theology which, up until this point could integrate *scientia* and *habitus*, is being fitted here into the academic model which only allows or values theology *scientia*. The degree is not to be vocational, yet is referred to as part of professional training, along with other church requirements in pastoral theology which are “only appropriate for a theological college,” that is, theology *habitus*. If pastoral theology had been left in the theological college, as it had been while the BD was the only university degree, then the pervasive alignment with psychology, education and history evident in the proposal would not have been so necessary. The papers with “strong academic content” are strong on theology *scientia* which, in the arena of pastoral theology, often means education (*scientia*), psychology (*scientia*) and sociology (*scientia*). It is very clear from this statement that even in pastoral theology, theology *scientia* is for the university, and ‘vocational’ aspects of ministry formation (theology *habitus*) are fragmented off into the theological college.

Until now, both Holy Cross and the Presbyterian Theological Hall had known that the students in front of them were ordinands, usually from their own denomination. Now, part of the appeal of the BTheol as advocated to the university was not only to provide an easier academic route for ordinands but the degree was explicitly positioned to welcome students with a general interest in Christianity, or those wanting to take a theological studies paper within their undergraduate degree from another major. Although the papers were still at this stage offered only at the Theological Hall or at Holy Cross, they were open to other university students. Knox College lies a kilometre from the University. Holy Cross seminary lay twenty kilometres south of Dunedin city. It was initially difficult for other students to get to either place and also to lectures on either side of that time slot, so for about ten years, BTheol classes remained mostly homogeneous, though some exchange of students between Holy Cross and the Theological Hall at Knox College did occur. As will be seen in Chapter Seven, it was not until 1982, that Faculty of Theology lectures being held on campus would be discussed.\(^{153}\)

\(^{153}\) In 1983, Holy Cross and the Theological Hall held combined classes and then, in 1984, a three year trial of lectures on campus with Holy Cross students and teachers was instigated which resulted in theology lectures on campus being adopted. CEM Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1982, 46. In Presbyterian circles, this was only a majority decision. Ibid., 52. In 1982, sharing campus lectures with Holy Cross was discussed at the Hall. Ibid., 54. In 1983 this concept was dropped in favour of combined classes at Knox and Holy Cross. EMC Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1983, 58. The following year the Hall community is described as including increasing numbers of non-ordinand University students. EMC Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1984, 46. (Between 1982 and 1983 reports, the initials used for the Education for Ministry Committee changed from CEM to EMC. There was no change of personnel or function at the time.)
Examiners for 1972 are not recorded in the Faculty minutes, but in 1973, Pastoral Studies papers were taught by a variety of people: Three of the teachers were from Holy Cross: Mr S. Sellar and Rev. J. Wilkinson taught Introduction to Pastoral Theology and Religion and Education in Stage One. In Stage Two, Wilkinson also taught Group Dynamics and Personal Development and Fr B. Courtenay taught Communication with Contemporary Man. Dixon taught only two Stage two papers: Psychology and Sociology of Religion and Pastoral Care and Schools of Psychotherapy.\footnote{Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1951-1976, 127.}

Some of the staff did not find this increased alignment with the University to be an issue, as Andrew comments: “A relationship with the university was something I was completely accustomed to. I did not begrudge the work I did for it, nor see it as much different from what I would have done for the Theological Hall anyway.”\footnote{Andrew, \textit{Set in a Long Place}, 338.} The increased connection of the Hall with the university through the introduction of a primary degree in theology is reflected in refresher leave for Hall professors being aligned with those working with the University in 1973.

As these refer to the same persons, and as the University furnishes by far the greater financial help for such periods of leave, it was thought wise - since nothing vital to the work of the Hall would be jeopardised and greater advantages would accrue - to bring the Church’s regulations into line with the University’s.\footnote{TEC Report, \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1973, 29.}

The content of the 1974 TEC report suggests this had prompted questions from the Church about Hall-University relationships when it takes some space to describe the current situation.\footnote{TEC explained that Otago University supplemented study-leave allowances and provided tutorial funds, typing assistance and travel assistance for visiting scholars. The Synod of Otago and Southland funded the Burns lectures and provided other Faculty expenses. Holy Cross also contributed to the Leave Fund and had instituted a visiting lectureship similar to the Burns. \textit{TEC report, Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1974, 30-31.}

As the BTheol continued, there was further definition of the Stage Three offerings for Pastoral Studies as five papers: Pastoral Theology in Historical Perspectives, Pastoral Practice, History of Religious Education, Religions and Society in New Zealand and a special topic examined by dissertation.\footnote{Minutes for the meeting of 19\textsuperscript{th} July 1974. Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1951-1976, 140.} The Hall’s Pastoral Theology Professor, Dixon, taught two papers in 1974 and J.D. Salmond was called back to teach Stage One Religion and Education. In all, six
pastoral theology papers were offered, two Stage Two papers by Holy Cross lecturers and Group Dynamics and Personal Development by Jim Irwin, recently arrived from Trinity College to oversee Pacific Islander students. In 1975, Dixon taught five papers, three at Stage Two and two at Stage Three. His load was similarly heavy in 1976, this time with one paper at both Stage One and Two levels and three at Stage Three. Dixon urged interdisciplinary communication so that pastoral theology could build on topics being taught at the same time in theology or biblical studies. The minutes show that this was made room for, but it did not last. He also successfully protested a decision made in his absence to excuse a student from the pastoral theology content of ministry training. In 1977, when Dixon retired from his occupancy of the Chair, Senatus passed a resolution of appreciation which included a glimpse into the underlying philosophy with which Dixon taught pastoral theology, and an endorsement of the presence of pastoral theology as a separate discipline under its own professorship. While this appears to be a positive evaluation of Dixon’s work and his role in the Hall and university, it suggests also a further separation of the theological, biblical and historical studies from their raison d’être within ministry formation – their pastoral significance within the church.

...Professor Dixon consistently reminded his students of the need for a solid foundation of personal devotion and self discipline as a basis for satisfactory pastoral work and communication of the Christian faith. While ensuring that full academic emphasis was given to courses in the Theological Hall, Professor Dixon warned his colleagues that all courses, academic or otherwise, could not be divorced from the main object of the Hall’s existence, namely training for the ministry. The Theological Hall owes Professor Dixon a considerable debt because his insistence on the importance of professional training has established the work of the department on a solid foundation. Neither Senatus nor the Church would want to return to the older system.

159 Psychology and Sociology of Religion, Contemporary Religious and Educational Practice and Principles of Teaching Religion. Salmond taught Stage Two Pastoral Care and Schools of Psychotherapy; Sellar taught Introduction to Pastoral Care and Religious Education and Wilkinson taught Religion and Education.

160 Pastoral Theology in Historical Perspectives, Pastoral Practice.

161 Introduction to Pastoral Care and Religious Education.

162 Psychology and Sociology of Religion.

163 Adding Clinical Pastoral Counselling and Community Social Work to two he had taught before.


This minute reads as if it were the actual person appointed first to the Chair who had arrived at an integrated theologia for himself and had attempted to educate colleagues and students about the need for both theory and practice in ministry. It shows too that the Hall and Church were now apparently convinced that a separate pastoral theology department was both necessary and desirable. This certainly did benefit the new BTheol degree, and allowed the other teachers to devote all their time to their own specialities, but theologia, ironically the very thing Dixon appears to have staunchly advocated, was fragmented by it.

It remains to scrutinise the development of Pastoral Theology up until 1997 to see whether recovery of theologia is evident in any of the future governance decisions made by the church. So far governance decisions made by the church have had the effect of fragmenting theologia, beginning with its entering the university system on an Enlightenment basis. From the specific point of view of pastoral theology, church governance decisions have further fragmented ‘pastoral theologia’ by separating it out from the other disciplines, by consistently relegating pastoral theology to a subordinate position vis-à-vis theology, biblical studies and church history but still expecting it to act as a bridge discipline between practice and the ‘main’ or ‘core’ disciplines. Pastoral Theology itself has been further fragmented by being introduced to the university system via the BTheol, on condition that only its scientia aspects are studied within the degree and its ‘vocational’ habitus aspects left to the church colleges.

Pastoral Theology in the 1980s and 1990s

While, through application of criteria arising from Farley’s work, theologia is seen to have been fragmented, some within the church were arguing for re-integration through emphasis on spiritual formation. This synchronises with writing about the importance of spiritual formation in North America. It may also indicate greater ecumenical cooperation with Catholicism, within which spiritual formation was a familiar concept. While it was never named as a search for theologia, successive special committees which scrutinised ministry formation from the church’s point of view focused on what they saw as the ineffectiveness of the Hall’s ministry programmes in producing those able to do a holistic job of ministry. For example, ministers’ personal qualities and faith were a major concern for the 1977 Special Committee on Ministry Training (SCMT):

...an essential element in ministry is interpretation. ... Since the interpreters of God are themselves evidence for God — or against him — their own growth towards maturity, to the
measure of the fullness of Christ's maturity, is important. Training for ministry therefore is also, inescapably, training in spirituality.\textsuperscript{167} (italics added)

The overture responsible for the creation of the SCMT\textsuperscript{168} had called for a committee to make an examination of ministry tasks, consideration of “induction and training” for ministry, and “initiate discussion within the church.”\textsuperscript{169} The following year, SCMT reported ten concerns from its surveys of the church.\textsuperscript{170} This procedure of surveying input on ministry training from the church had not been used since 1874.\textsuperscript{171}

SCMT recommended a ministry-emphasising name change for the former Theological Hall Committee to ‘Committee on Education for Ministry,’ in order to denote a policy-setting, rather than caretaking role of the committee with governance oversight of the Hall.\textsuperscript{172} Practical Training increased to give a 3:2 theory to practice proportion;\textsuperscript{173} a teamwork emphasis in student training;\textsuperscript{174} consultant and administrative assistance in Pastoral Theology; scrutiny of study leave requests “so that the needs of the Theological Hall are served to best advantage;”\textsuperscript{175} better support for ministers in their first three years; careful choices of visiting lecturers to improve support of charismatic/conservative students; “supply of mediation through the Principal;” addressing of personal spirituality;\textsuperscript{176} and a Pacific Centre in


\textsuperscript{168}This had actually been the subject of an overture from North Shore Presbytery in 1975 and the idea was passed to the research sub-committee of the Ministry Committee, but delays resulted in the formation of a special committee. \textit{General Administration Report, Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1976, 50.

\textsuperscript{169}This committee was to work “in consultation with the Council of Assembly.” \textit{Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1975, 135. The motion arising from the overture was carried. The Committee first reported: “we do not understand ‘ministry’ in the narrow sense of ‘the ordained ministry.’” \textit{Special Committee on Ministry Training Report, Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1977, 69. Subsequent reports from this committee, however, soon came to focus on it alone.

\textsuperscript{170}The committee sent out a questionnaire to 90 ministers, receiving 80 replies, and replies from “40 plus sessions” … These were aimed at discovering what is expected/desired of a minister and therefore what training is appropriate.” The ten concerns distilled from these surveys were (in any order): Relationship between the Theological hall and the University, Training Polynesian ministers, The balance in training between theory and practice, The role and responsibility of the Theological Education Committee, Support and Training of Theological Hall staff, Accountability for Ministers, Continuing Education, Selection and Assessment of students for Ministry, Personal Growth of Ministers and Theological and Personal Tension in Ministerial Training. \textit{SCMT Report, Proc. GAPCNZ}, 1978, 18.

\textsuperscript{171}When presbyteries were consulted about the Theological College curriculum.

\textsuperscript{172}SCMT Report, 1978, 20.

\textsuperscript{173}Ibid., 18-19.

\textsuperscript{174}Ibid., 19.

\textsuperscript{175}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{176}Ibid., 20.
The committee also critiqued what it saw as the blandness of TEC reports during a period of controversy and change, a blandness which seemed to the committee to reduce transparency.

We have had a transplanting from Whakatane of Te Wananga-a-rangi College and a rapidly rising proportion of students from the various islands of the Pacific. We have had the addition of a new department of study under Professor Dixon and now Professor Glenny. We have had a considerable increase in the number of degree courses a student may enrol for. And all of this has happened without any real review by Assembly of implications or effects.\(^{178}\)

The SCMT report created a disturbance in the 1978 Assembly. Standing orders were suspended for most of the debate.\(^{179}\) After several amendments, the report was passed to a drafting committee,\(^{180}\) which referred the recommendations to appropriate committees.\(^{181}\) The special committee was asked to supply four members to sit with the TEC and Ministry Committee as they studied the report.\(^{182}\) This departure from normal procedure is reminiscent of the Hall’s request for a sessional committee in 1961. While the usually bland Assembly minutes suggest the report was disturbing, apparently the report was not worded as strongly as it might have been.\(^{183}\) Responding to this reaction the following year, SCMT described itself as a ‘scouting party’.

As scouts we believe we indicate a path that takes us in the direction we want to go, and that it is passable, but Assemblies will hear reports for the next several years from standing committees of attempts to solve particular construction problems and decisions on certain detours and diversions of a road which isn’t going to be a straight line from A to B.\(^{184}\)

The Committee emphasised personal formation of ordinands and urged that an integrating process be used. It believed functions of ministry were inseparable from the person of the minister. Training therefore needed to include “… a person’s progressive transformation

\(^{177}\) Ibid.

\(^{178}\) Ibid. The transplanting referred to was the transfer of Jim Irwin, who had been training Maori students at Whakatane and then Trinity College, Auckland. He was transferred south when plans for ecumenical training of Pacific island students who had transferred from the Congregational Church to the PCNZ in 1969 fell through. In a sense, the addition of a multicultural teaching added to the pastoral theology proportion within the staff, since much of Irwin’s work was focused on cultural practice, both for the Island and Maori students and the Pakeha/Palangi students.

\(^{179}\) Proc. GAPCNZ, 1978, 113. This was except for those concerning the concept of a Pacific Centre.

\(^{180}\) Ibid., 114-115. Later other recommendations were also referred to the drafting committee. Ibid., 116.

\(^{181}\) Ministry Committee, Pacific Islanders' Advisory Board, Maori Synod, General Assembly Joint Committee, Theological Education Committee and Senatus. The notices of motion which had arisen within Assembly discussion were also referred back to the special committee.

\(^{182}\) Ibid., 129.

\(^{183}\) Personal conversation with The Very Rev Peter Willsman, one of the special committee members.

\(^{184}\) Proc. GAPCNZ, 1979, 17. SCMT was explaining where the 1978 report had been misunderstood.
towards the “measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ” as well as theology. It suggested
group work as a means to this end.

This transformation, we believe, will be helped if the working unit is a group of students plus
staff rather than an individual and if the group is exposed not only to statements and
documents but also to significant experiences together... These may be experiences of pain, of
joy, of conflict or of peace, of struggle or of achievement in homes of hospitals, congregations
or factories, chapels or streets. These experiences and these documents (reflecting the
significant experiences of those who have shared, or who now share, the way with us) are the
raw material of theology and of personal growth. The group of the student’s peers and
some(one) whom the church has entrusted with the task of training for the ministry will
support and enlarge and challenge and confront the student on this very personal, very
demanding odyssey. 185

SCMT therefore argued that personal spiritual growth,186 following unique and flexible
patterns for different people, was required. “We would hope that the working groups would
develop the trust and responsibility to care for the unique individuals within them.”187 The
committee with oversight of the Hall was asked to regularly review what was happening.188
Further, it was contended that to protect ministers from over-conscientiousness or laziness,
supervision was needed during ministry training. “It should increase a student’s willingness
to be accountable for what he/she does. If the supervision is wise, we would expect the
willingness to be accountable to become a strong desire for mutual support and direction from
one’s fellow-ministers.”189

This committee’s report was one of the most thorough sets of official recommendations on
governance of formation so far in the history of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training.
Some may have felt that, with the institution of the BTheol so that more ordinands could be
university-trained in theology, and with a separate pastoral theology department, the ministry
formation programme had been brought up to date. This committee, however, was calling for
more focused attention to a student’s personal formation, which it perceived was missing
from the Hall programme.

186 Ibid., 20.
187 Ibid.
188 Ibid., 21.
189 Ibid., 25.
The SCMT defined the Hall’s prime responsibility as “…to supervise the equipping of people to minister,”190 in the process promoting a five-term year to achieve better proportions of practical work in training.

... the practice of ministry is ... the sharing and doing and being of those truths in company with other people in a continuing process of exploration and growth. Therefore, education for ministry must involve students in sharing, doing and being as well as in knowing. In fact, sharing, doing and being are important ways of coming to know. 191

The Church generally approved the idea of student group work.192 The SCMT saw this as forming familiarity with and desire for collegiality once out in parishes. The committee was concerned that ministers could not work in partnership or in teams with other ministers as “…our training is largely as individuals and we pass or fail our exams as individuals.”193

Spiritual formation is highlighted as desirable in the committee’s work. It emphasised that education for ministry must include “training and encouragement in Christian spirituality” because “…a minister is a man or woman of God.”194 The SCMT stressed that direction in spiritual formation was needed because spiritual discipline was not “an optional extra for the pious only.”195 Teachers should not “… assume that students have a sustaining spiritual life and will be able to teach others in their later ministry without themselves needing advice or help during their training. Natural competence is not assumed in the areas of biblical studies or pastoralia, nor should it be here.”196

190 SCMT, Report, 1979, 17.
191 Ibid., 19.
193 SCMT Report, 1978, 21. The report continues: “We need to learn to listen to one another, to receive help or correction from one another, to know each other’s anguish or anger or insight in order to minister. We need to know ourselves and some things we can only know in confrontation with someone else or by their appreciation or confidence in us.”
194 Ibid., 25. Note incidentally the separating of the sexes in this comment. This is a far cry from the original 1960s statement that in the Book of Order ‘he’ included women.
196 Ibid.
Difficulties involved in spiritual formation of students were noted, and the SCMT advocated “teaching the history of Christian spirituality in a required course or courses, and ... providing time for giving direction in classical and contemporary models of prayer and meditation.” Chapel, quiet days and retreats, supervision, and assessment of spiritual practice were other tools suggested. Neither a uniform practice of spirituality nor extra-spiritual formation practices were suggested, but SCMT wanted “... a review of the curriculum so that spiritual training is given its proper place alongside the biblical theological, historical and pastoral disciplines.” These recommendations are as strong as Edwards’ and Jones’ arguments about spiritual formation in *Theological Education* in the 1980s. They expected that formation of the student was something about which governance of the school should be intentional and for which it should be considered responsible.

It is an irony that professional ministry skills were another aspect tackled by SCMT. It identified the specific skills it believed were necessary in good ministry training:

... people should be trained to perform the functions expected by the parish and by their own understanding of their call to obedience in the gospel. These are the worthy conduct of public worship, including preaching; the sensitivity and skill to give pastoral care; the management skills to order their own work and to allow others to work in the proper functioning of the parish; and so on. (italics added)

The SCMT did concur that these skills could not be taught mechanically. “It depends on personal sensitivity to the situation and to God’s leading ... requests sometimes made that imply that everything can be cut and dried and learned off cannot be satisfied.” Neither should students be left to ‘discover’ ministry entirely by themselves, however. “Personal sensitivity to people and to God can be practised under supervision.” Not only is this a call for more practical work at the Hall, but also more adequate supervision for beginning ministers, and for this to become the responsibility of governance systems.

197 Firstly, pragmatism in society, pluralism in the church and scepticism in academic study all worked against spiritual practice. Secondly, fears of Catholicism mitigated against spiritual formation. Thirdly, married students with families living outside the Knox community found attendance at Chapel and retreat days difficult. Fourthly, making spiritual practice mandatory was difficult due to prevailing suspicion of authority, individualism, and the contemporary search for (non-institutional) authenticity. Fifthly, costs and vulnerability experienced in spiritual formation by both staff and students made it demanding. Lastly, it was difficult for students to combine literary-critical approaches to scripture with meditative use of it, or with worship. SCMT Report, 1978, 25-26.

198 Ibid., 26.

199 Ibid.

200 Ibid., 22.

201 Ibid.
To gain professional skills, SCMT recommended a change from academic models of training towards concurrent-clinical and concurrent-practical models.\textsuperscript{203} The committee distinguished between academic work needed to underpin required professional competencies such as preaching, and teaching in practice of professional skills. It also argued that training needed to include clinical experience – exposure to reality as well as to textbooks.\textsuperscript{204}

We do not believe that this sort of integrated 'practical' training is less demanding, less rigorous in its use of scholarly tools, less 'academic' or worthy of a university. Nor is practical/theoretical in this sense an either/or... We are wanting to move training for ministry more into a partnership between church and the Theological Hall; between where faith is lived and where it is reflected upon (if we may overstate a distinction in this way).\textsuperscript{205}

The SCMT acknowledged that organisational change was needed to implement recommendations, and also “…different teaching skills of the staff, changes in assessment procedures and changes in student expectations,”\textsuperscript{206} and thus comments: “… it seems to us that the suggestions we have made require the radical assessment of traditional courses.”\textsuperscript{207}

Farley and Osborn will agree in the 1980s and Farley will argue that such radical change is rendered almost impossible because of the influence of the scholarly guilds.\textsuperscript{208}

Most of these recommendations from the SCMT are in the area of pastoral theology. In other words, they urge the Hall towards keeping theologia intact. It has, however, been fragmented not only into academic theology, biblical and historical studies and formational activities, but pastoral theology has also been fragmented off from the other disciplines. It is significant that the church, as represented by this committee, was noticing the effects of this fragmentation. The committee is exhibiting the unease with theological education which was widespread in North America in the late 1970s and 1980s and being addressed by an emphasis on professionalism.

Perhaps because the ministry career structures within New Zealand were never as complex or as extended within each parish, this professional model never took firm hold in New Zealand. The language of theologia which Farley will use in the 1980s is not yet available for these

\textsuperscript{202} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{203} Ibid., 19. The latter including general education with professional studies including an element of practical work under supervision.

\textsuperscript{204} Ibid., 20.

\textsuperscript{205} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{206} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{208} Farley, “Why Seminaries Don’t Change.”
committees to explain their unease. Had it been available, Farley himself would acknowledge that the university structuring of the disciplines into which the Church had already entered (with appropriation of the BD and the BTheol) would have been barriers to reform. Consequently, the arguments made by the committee centre on what could be called aspects of pastoral theology. This already has a low status within theological education and is itself a victim of fragmentation. Most SCMT recommendations were referred to the newly named Committee on Education for Ministry for action and report to the next Assembly.

Naming of the BTheol pastoral studies papers shows that specialisation of practical aspects of ministry into pastoral theology drew on the clinical, scientific and professionalising approach demonstrated, for example, by Clinical Pastoral Education. While appealing to those ministers and parishioners who valued the rise of psychology and rational, scientific method in pastoral subjects, this also ran the risk of too close an alignment of pastoral theology (and thereby what should have been theology habitus) with the satellite disciplines of psychology and education, on which it increasingly drew academically for much of its method. This turned the habitus aspects of ministry formation, the aspects for which the SCMT were seeking, into scientia. Through appropriation of their academically respectable method and epistemology, these satellite disciplines thereby exerted considerable control on the direction of pastoral theology.

As a result, the ability of pastoral theology to critique the therapeutic ethos and dependence on developmental education theories in contemporary culture, for example, was compromised. In this way, Pastoral and other theological disciplines run the risk of becoming "... unwittingly an institution of culture religion or culture Christianity."209 Techniques from other fields are also increasingly picked up and used in practical theology. "What has been missing is an in-depth understanding of the theoretical and philosophical foundations of the techniques that have been adapted for use in the church."210 When theological disciplines take their cues 'unwittingly' in this fashion from the culture, models of ministry end up following prevailing social directions within society rather than a theological construct of ministry.211 When Joseph Hough and John Cobb respond to Farley they will borrow, from

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211 This is true, even if that theological construct was tempered by contextual considerations. A consciously contextual approach to theology when done carefully and with a sense of balance, will allow theology to critique culture and vice versa. The process of control of the satellite disciplines and therefore of the capture of
Alasdair McIntyre’s *After Virtue*, the concept of character ideals which arise in each age according to the aspirations of society.

It can be seen in hindsight, therefore, that specialisation of Pastoral Theology which New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training entered into in the 1960s is the beginning within New Zealand of a perhaps unconscious adoption of Niebuhr’s Pastoral Director Model. Through Pastoral Theology’s identification with psychology, in particular, as a satellite discipline at the end of the decade, it is ‘unwittingly’ positioning itself, however, to eventually collude with the dominant social characters of the Manager and the Therapist which will arise in the 1980s.

Robert Bellah will also use McIntyre’s concept of character ideals to document this shift in the ministerial character type, and relate it to the “bureaucratic individualism” rife in a society which values instrumental rationalization.212 His own research into 1980s American values found “freedom, autonomy and fulfilment of the individual” dominant themes in middle class America.213 For him, these values mean every commitment is undermined, and that there is nothing in the end worth staying around for if one’s needs are not met.214 Bellah claims that Christianity’s historic role of mitigating this individualism is threatened by the assumption of the roles of Therapist and Manager roles by ministers. He calls for theological education to accept the imperative of finding how we can “reappropriate under contemporary conditions authentic religious and ethical models of human existence, models that will provide vigorous alternatives to the domination of bureaucratic individualism.”215

This was the danger which specialisation into yet another academic discipline, albeit this time one which appears practical, brought into ministry training. Eugene Petersen’s parish experience illustrates the same point in a specifically parish setting. Appraising ministry roles from his practitioner’s perspective, Petersen identified three ‘languages’ current in the world: languages of intimacy, information and motivation.216 He describes how his own ministry theological disciplines by the culture is critiqued here because it has often happened unconsciously in the desire of theology to find its place in university departments.


213 Ibid., 17.

214 Ibid.

215 Ibid., 18.
began with an expectation that he was to teach people, a task he enjoyed, disseminating information and motivating the congregation. After some years of ministry he re-interpreted his primary ministerial task as teaching people to pray, thus dealing more with the language of intimacy. Petersen discovered he had been reflecting the culture exactly in his ministry – much information and motivation language, but little language of intimacy. He would argue that ministers need to know the culture of the times and to discern how ministers need to be different from it while working within it.

Unless theological disciplines are aware of the underlying methodological assumptions of the satellite disciplines they employ and make them explicit in their teaching, this cultural skewing will happen within them. Resisting this cultural bias is a task which is made all the harder since these satellite disciplines are already accepted and valued within academia and act as their governing paradigms, their influence bolstered by the status of the academic disciplines. It can thus be seen that the decision to move to a Department of Pastoral Theology and a Pastoral Professor is as much a two-edged sword as the separation of theologia into the other fragmented disciplines.

At the Hall, in the 1970s, the student body suddenly became very diverse, in gender, race and age.\footnote{216} Women had been admitted to the ministry in 1965. One or two upgraded their deaconess qualifications in 1966 and some women had begun studying specifically for the ministry from 1969. In 1971 there was one remaining deaconess student, indicating that there was an "... air of uncertainty which surrounds the future role of deaconesses...", and still no woman staff member,\footnote{218} but by 1971, women formed 19% of the intake of ministry students at the Hall. Later in the decade the 'older student' would also arrive when the 1977 Student Regulations allowed students over 35 with theological and other training to present for ministry formation.\footnote{219} Andrew notes that from the mid-1970s classes often included students

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{217} In 1971 this included an EACC student from India, 5 women and 3 Pacific Islanders. One Maori student started, but later left training. Though also several younger students took time out for a period of secular employment, a growing trend: "...as students coming straight from secondary school tend to feel immature and inadequate to face the near prospect of the parish ministry. This has occasionally led to their being lost to the ministry." TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1970, 25.
\item \footnote{218} Financial reasons were given, the low number of students, and “the difficulty of seeing at this stage in which aspect of training this person might serve...” TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1971, 36.
\item \footnote{219} Proc. GAPCNZ, 1977, 118.
\end{itemize}
from other denominations. The Presbyterian image of being the only church which would bother to have their ministers taught Hebrew was commonly held:

But I noticed one year in a class of about 10 that it comprised Jews, Anglicans, brethren, Catholics, Word of Life and only one Presbyterian. Some of the Roman Catholic sisters who took part in classes totally transformed some Presbyterians’ view of the Catholic church. They could no longer assume that most of their experience would be Presbyterian.

Race was another significant aspect of diversity which arrived in 1972. That year ten Pacific Islander students recently transferred to the PCNZ from the Congregational Church of New Zealand arrived at the Hall. Their presence at the Theological Hall highlights another issue which North American theological schools had also been encountering through the 1960s, that of student diversity. One of the lecturers listed among the pastoral studies examiners’ lists for the BTheol from its beginning was Jim Irwin, who had arrived from Whakatane via Trinity College with the Pacific Island students. This multicultural arrival was a pastorally significant event.

With no Maori students, “[t]he full extent of the impact of multi-racial training” was not yet upon the Hall, but the sudden influx of Pacific Island students stretched the resources of the monocultural staff in the hitherto monocultural Hall. Irwin comments: “It is inadequate to assume that a Polynesian student is a brown Pakeha and will respond to a theological education designed for Europeans from the Western tradition. Theological education is ... dealing with man at his deepest levels.” This shows an appreciation of the wide-ranging changes needed to deal with pluralism in the student body. The students had arrived at the Hall through a breakdown of proposals for multicultural training in Auckland. Methodists and Anglicans had urged training centred in Auckland, “...with a specialist in Polynesian studies on the staff of Trinity College.” Two years at Whakatane then two at Trinity were proposed, a concept with which, albeit with reservations, the Maori Synod wanted to

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220 Churches of Christ, Methodist, Baptist and charismatic churches.
221 Andrew, Set in a Long Place, 350.
223 Principal of Te Wananga a Rangi, Maori Theological College.
226 Ibid., 27. Trinity College is the Methodist training facility which shares a site with Anglican training in Auckland.
Training of Pacific Island Congregational Church ordinands continued at Trinity and then, unexpectedly, in 1971, with no students at Whakatane, Irwin was shifted to Trinity and appointed “...as an associate member of their staff with a special care for our Island students there.” This year seemed to work, but

... the demands of training our Island students were asking more of the Trinity staff than we had any right to expect, and that the best arrangement for all concerned was to transfer both Maori and Islander training to the Theological Hall in Dunedin, adding Irwin to the staff there.

The Hall reported that Irwin would now be available in Dunedin, and “...there are now sufficient communities of both Maori and Island people in Dunedin to allow them to maintain contact with their ethnic origins,” and that Irwin could “share with Pakeha students some of his insights into Maori and Island cultures.” Breward adds two other reasons for the relocation:- a significant sector of Presbyterian ministry having little contact with their future colleagues, and the difficulty of giving Palagi students multicultural experience with no Polynesian students at the Hall. According to Andrew, Irwin “found Pakeha students stranger than Maori or Pacific Islanders.” Also:

[he gave a lot of time individuals and small group tutorials and was also generous with the amount of administrative and personal time he gave to the students who were specially under this care. He was rightly regarded by both Maori and Pakeha as a mediator between the cultures.

In 1973, another Maori student came to the Hall and Re Hinota (Maori Synod) transferred the “Maihi” entrance boards from Te Wananga A Rangi, Whakatane to the Hall. The TEC reported at the time that the multi-racial mix, “... although it has in many ways increased the teaching problems, has brought a fullness and richness to life in the Hall ... which will make the training given there a much better preparation for ministers in the New Zealand of the future.”

Ramifications of this multicultural situation can be seen in the holding of a 1974

227 Ibid., 28.
228 Ibid. Cordial relations between Knox (Presbyterian), Trinity (Methodist) and St Johns (Anglican) meant students from any of the churches negotiating for Church union were taught tuition free at any of the three institutions.
230 Ibid., 36.
231 Breward, Grace and Truth, 162. Both these reasons have more to do with Palagi concerns rather than with what type of theological education would suit Pacific Islander or Maori students best.
232 Andrew, Set in a Long Place, 330.
233 See Fig 3, ix. In 2006 these boards are about to return to a revitalised Maori Training College in Whakatane.
race relations seminar, including time at Otakau marae, and a multi-lingual service and also in the development of a new lecture course, "Polynesian Languages, Customs and Cultures," which "introduced students to the Maori language, the customs and important features of the culture of the New Zealand Maori, Cook Islands and Samoan people." Students visited the Maori Synod, a Ringatu Church gathering, and spent five days on a marae.

The Hall also considered a Samoan language course as "...there are now several thousand Samoan people within the membership of our church and it is imperative that we have ministers who can build bridges of understanding between them and the European members." Audio-visual equipment for Homiletics and plans for a Samoan Language Laboratory were planned in 1974. It was acknowledged that students with English as a second language should be able to do assignments in their first language but "...the Staff's competence in Samoan and Maori is not sufficient to permit this at present."

Financial limitations were also a factor. "Programmed teaching techniques in some areas would also be of value but the Hall must accept the limitations imposed by the pressure of work already borne by the Staff and the economics of such developments with a relatively small student body." Plans were made, but somehow the actual changes did not happen. Irwin became Dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies in 1975, however, and from 1976 Student Regulations allowed students to train at other theological colleges in Papua New

234 TEC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1973, 25. That year Irwin visited several South Pacific islands, including Fiji, Cook Island, and Western Samoa, returning with "...suggestions regarding our relations with the Cook Islands Christian Church, the Pacific Theological College, the Pacific Island Church in New Zealand and the Congregational Church of Samoa, and others relating to courses offering at the Hall ..." Ibid., 26. All of these had been acted upon.

235 On the Otago Peninsula.


237 Ibid.

238 Since the joining in November 1969 with the PCNZ of several Congregational churches, the majority of them Pacific Islands Congregational churches. This was also the reason for the suddenness of the arrival of Pacific Islander students for ministry.

239 TEC Report, 1974, 29.

240 Ibid., 22.

241 Ibid.

Guinea, Singapore and Fiji. While Irwin introduced Maori studies into the curriculum and, in 1974, the first marae visit at Otakou, the very low number of Maori students attending the Hall made it seem that the Hall was always “starting again in our commitment to the Maori perspective.”

This planning and activity, and Irwin’s teaching of some Pastoral Studies papers, shows that the newly multicultural atmosphere at the Hall and the changes it caused were also a formational benefit to the Palagi students. Multicultural education was never heavily allied with the university programme. Teaching was through experiences on the marae, seminars, and living within the now multicultural Theological Hall community. A multicultural theologia might therefore have been possible. With it being a mostly non-university topic run alongside the more valued BD and BTheol programmes, however, it suffered in status by comparison. That Pacific Islands values and culture are not highly valued among Palagi/Papua can be seen in the drive through the 1990s of Pacific Islanders for their own Synod within the PCANZ structures.

Reporting as it did in 1977, when there had been time for programmes and staff to adjust to cultural change, however, the SCMT was critical of what the Hall was achieving in the area of multiculturalism, asking: “What does the Hall do to Polynesians and what do Polynesians do to the Hall?” Hall staff and Dunedin were assessed in 1978 by SCMT as unable to provide appropriate training of Polynesian students, so SCMT recommended an alternate system of ministry training in Auckland, albeit administered by one committee “...because it is important that we have one ministry, not two.” The proposed Centre would use oral and written methods in Polynesian and English languages. “It would attempt to discern God within Polynesian culture and history as well as within European culture and history. It would be communal rather than individualistic.” The Director of this ‘house’ would succeed the Dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies.

243 Proc. GAPCNZ, 1976, 94.
244 Andrew, *Set in a Long Place*, 330.
245 This Synod was established at the 2000 General Assembly.
246 Noting first that the variety of ministries within NZ society included a variety of races. SCMT Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1977, 69.
248 Ibid., 26.
SCMT's addressing of theological pluralism caused offence, however. The Committee had heard negative reports of tensions due to theological differences from both Church and Hall. Its comments reveal that theological pluralism within the church was evident in the student body and creating tensions between students and lecturers. SCMT recognised that the Hall was not “a hot-house for the protection of the delicate” and that there was a need for “healthy tensions and exposure to other opinions,” but questioned how this was best achieved. SCMT felt, for example, that publicly, balance should be seen in selection of visiting lecturers. It also recommended the Principal provide mediation where necessary – this was now Frank Nichol. The complexity of the staff-student relationship was perceived as a problem, with its pastoral and evaluative aspects.

The staff are [sic] involved with personal and spiritual growth of their students in a way that is not the case in, say, the mathematics department... At the same time theological subjects and the staff’s proper demand in them for integrity of thought provoke personal and spiritual crises in a way that few other subjects do... Education for ministry is personally involving. We do not want to absolve either students or staff from their responsibilities in making this complex relationship work and be fruitful. But there needs to be a backstop for both.

Part of the underlying reason for this difficulty was the fragmentation of theologia so that those more inclined towards an un-integrated and perhaps uncritical habitus could not understand those inclined towards theology (scientia), especially because of negative attitudes towards theology (scientia) which they had encountered in their parishes before entering the Hall.

The committee could see that as the formation process became more intentional and student-centred, a new relationship style between student and teacher was required. That this was difficult to achieve within university-structured papers led to further scrutiny by the SCMT of the Hall’s relationships with the University, the detail of which belongs both in this chapter, as it is relevant to the career of pastoral theology, and in the next, because it has to do with the relationship of the church with the university.

How far is it [the Hall] an academic institution aiming at academic excellence and how far is it a training place in Christ-like maturity? How far is it a faculty of the university and how far is it a professional training institution for the church? What therefore is the appropriate balance between intellectual and practical training? Must training for ministry be in an institution and for an institutional appointment or is there scope for some training to be given in parishes, hospitals, prisons, factories, etc?

249 Ibid., 24.

250 Ibid.

251 SCMT report, 1977, 70. “The Committee intends to test its own understanding of ministry and training for ministry with a representative cross-section of the church through personal contact with ordained ministers
It is relevant to note that Maurice Andrew later would comment on this committee:

The committee itself was divided between those who wanted to retain a core course as a basis for long term ministry, and on which people could build later, and those who wanted to revise the curriculum so that the basic course had theology and practice continually running parallel. It was the kind of argument about the relation of theology and practice to be found in the training of many different professions.\(^{252}\)

The SCMT did address University-Hall relations further, noting that the Church had traditionally valued an educated ministry and followed “a high conception of a minister’s responsibility to the congregation and to the community.”\(^{253}\) This critique is relevant here. The church-university relationship is partly the source of the unease about the Hall’s ministry formation programme expressed here by the committee. It was conceded that appointment of staff of high academic quality had benefited the church as the church had benefited from close University-Hall relations, but this raised some questions for the committee.\(^{254}\)

First addressed was the lack of fit with academically-biased training for students from the “third World” [sic] within New Zealand. If successful academically, they were effectively removed from the ‘Third World’ and rendered unable to reach others of “Third World” status. “How do we train for ministry in the ‘third world’...?,” SCMT asked.\(^{255}\) To achieve the desire for effective ministry formation expressed by Hall graduates and Sessions,\(^{256}\) the SCMT called for changed relationships between Hall and University and, casting about for a solution, returned to the professional model with which it hoped it could influence the teaching of university theology. As well, it sought to raise the importance of practical theology to the same level as the other university-examined disciplines.

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\text{... the Theological Hall has its primary responsibility the training of students for ministry. This includes, but is not the same as, giving students a theological education. Training for ministry - like training for dentistry or training for teaching - is training in the application of the best theoretical understanding we are capable of.}
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\(^{252}\) Andrew, *Set in a Long Place*, 311.

\(^{253}\) SCMT Report, 1978, 22.

\(^{254}\) Ibid.

\(^{255}\) Ibid., 22-23.

\(^{256}\) Hall graduates surveyed had expressed satisfaction with academic training, but 60% wanted greater “... competence in inter-personal relationships. They asked for training in the skills of counselling, evangelism, management, group leadership – the practical skills – and nearly 40 percent asked that the practical and academic be integrated together.” As well, Sessions wanted ministers “... to have the practical skills of preaching, teaching, leading and evangelism.” Ibid., 23.
This ‘clinical’ or ‘applied’ work is not less demanding than theoretical work. We are arguing for different not for lower standards. Nor is this inappropriate for a university-related institution. The schools of medicine, physical education, surveying, dentistry, etc, are already committed to this way.

We do not undervalue the importance of traditional scholarship. Therefore we recommend the examination of students on their practice of ministry and that, on the basis of such examination, they be passed or failed. Practical work should be a part of BTheol and BD degrees.\(^{257}\)

Practical work, of course, was already part of the BTheol. Practical Theology would not be added to the BD programme until 1984,\(^{258}\) after “persistent demand” for the subject from students, and with the “important academic justification” that

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\text{[in] theological teaching breadth of knowledge is of the utmost importance. A sound knowledge in all the theological subjects is essential to a thorough knowledge of any one subject. A ‘pyramid’ structure of a broad base culminating in intense specialisation, as in some sciences, is not appropriate.}\^{259}\]

Six years before this would happen, SCMT had emphasised in its report, as Andrew had described, the University of Otago’s already existing role in professional training for other professions such as medicine, law and dentistry, their argument thereby taking on a distinctly Schleiermacherian dimension. To achieve its aim of a similar professional education, the committee suggested changes in Hall timetables\(^{260}\) to incorporate practical work covering eleven electives: Preaching and Conduct of Worship, Evangelism, Clinical Pastoral Training, Supervised Parish Work (similar to the present summer supply), Industrial/prison chaplaincy placements, Creative arts (drama, painting, music, visual aids, etc.), Work experience in another culture, Leadership training and group dynamics, Social service experience, (e.g. hostel or home), Development of spiritual life under direction and, finally, experience of sessions, boards of managers, presbyteries, etc.\(^{261}\)

Despite the committee’s deep concern that an integrated ministry should be the result of the Hall training, its approach through the professional model and through these types of suggestions of electives, totally separated from theological, biblical and historical studies

\(^{257}\)Ibid. This group was about 30 years ahead of their time; — in 1999 a Master in Ministry was inaugurated by the University of Otago in which theological reflection on practical work forms a large emphasis.

\(^{258}\)“Review of Degrees in the Faculty of Theology,” Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1977-1988, 161. “There has been for many years a persistent demand from both internal and extramural students for the inclusion of Practical Theology in the BD.”

\(^{259}\)Ibid.

\(^{260}\)These would require negotiation with the University.

could only, if put into practice, perpetrate the very fragmentation of *theologia* which they are noticing, the effects of which they critique. At this point, the appropriate language is not available for the committee or the Hall to pinpoint what is wrong. They sense, along with theological educators internationally, the dis-ease within theological education which Farley would later diagnose, but the moves SCMT are suggesting for solving the problem can only exacerbate it. A current staff member, Andrew would write later of the confusion of that period.

No matter how often we explained that what we taught in the study courses was both worthwhile in itself and part of the creative whole of ministry, people still said everything was 'too academic'. The Presbyterian Church still has the reputation of being positive about education, but in fact it was often under threat.\(^{262}\)

The committee's lack of understanding of the effects of *theologia's* fragmentation also shows in its suggestions for teachers' study leave. It seems as though Ronald Osborn\(^ {263}\) might have been a member of the committee when it explained that it wanted to:

... have study leave considered within the total purpose of the Theological Hall... The Hall's role, from the church's point of view as distinct from the university's point of view, is to equip people for ministry. ...Study leave when it is scrutinised by the university authorities will be judged by academic criteria. ... [S]tudy leave when scrutinised by the Committee on Education for Ministry will be judged on how it will help as staff member be an educator of students for ministry. These two points of view may coincide in a particular proposal, but they do not necessarily. The needs of the Theological Hall might ... be served by a member of staff using all or part of a study leave involved in the life of a pacific church, for example... This provision ... is simply setting out what is already at least implicit, namely, that there are three interests to be safeguarded – those of the church, those of the university, and those of the individual staff member.\(^ {264}\)

Here SCMT is attempting to intervene in the scholarly guilds reward system detailed by Farley\(^ {265}\) and Osborn. Research carried out on traditional academic study leave is expected to lead to scholarly publications and thereby gain scholarly rewards such as reputation, citation by others or promotion. Preaching in a parish or engaging in study which promoted ministry training would not earn such rewards. A practical reason why this would be difficult was also that the university now funded refresher leave, a situation which had been debated earlier. Since study leave related to ministry would not normally assist a Hall Professor's academic career, it is not surprising that this idea did not happen, although some teachers had spent summers preaching in parishes, notably G. A. F. Knight and C. I. L Dixon. This critique shows, however, an understanding that academic theology alone was insufficient for effective

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\(^ {262}\) Andrew, *Set in a Long Place*, 312.

\(^ {263}\) Osborn, *The Education of Ministers for the Coming Age*.

parish ministry and a hope that the teachers at the Hall could keep in touch with the realities of a parish minister's life.

John Bluck was appointed Professor of Pastoral Theology in 1983. He is described by Andrew as embodying ecumenism with his Anglican, Methodist and World Council of Churches experience.266

The life and custom to which John Bluck introduced the students (sometimes against strong resistance) was that of their own country... His was the skill to express himself through New Zealand speech and incident in such a way that listeners were startled into reinvigorated confrontation with their own world.267

Working alongside Bluck was Nan Burgess, lecturer in Christian Education, the first long-term woman staff member. She was skilled at introducing a topic and immediately involving students; "...in discussion she was able to bring together compactly what was happening all around us. She gave guidance to students in the experience they were having."268 Andrew's assessment of Frank Nichol as Principal from 1972 to 1985 is also of a person who cared for the church.

He really did try to make the church's and his priorities the same. He was totally convinced that we were charged to do what the church expected to be done. He thought of the church as a community of servants armed with rough towels for invigoration. He wanted to train the kind of minister who would relate to the world as well as to the church.269

The church was about to tell the Hall again what it expected to be done. After the usual five-to six-year gap, another scrutiny was made of the Hall, this time in the form of the 1985 quinquennial visitation to the Hall, which effectively asked: "What Governance and Administration are needed for Good Theological Education?"270 The visitation's report touches on issues such as University-Hall relations, multiculturalism and worship, and there is even a sentence on the relationship between Church and World. But this report is more about

265 Farley, "Why Seminaries Don't Change."

266 John Bluck was an Anglican priest; "...he had been the controversial editor of the Methodist New Citizen and had just come from being director of communication for the World Council of Churches." Andrew, Set in a Long Place, 343. Bluck left from the Hall to become the Dean of Christchurch Cathedral and is now Bishop of Waipu, Hastings.

267 Ibid., 344.

268 Ibid.

269 Ibid., 346.

270 A similar concern as expressed in the North American ATS "Good Theological School" seminars in the 1990s.
how to get all these things done, how to properly administer for good theological education outcomes, how to manage theological education.

In all the special committee work of recent years, some consensus on what the major issues are has developed: that formation is important, that pluralism of different types must be handled well, and that there are issues surrounding the place and type of theology which prospective ministers need. The forming and reforming of policy groups, sub-committees and special committees, however, suggests either that no-one quite knew how to do it well, or that the differences of opinion were so wide on each issue that a complete consensus was not possible. These are governance issues and it seems those in governance are confused as to how to set the scene for effective ministry formation.

The 1985 quinquennial visitation gives a picture of how the church perceived the Hall in the 1980s. Taking a governance approach, the team culled from the Book of Order and Hall handbook statements about the role of theological education, function of individual disciplines such as Pastoral Studies, and of the EMC. Multicultural concerns were evident from the start as the team noted Maori and Polynesian Studies were not as fully described as other disciplines.

Maori and Pacific Island Studies seem to be something of a 'poor cousin' in the Hall course ... Are students encouraged to reflect seriously and theologically about our New Zealand multi-cultural society? We see this as a strategic aspect for developing attitudes for ministry in New Zealand. The Committee is mystified at the apparent lack of real Maori involvement in the Theological Hall and the Maori Synod's apparently different approach to ministry, namely through the 'Amorangi' style ... there is a Maori-shaped gap in the Theological Hall course and community.

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271 "The Visitation to the Theological Hall and Education for Ministry Committee of the PCANZ which took place on 7 and 8 August 1985," VTH, 2.

272 "The primary aim of theological education must be to enable the church and her ministry in the present to apprehend the message the Bible writers have for their readers." The Theological Hall Handbook, Section M, cited in VTH, 1985, 2.

273 "Preparation for Christian ministry is the raison d'être of this department. The courses draw on a variety of disciplines in theology and social sciences. These studies are complemented by practical training programmes in parishes and chaplaincy settings and workshops on practical skills. All the courses are taught ecumenically and are designed to serve women and men working toward ministry whether lay and ordained in whatever church." "Pastoral Studies," from current issue of The Theological Hall Handbook, cited in VTH, 1985, 3.

274 "To initiate and assist in curriculum development; ... the development and teaching load of staff; the content of various courses; the provision of continuing education for staff..." SCTM Report, 1979, 31-32.

275 The Handbook was out of date with respect to Maori and Polynesian material and the specifics of this are pointed out.

276 VTH, 1985, 13.
One of the visitation’s recommendations would call for EMC to “... establish a clear and firm link with Maori Synod with commitment to understanding the message the Church is receiving from them for ministry in Aotearoa.”277 These comments were made three years after the appointment of Ned Ripley to the multicultural position, yet Andrew felt that, during his tenure, there was a beginning of the recognition and acceptance of differences in the Hall with its Maori, Pakeha, Pacific Island and Asian students.

In this we were helped by the second dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies, Ned Ripley. ... Ned was the mildest of people, but there were occasions when staff were challenged to keep up with him; he asked us to consider whether we were not making decisions from unquestioned cultural assumptions. Someone must speak for the Pacific Islanders. In his inaugural lecture he said forthrightly that pacific Islanders would be the majority in the church by next century, and that in any case Palagi would have to learn to accept their contribution.278

Andrew found the wider church ignorant of the numbers of Pacific Islanders in the Hall and the implications this would have for the future of parish ministry.279

The visitation did record four emphases taken by the Education for Ministry Committee in the previous five years: Christian spirituality, Personal growth, Professional skills of ministry and Multi-cultural education,280 but felt EMC had difficulty discerning its particular role because several groups were involved in policy-making.281 The visitation also wanted to know how much EMC knew of “the Hall’s inner life,” and “[t]o what extent does the EMC vigorously inject in the Hall thinking and processes, the Church’s concerns?”282 These are governance issues and confusion in governance structures affects the degree to which any of the bodies concerned can govern for the recovery of theologia in ministry formation programmes.

In the visitation’s view, both integration for students and ecclesiological formation were deficient. It observed that students wanted to be offered more models of ministry than simply the parish ministry model.283 Students were reported as needing assistance in seeing the

277 Ibid., 18.
278 Andrew, Set in a Long Place, 331.
279 Ibid., 332.
280 VTH, 1985, 9.
281 The Policy Forum, SCTM and FPSC.
282 VTH, 1985, 10. Other matters such as publicity, nation-wide versus local representation, and the relationship between presbyteries and the Hall over assessment of candidates for ministry training were discussed. Ibid., 11.
283 Students and staff had been consulted. Ibid., 11.
The course was seen as an "integrated whole." The staff was seen to hold an holistic view and to understand that all disciplines contributed to ministry formation; but the visitation stated that "...the academic-against-practical view is still strongly held, at least by the students." The visitation perceived ecclesiological formation to be missing because of lack of opportunity to experience, talk about, and understand things Presbyterian and reformed though staff are committed to the reformed tradition of continual renewal and examination of the Faith, consideration of the special characteristics of the Presbyterian Church often seem neglected.

This included work on contemporary issues for NZ Presbyterianism: "...study of PCNZ positions from Assemblies, on, say, Women, The Nuclear issue, Baptism, etc." The visitation obviously believed consideration of these issues would have given a good grasp of New Zealand Presbyterian ecclesiology. The visitation also considered spiritual formation through worship to be endangered as it found chapel worship 'impoverished,' because "... [t]he Presbyterian Church’s strong tradition of worship is not being upheld." This did not mean the visitation wanted a solely traditional approach as it advocated incorporation of elements of charismatic worship.

Questions posed regarding University-Hall relationships were more administrative than conceptual or theological, although the first question had an ecclesiological basis, asking at what stage the Hall was ready because of financial difficulties to "...relinquish control of studies." The visitation was impressed with the staff’s coupling of pastoral concern for students with academic excellence as a goal, but also noted constant under-entitlement of staff due to study leave, illness and delays in appointments, and staff discomfort with reviews.

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284 Ibid., 12.
285 Ibid.
286 Ibid., 13.
287 Ibid.
288 Ibid.
289 The Church has found real benefit and meaning in worship through the best of the charismatic renewal - in increased congregational participation with informal warmth and spontaneity. The Hall is the ideal place to combine the benefits of this movement with worship with the sound traditional forms which have been part of the Presbyterian experience ... developing relevant forms in a controlled way. "Hall: Pressures and Strengths," Ibid., 19.
290 Ibid., 14
291 Ibid.
and limited tenure.\textsuperscript{292} In the end, of the visitation’s fifteen recommendations, six concerned governance issues for EMC.\textsuperscript{293} Another recommendation suggested a separate pastor to the Hall might relieve the heavy pastoral load expected of staff.\textsuperscript{294} The ideal of the Professor of Pastoral Theology being a pastor to students has failed because the professorial role is now as academic as any other professorship, as staff had earlier predicted. The professor is an university lecturer to the students, a conflict of interest with being their pastor.

An article featuring the visitation report in \textit{The Outlook}\textsuperscript{295} picked up on the overload of the curriculum. The Visitation’s comment that, while many things had been added to the curriculum, little had been reduced were noted and the report cited “Staff comment that their academic standards [were] in danger of being lowered and students say that they tend to accept a lower standard than they are capable of so they can at least complete assignments.”\textsuperscript{296} Visitation suggestions of a Dean of Studies to co-ordinate course components are reported: “we are concerned lest the load become too great and the demands so diverse that students lose their eagerness to learn and their appreciation of their opportunity.”\textsuperscript{297} It was stated earlier that this visitation team effectively asked a similar question to the ATS theological educators of the 1990s – “What administration and governance is needed for a ‘Good Theological School?’” – because it shares with them concerns over proliferation of courses and the challenge of pluralism, both issues arising in North American literature of the 1980s eighties. As theological education becomes more and more complex, flexible management styles are required to hold the complexity together and achieve all that the church requires.

The review of the Faculty of Theology’s degrees in 1984, listed the BTheol Pastoral Theology papers which were proposed. The two Stage One papers were the same, Introduction to Pastoral Theology and Religion and Education. Nine papers were proposed at Stage Two level, two of which show multicultural influences: “Ministry in a Multi-cultural Society” and

\textsuperscript{292} Ibid., 15. Staff had cited difficulty getting overseas applications for limited posts and staff leaving prematurely after applying for other positions from the time of their review in case of not being re-appointed.

\textsuperscript{293} They concerned EMC’s composition; committee members finding ways of developing more personal connections with the Hall community; clarification of roles, responsibilities and relationships with other committees; promotion of the Hall; student bursaries and the role of presbyteries in selecting students; extension of Hall courses to four years to ease work loads; staff terms of appointment and review; and a wider geographical spread of Field Education. Ibid., 18.

\textsuperscript{294} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{295} February 1986.

\textsuperscript{296} Ibid., 12.
Samoan Language and Culture.” Other stage two papers covered Pastoral Resources, Pastoral Counselling, Communication, Christian Ethics and Pastoral Practice. At Stage Three, three papers of seven were required: A Historical Treatment of Pastoral Theology, Religions and Society in New Zealand, Advanced Christian Ethics, Missiology, Contemporary Fiction as a source for pastoral ministry and special topics.

The Practical Theology included in the BD used the same papers at Stage One, and two of four papers at Stage Two; Pastoral Resources, Pastoral Practice, Introduction to Christian Ethics and a Special Topic. Stage Three required at least one paper at Stage Three from a choice of six, while the other two could be taken from the Stage Two offerings. The six Stage Three choices were a reduced list from the BTheol. Stage Three: the historical paper, missiology, contemporary fiction and advanced Christian ethics. The BTheol (Hons) papers for part three were different, including The Bible in Pastoral Theology, The Theologian as Pastor, Contemporary Pastoral Theology as well as the advanced Christian Ethics paper.

The Master of Knox College, Peter Marshall, was able to provide expertise in ethics. Other teachers were Ned Ripley, dean of Polynesian students, and Stuart Sellar and Bernadette Cheyne from Holy Cross. In 1986, Bluck suggested that offering practical theology courses extra-murally for BD candidates should no longer be made possible because the paucity of literature in the discipline caused reliance on other materials, some of it audio visual, which extra-mural students would not be able to obtain, and also because of the “increasing emphasis in the way our courses are presently planned and taught by drawing on the ministry experience of students through dialogue, case studies, workshops, visit, etc.” 298 This indicates both an advance in the integrative methods used in practical theology classes, but also a misunderstanding on the part of the architects of the BD that practical theology could be studied in exactly the same way as the other disciplines. Following Farley’s argument, the same comment should have been able to be applied to the other disciplines; had they had a more integrated character, as he advocated, all should have had practical work associated with them so that the theological, biblical and historical aspects of theology were all studied in an integrated way.

Before Bluck left the pastoral theology position in 1990, he was instrumental in the development of the community-based ministry training programme. This programme was

297 Ibid., 18.
298 Minutes of the Faculty of Theology, 1977-1988, 202.
carried out in practice first in the Community Based Ministry Training (CBMT) programme, which was a more integrated and intentionally formative programme covering four aspects: Theological Education,299 Field Work, Life in Community300 and Spiritual Formation.301 Concern for context and formation were obvious in its organisation, alongside a continuing desire for scholarly excellence, though this was still pursued separately from practical experience. This was how ministers who would help bring the church into the third millennium were being trained, but the new arrangement was to last only three years.

A snapshot of the residential programme at the end of the 1980s shows it remained in much the same format, despite a more integrated programme being planned for CBMT formation. Changes in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation were substantial up until 1997, but pastoral theology itself changed little in that time. According to the criteria drawn from Farley’s argument, therefore, the presence of a separate pastoral theology department, the use of pastoral theology as the only bridging discipline and reference to professional development of ministers as a way forward, alongside the continuing location in the university, of pastoral theology and other theological disciplines which are used for ministry formation, demonstrates continuing fragmentation of theologia.

299 This aspect included Diploma or Degree study rated at approximately 300 hours, regional school attendance, a week’s residential training annually at the Hall and exit exercises for third- and fourth-year students. Community Based Ministry Training (CBMT) Handhook, 1993, 14-15.

300 Life in Community included network gatherings associated with regional schools, a “special needs” project in Year 1 or 2 (40 hour project with a group with special needs), a “personal needs” project (40 hours of project work developing ministry in areas where the student needed to develop specific ministry skills), and “living in partnership” projects (60 hours of projects relating to culture, gender, denomination, age and able-ness). Ibid., 19.

301 Spiritual formation included personal devotional life, journal writing (using one of two methods of theological reflection, 2 hours a week), supervision, and readiness for ministry reports.
That the status of theology at the opening of the University of Berlin and the University of Otago were very different has already been established. In the former, theology was accepted as a form of professional education for the ministry. In the latter, theology was excluded from the University altogether. Subsequent to that beginning, the balance between academic theology and practical ministry training in the PCANZ has caused long-standing tensions between Hall and Church. Farley argued that \textit{theologia} became fragmented with the naming of theology as professional education for ministers and its incorporation within the modern research university. While the different beginning for theology at the opening of the University of Otago did mean that a less fragmented \textit{theologia} resulted initially, this case study shows that in time \textit{theologia} became fragmented in the same way as at Berlin, though the full effects of this fragmentation were delayed for some decades.

Since the University of Otago decision against the inclusion of theology in 1871, New Zealand theology, in contrast to that in Scotland, remained within the church college by necessity, although Greek, Hebrew and Philosophy were provided by the university and taken by ministry students as part of their arts degree. In Chapter Five the developments between 1876 and 1960 were traversed. It will be remembered that Theology was admitted to the University in 1946 when the Faculty of Theology was formed on the understanding the National Council of Churches would underwrite any financial loss. It was also understood that the teachers in the church colleges (Anglican, Church of Christ), and Presbyterian would be honorary lecturers in the University’s Faculty, which taught the Otago BD in Theology, Old and New Testament and Church History. The Dunedin lecturers forewent fees for examining to reduce the possibility of any loss and so any claim on the NCC.

According to the criteria derived from Farley’s argument, \textit{theologia} had remained intact from the opening of the University through the opening of the Presbyterian Theological College and up until 1946. While the subjects were divided into the conventional four-fold pattern, integration by person was probable as all the various branches of theology were initially
taught by a small number of teachers. The prime objective of the Theological College was the training of ministers and it is to be supposed that theological, biblical and historical studies were taught to that end, in the absence of a secular university requiring other objectives.

It has been seen that this situation changed when the University opened its Faculty of Theology. The teachers at the Theological Hall had already been teaching some students to BD standard, using the degree available extra-murally through the Melbourne College of Divinity. They eagerly took on the role of honorary lecturer at the University of Otago. Now, although they were still teaching within a church college, usually with only ordinands in their classes, some of the ordinands were candidates for the Otago BD in Systematic Theology, Church History and Old and New Testament.

According to the criteria derived from Farley’s argument, theologia was now officially fragmented: it is in a modern research university, it is seen as professional education for ministers, and it is divided up into the disciplines of the four-fold pattern. Its fragmentation may have been made even more thorough-going because pastoral theology was not included in the BD, relegating it to a non-university Hall subject which suffered in comparison to the university papers. Pastoral theology in this position was also able to be viewed as only a bridging discipline, the place where it was expected all the application of theological theory would be made. Not only is pastoral theology unfairly burdened in this arrangement, but the other disciplines are impoverished as their connection to Christian and church practice is in danger of being lost.

1960 found the Theological Hall beginning to embrace Clinical Pastoral Education, one of the signs of increasing use of the word ‘professional’ in association with ministry formation. It also had changed the exit exercises to essays, rather than actual preaching or face-to-face trials, a suggestion that the academic was taking precedence over ministry formation. Though theology was now in the university on an Enlightenment bias, the fact that it was still taught within church colleges, mainly to ordinands by church teachers suggests some application to the practical aspects of ministry might have been happening within the classes.

This assumption is supported by the resistance of Hall staff at the time to the introduction of a Pastoral Theology professor, indicating they valued their participation in pastoral studies such as Homiletics, Public Worship and Pastoral Care. Integration was possible by person if not in the actual papers. Pastoral Studies were not included in the BD, however, automatically
giving it lower status in students' and teachers' eyes. The fragmentation of theology which was only structural in 1946 had become more entrenched, with a four-fold pattern of theological studies, and talk of professional education entering the scene. As yet, however, there is no formal separate Pastoral Theology department. Integration by the person of the teacher is the last rather shaky criteria for fragmentation of theologia to be described as still incomplete.

It has already been argued that the governance decision on the part of New Zealand Presbyterians to have university theology, denied in 1871 but granted in 1946, is one which, in Farley's view leads to fragmentation of theologia, particularly when Pastoral Theology is included in that pattern of studies. This chapter traces the progress of university/church relations to note the governance decisions which have further added to the fragmentation of theologia, culminating in the University's dissolution of the Faculty of Theology with its church appointed teachers for its own University-appointed Department of Theology and Religious Studies. Only in 1997 would the church be once again able to govern theologia for itself, albeit retrospectively, and even then with continuing dependence on the tertiary education sector.

The time frame of this thesis begins with 1961. This marked the first successful suggestion that a professor of Pastoral Theology be appointed. From 1961 there can be seen the first beginnings of the breakdown of generalist teaching. Up until this point, lecturers, even if appointed in a particular discipline, such as Systematic Theology or Church History, usually also taught a ministry-related Hall course such as Preaching, Conduct of Worship or Pastoral Care. That this was something the teachers enjoyed doing and were reluctant to lose was obvious in Hall reports in the 1950s. The idea of a separate department of Pastoral Theology and then a designated Professorship was increasingly welcomed, and through the 1960s, the movement of pastoral theology within the Hall was in this direction. Not only was Pastoral Theology becoming more defined as a discipline within the Hall programme, its acquisition of its own specialist character took over the role of integration from the university disciplines.

During the 1960s, the fragmentation of theologia became evident in church debates. Farley argues that when university theology delivers only theology scientia and becomes the preserve of professional ministry education, theology habitus becomes locked into the private domain – the church. That university theology had already parted company with the theological understanding of many church-going people of faith became evident in 1966.
when, twenty years after the Otago BD had begun, the PCNZ vigorously debated an article which denied the physical resurrection of Christ’s body written by the Principal of its Theological Hall, Lloyd Geering.¹ The Church reacted strongly,² the ensuing debate involving the wider community as well. While it would be too simplistic to directly connect the advent of University theology causally with subsequent movements in theology and ministry within the PCNZ, it is nevertheless interesting to notice that Lloyd Geering had completed a Melbourne BD with honours in his early years of ministry, being influenced by the university theology well before the Otago Faculty had begun. One of the major misunderstandings between the academic view and the church was use of the word ‘myth.’ To many church-goers it meant fairy tale rather than a story of archetypal importance.

The debate was defused in 1966 with the Assembly reaffirming statements about the Bible.³ While Veitch could claim, “What he [Geering] wrote was certainly not a ‘radical departure’... overseas in the British and American church scene ... perhaps with a larger population diversity is acceptable...,”⁴ there was particular concern in this case because, as Principal, Geering was seen as

...‘quality controller’ ensuring that students graduate into the ministry ‘sound in doctrine.’

Of course, presbyteries are meant to supply this function, but seldom do people know that this is the case...”⁵ Moreover, the Principal of the Theological Hall was ... a senior and highly responsible position within the Church. What the Principal said ... was listened to with respect, for he was the church’s spokesperson.⁶

A difficulty for presbyteries in ensuring students were of sound doctrine arises when academic theology and its conventions become removed from the general lay understanding of doctrinal issues, which were more likely to spring from a devotional use of the Bible and a knowledge of church confessions. The debate seemed at the time to have been quenched, but in March 1967, Geering preached⁷ “...‘man has no immortal soul.”⁸ This caused an

¹ The Outlook (2 April 1966): 20-21.
² Quoting another’s phrase, “the bones of Jesus may lie somewhere else in Palestine,” in this article, Geering implied “…it was possible to speak about the resurrection of Jesus, its significance and important for faith and belief without accepting that the actual physical body of Jesus was involved.” Ibid.
³ These still sit in Appendix C of the PCANZ Book of Order, collected as “Statement of Fundamental Doctrines 1965-71.” The 1966 statements in this collection have to do with the Bible, God and Nature, the person of Jesus Christ and the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, though the meaning of the latter was expanded in 1970.
⁵ Note the now apparent breakdown of presbyteries’ formational – or censoring – role.
⁷ The sermon for the commencement of Victoria University’s academic year. Ibid., 11.
immediate reaction. "The media pounced... The issue of Immortality ran riot through the nation ... Calls for Professor Geering's resignation were paralleled by rumours of an imminent split in the Presbyterian Church."9 The case trying Geering for doctrinal error10 went straight to Assembly,11 where what media called a 'trial for heresy' was held.12 Assembly's13 decision was that "...no doctrinal error has been established..."14 A carefully worded Moderator's pastoral letter was issued:

... Assembly did not imply that it endorsed all that Professor Geering had written or said, or that it accepted his theological viewpoint as being the only valid one. There was, indeed, evidence of widespread disagreement ... The decision was simply a declaration that in his endeavour to restate the Christian faith in modern terms he had not stepped out of the bounds of reasonable liberty of thought or expression of doctrine.15

Pluralism of belief, it seemed, could occur even within 'the substance of the faith.' It was the fact that Geering's statements were on such a key doctrine as the resurrection which caused so much concern amongst conservatives. That the theology possibly being taught in the Hall was so far apart from that believed by so many Presbyterians indicates that theologia had been fragmented. Otherwise, on the one hand, had the church's faith as taught at the Hall not been allowed to keep up with developments in academic theology, both Church and Hall would have remained together with a traditional faith, supported by a revelation-based theology that would have rejected much of the contemporary historical critical method. On the other hand, had the church ensured that its faith did embrace and struggle with the realities of the church

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10 "Complaints of doctrinal error were eventually laid against Geering." A Layman's Association, drawn from the eldership, had been formed. Complaints were laid by an elder, Robert Wardlaw, a prominent Auckland businessman and leader of the Layman's Association, and Robert Blaikie, an Auckland parish minister and able theologian." Veitch, "1961-1990: Towards the Church for a New Era," 154.

11 "...under the nobile officium clause" from the Book of Order, as Dunedin Presbytery had declared its support for Geering. Veitch, "A Church in Mid-Life Crisis," 12.

12 In view of the following trial in 1969, it is surprising that "The Faith We Affirm Together" passed in 1968.

13 Veitch argues that once Assembly met, it was obvious to "key people" that a finding against Geering was unlikely. "The problem was therefore how to reach a conclusion, and to word a resolution carefully enough... The aim, therefore, was to accommodate the protest as well as Lloyd Geering's position without giving further grounds for offence." Veitch, "A Church in Mid-Life Crisis," 13. This movement to preserve freedom of inquiry echoes Rainy's work at the Robertson Smith trial of the previous century.

14 Proc. GAPCNZ, 1967, 58-59. This motion was carried only. Charges were dismissed and case closed.

15 Ibid., 72. The letter continued to support Geering. "The Assembly declares to the church its confidence in Professor Geering as a minister, theological teacher, and Principal of our Theological College. ... it also declares its appreciation of the faith, devotion and concern for the Gospel which led Mr. Wardlaw and Mr. Blaikie to act as they did..." Ibid.
and society of the present times, including challenges of contemporary biblical and theological scholarship, Geering’s comments would not have been so disruptive.

The debate, then, not only angered conservatives, it also angered liberals who had expected their ministers to keep them up to date with developments in theological scholarship, and now felt cheated that their questions could have been addressed earlier. This of course is also made more difficult by the splitting off of theology habitus into the church, where it parts company with theologia’s critical aspects. In this scenario, the teaching of theological scholarship would have been more easily grounded in the reality of the church and exiting ordinands would have found their theological training helping them to disseminate the implications of historical criticism to their parishioners in ways which would still have nurtured faith and commitment. In this way, a similar result to the situation of both A. B. Davidson and William Robertson Smith in the previous century would have been achieved. Parishioners may have managed to remain believing and critical.

The Geering incident made it clear that the church’s theological understanding was allowed to lag behind the Hall. The suggestion here is not that the Hall needed to remain conservatively wary of developments in scholarship, but that integration of what it meant to be church in the 1960s, given that scholarship was missing. Many people were finding the church to be outdated and unsatisfying to their increasingly intellectual questioning. James Veitch maintains that Geering was responding to this contextual need as a believing critic of the faith. Veitch is critical of the church closing down controversy and preventing a rethinking of Christianity, arguing the real ‘heresy’ of which Geering stood accused was “…the attempt to rethink and re-express the Christian faith, as honestly as possible, in the thought-forms and language of the secular world-view of the mid-twentieth century Western world.”

The gap which has developed here between academic theology and the Church is described by Farley in Theologia. Academic theology and biblical studies are following the dictates of their allied disciplines of philosophy and literary criticism rather than remaining in touch with the needs and stance of the confessional church. Had they done so, the confessional church in New Zealand may have been brought into the twentieth century more gradually, rather than with the sudden shock of Geering’s pronouncements. Echoing this need for the Church to

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16 Personal conversation with Val Heinz, Parishioner, Knox Church, Christchurch.

17 Veitch’s own underlining. The 1968 and 1969 Assemblies produced more doctrinal statements to restore the status quo. Appendix C-6, Book of Order, 1993 ed.
move with modern scholarship, when TEC described ministry training to the Church, it advocated contemporary biblical interpretation in its 1966 report. TEC did not consider

... the Church, as a reformed Church, to be finally bound by any tradition as to the nature and interpretation of the Bible, however venerable and worthy of respect that tradition may be. The primary aim of theological education must be to enable the Church and her ministry ... to apprehend the message the Biblical writers have for their readers ... it is always necessary seriously to question traditional interpretations, and perhaps to discard them, for the sake of a better understanding of the Bible itself. Such readiness to question is, in fact, a feature of the reformed tradition itself.  

Given the prevailing theology habitus in the church, this distancing of tradition and a literal reading of the Bible would have been difficult to take on board. Also, however, the report continued to argue that in Systematic Theology and Christian Ethics, students “...cannot be content to repeat or paraphrase Biblical texts, nor to reiterate the theology of a previous era, however satisfying...”  

Students’ exposure to many theologians was important, it was argued, because information about “religions as human phenomena, and about the history and nature of religions other than Christianity” would help a student see “his own religion objectively.” University-style ‘objective’ scholarship was still advocated here by TEC in the face of confessional conservatism.

All these statements, however, revolve around the academic areas of theology and ethics and do not mention at all events in the society in which ministers will work and in which the church exists. These statements also mention only theological perspectives, not faith perspectives, again a reaction against a confessional conservatism which prizes faith over understanding. There is little agreement between Church and Hall about how to ply faith and theology together. The Church itself, apart from the theological teachers in its Hall, was not keeping up with scholarship and the Hall did not seem to be able to encourage young ordinands and exiting ministers to integrate their academic learning with the faith in the pew, since it was clear many parishioners had not heard any of the results of new scholarship. Many students of the time were hearing about this scholarship from their teachers, but did not transmit it to their parishes on ordination. As Schüssler Fiorenza would later describe,  

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19 Ibid., 459a. This would not have been good news for members of the opposition to Professor Geering.  

20 Ibid., 461a.  

21 Ibid.
theology and faith were not sufficiently mediated by and integrated within the Theological Hall to be useful in preaching and parish work.

The theology/faith tension continued into the next decade, even though Geering moved elsewhere in 1971. In the previous chapter it was seen that, towards the end of the 1970s, a Special Committee on Ministry Training (SCMT) was appointed and the ten concerns the committee listed included questions about Hall-University relationships, and the theory/practice balance during training. From the point of view of *theologia*, the committee was asking the right questions but using the wrong tool – a professional view of practical training – to answer their concerns. The committee questioned the balance between goals of ‘academic excellence’ and ‘Christ-like maturity’ and also set against each other a view of the Hall as a ‘faculty of the university’ or a ‘professional training institution for the church.’

The following year, this committee noted that the Church had traditionally valued an educated ministry, following “a high conception of a minister’s responsibility to the congregation and to the community.” While this had brought a Hall staff of high academic quality and benefits to the church of close University-Hall relations, the situation still raised questions for the committee.

First addressed is the lack of fit with academically-biased training for students from the “third World” [sic] within New Zealand. If successful academically, these ordinands were effectively removed from the “third World” and rendered unable to reach others of similar status. Consequently, the SCMT asked, “How do we train for ministry in the “third world”...?” SCMT called for changed relationships between Hall and University, to meet expectations which had been expressed by Hall graduates and Sessions, arguing along very similar lines to Robinson’s 1968 inaugural lecture.

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24 SCMT Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1977, 70. “The Committee intends to test its own understanding of ministry and training for ministry with a representative cross-section of the church through personal contact with ordained ministers (including some who have resigned from the ministry) with present students for the ministry, and with Sessions and Parish Councils.”


26 Ibid.

27 Ibid., 22-23.

28 Hall graduates surveyed had expressed satisfaction with academic training, but 60% wanted greater “…competence in inter-personal relationships. They ask for training in the skills of counselling, evangelism,
... the Theological Hall has its primary responsibility the training of students for ministry. *This includes, but is not the same as, giving students a theological education.* Training for ministry – like training for dentistry or training for teaching – is training in the application of the best theoretical understanding we are capable of.

This ‘clinical’ or ‘applied’ work is not less demanding than theoretical work. We are arguing for different not for lower standards. Nor is this inappropriate for a university-related institution. The schools of medicine, physical education, surveying, dentistry, etc, are already committed to this way.

We do not undervalue the importance of traditional scholarship. Therefore we recommend the examination of students on their practice of ministry and that, on the basis of such examination, they be passed or failed. Practical work should be a part of BTHeol and BD degrees. 29

The committee pointed out that the University of Otago already had an existing role in professional training for other professions, such as medicine, law and dentistry. 30 To achieve its aim, the committee suggested the Hall negotiate a different timetable with the University which incorporated eleven electives covering practical work. 31 Again the tools for the addressing of the disease are those of professionalism in ministry, which does not reach the cause of the symptoms that are concerning the committee. It is the committee’s critique of the staff’s use of study leave, urging that it be used more for church purposes than for academic purposes, which shows their understanding of the different emphases important to the university and those important to the church.

...[S]tudy leave when it is scrutinised by the university authorities will be judged by academic criteria. ... study leave when scrutinised by the Committee on Education for Ministry will be judged on how it will help as staff member be an educator of students for ministry. These two points of view may coincide in a particular proposal, but they do not necessarily. The needs of the Theological Hall might ... be served by a member of staff using all or part of a study leave involved in the life of a pacific church, for example... 32

management, group leadership – the practical skills – and nearly 40 percent ask that the practical and academic be integrated together.” As well, Sessions wanted ministers “... to have the practical skills of preaching, teaching, leading and evangelism.” *Ibid.,* 23.

29 *Ibid.* This group was about 30 years ahead of its time – in 1999 a Master in Ministry was inaugurated by the University of Otago. In this degree theological reflection on practical work forms a large emphasis.

30 These disciplines had a Medical School, Law School and Dental School within the University.

31 SCMT Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ,* 1978, 24. The suggested eleven electives were: 1. Preaching and conduct of worship, 2. evangelism, 3. clinical pastoral training, 4. supervised parish work similar to present summer supply, 5. industrial/prison chaplaincy, 6. creative arts: drama, painting, music, visual aids, etc. 7. work experience in another culture, 8. leadership training and group dynamics, 9. social service experience, e.g. hostel or home, 10. development of spiritual life under direction, and 11. experience of sessions, boards of managers, presbyteries, etc.

The committee's ideas about study leave did not have any effect, nor was the idea of electives in university degrees incorporated.

In contrast to SCTT's request for a Professor of Pastoral Theology, the Hall's rebuttal at this point took the form of a request for a Biblical Studies lecturer, indicating that the Hall's priority was keeping pace with the university in the teaching of academic disciplines. The solution for the staff did not lie in 'new techniques' but in good interpretive work, for which research time was important. 33

... the Hall has entered into partnership with the university and is honour bound to preserve a high academic standard. On the other hand, the contemporary world has presented some very critical challenges to the Church and her Gospel. These can be met ultimately, not by devising new techniques, but only by reinterpreting the church's heritage and giving expression to it in today's terms ... Professors responsible for research in their own fields of study must be given ample time in which to develop this basic work of the Church.34 (italics added)

Church and Hall are seen here to be on different sides of a theory/practice divide, and their specific suggestions as to how best staff the Hall for the present times are quite different: on the one hand, a Pastoral Theology professor, on the other, a lecturer in Biblical Studies.35 Since the Hall Professors taught only in the four major disciplines, this 'research in their own fields of study' would only deepen their specialist expertise.36 The four-fold pattern is evident, with the place of theology definitely in the university. Though taught by church teachers now solely in the Presbyterian church college, without a separated Pastoral Studies department as yet, theology is already fragmented and, although the special committee suggestions point in a different direction, the university direction is valued by the Hall staff and its committee.

The "high academic standards" attained through the University connection were being maintained with considerable financial support from the church. From the early 1960s, Presbyterians were now the only denomination involved in theological teaching, supplying the Faculty with annual Synod grants, "...(at present, 400 pounds a year). This sum includes

33 Theological Hall Committee (THC) report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1963, 215a. Emphasis is laid on the extra load placed on staff by increased individual attention given to students, following greater accessibility of staff now installed in Knox College. Honorary Deaconess College lecturers had retired and provision was needed for cover during teachers' study leave.

34 Ibid., 214a.

35 The additional lecturer, Rev. R. M. Paterson, was appointed in 1964. Proc. GAPCNZ, 1964, 42.

36 An interesting study would be to scrutinise the research actually carried out by Hall professors to see whether their research was to do with this "basic work of the Church."
a library allocation of 50 pounds a year for the Faculty...the remainder of these grants has been mainly spent on financing refresher leave of members of the Faculty and visits of lecturers from overseas.\textsuperscript{37} The Church provided, free of charge, all teaching staff,\textsuperscript{38} Hall lecture-rooms, and the Hewitson Library "...probably the best theological library in the southern hemisphere."\textsuperscript{39} The PCNZ funded separately "...another 600 pounds to the Knox College Library for the purchase of theological books and employs a full-time librarian."\textsuperscript{40} The Presbyterian Church's contribution to University theology was therefore considerable, and had been since the inception of the Faculty in 1946, though in earlier years other denominations had helped provide lecturers.

From this context of considerable Presbyterian financial contributions to University theology by the PCNZ, in 1963 the Faculty of Theology applied to the University for a Senior University Lecturer in Phenomenology of Religion.\textsuperscript{41} Requesting Government funding, the Presbyterian Dean of the University Faculty called Phenomenology "...the most obvious choice for a lectureship to be established by the University since it treats the subject of religion as a universal human phenomenon."\textsuperscript{42} In its application, the Faculty noted government support of theology at Auckland, Christchurch and shortly, Wellington, within Arts Faculties.\textsuperscript{43} In 1965, however, the University was short of money,\textsuperscript{44} so the Hall allowed teaching of Phenomenology to lapse.\textsuperscript{45} In 1966, Synod gifted this lectureship.

\textsuperscript{37} An Application by the Faculty of Theology for Consideration of Inclusion in the Submission to the University Grants Committee for the Coming Quinquennium, 2. Papers, Faculty of Theology, University of Otago, Presbyterian Archives, 1999/154.

\textsuperscript{38} Whose salaries it paid.

\textsuperscript{39} 20 internal and 40 external students were studying with the Faculty in 1963 and all major Protestant denominations were represented. Even at Knox, Anglican, Baptist and Salvation Army students had attended BD lectures. Ibid., 2-3.

\textsuperscript{40} "At a salary of 1000/1200 pounds." Ibid., 2.

\textsuperscript{41} The Faculty of Theology had decided to apply to the University for such a position. Minutes, Faculty of Theology, University of Otago, 5 June 1963, 1999/154, Presbyterian Archives. The registrar wrote turning them down, (4 December 1964), explaining it was felt this would entail too much financial loss for the University. Registrar to Dean, 4 December 1964. Faculty of Theology Papers, 1999/154, Presbyterian Archives, Dunedin.

\textsuperscript{42} "An Application," 3.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 6.


\textsuperscript{45} Ibid. The proposed Systematic Theology lecture load presently gave the Professor too broad a teaching spread if phenomenology was also taught.
While the Church thought the cost of theology should be met by the University, the University did not, even when in the form of a Religious Studies-style paper. This also begs the question whether non-church academics felt either theology or the study of religion belonged in the University. There seemed to be no formational concerns about a lectureship in comparative religions coming under complete University control in the Arts faculty, even though Phenomenology of Religion was a subject taken by ordinands in their BD studies. This reflects Schüssler Fiorenza’s concern that ordinands received academic training without mediation over its worldview and underlying assumptions. Theology or religious studies, whether in the college or university, were treated the same way, as valuable contributions to an ordinand’s training, and it was left to ordinands to do the required integration of faith, theology and religious studies.

The Otago BD was taken by only some of the ordinands. Not all were reaching the Hall with sufficient undergraduate qualifications for the Greek and Hebrew required. In 1972, only one third of the Hall’s student body was enrolled in the BD, “for many graduates are not able to cope with both Hebrew and Greek.” It was envisaged the BD would continue for those students who could cope with languages, but the new primary degree would attract not only theological students entering the ministry but also “students from other faculties... British and Canterbury experience would suggest that a significant number are interested in cross-crediting one or two theological units towards their primary degree.” Informal discussions about this degree had been held as early as 1963, amongst some of the professors. Though a third of the students did the BD, the others were required by the Hall to take an identical course except for study of the Bible in English. Their proposing a primary theological degree was therefore based on the argument that “it was anomalous that such a marked distinction should be made on the basis of whether a student studied the Bible in English or in the original language.” When introduced initially at a Faculty meeting, the proposal was strongly opposed.

In the meantime, the lectureship in Phenomenology of Religion and the degree of Master of Theology were established. The primary degree was raised again in 1969 and Dean Evan

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46 “Faculty of Theology Proposal for a degree entitled Bachelor of Theology,” Faculty of Theology Minutes 1951-1977, Hocken Library, AG-180-13/1, 98.

47 Ibid., 97.

48 Evan Pollard, “Developments in the Faculty of Theology University of Otago 1963-1982,” 1, unpublished paper, Hocken Library, Misc-MS-1072. This four-page history was compiled by Pollard before he left Dunedin so there would be a record of the changes in the Faculty between 1963 and 1982.
Pollard investigated first degrees in theology on his study leave in Britain. The Rector of the Roman Catholic Holy Cross Seminary at Mosgiel had also expressed interest in a primary degree for their students, and so the proposal to the Senate included the suggestion that Catholic teachers be made honorary lecturers of the Faculty.49

Objections from particular members of the Faculty of Science centred on concern that the degree, with its inclusion of Pastoral Studies, was "too vocationally oriented."50 As Pollard notes, this implied also lack of academic respectability.51 The final proposal for the degree emphasised that only those Pastoral Studies papers with "a strong academic content suitable for a university degree" had been included.52 The final proposal also emphasises that the introduction of a primary degree "would help the Faculty to become more a part of the University, by making it possible for students (other than those training professional for a church vocation) from other faculties to cross-credit, or to do a degree in theology without the six years at present required. This is perhaps not a strong consideration, but approval of this degree would bring the Faculty into line with other faculties, by enabling it to offer undergraduate and post-graduate courses."53

The Faculty of Theology was, at this point, almost entirely composed of Presbyterian lecturers, with some additions from other colleges to the north from time to time in their capacity as examiners of papers. While the academic papers were accompanied at the Hall with those 'vocational' requirements of the ministry formation programme, nevertheless the Hall programme did not require this extra feeling of being part of the University simply in order to train better ministers. While this might ensure ministry students encountered other students more frequently, the closer relationship with the University is not a Church requirement and arguably not required for ministry formation to be more successful.

Further, the offer for other students to cross-credit theology papers into their other degrees, or to complete a full BTheol without having to be in a ministry training programme, would change the composition of the classes. This would make ethically impossible any over-

49 Ibid., 2.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 "Proposals for a BTheol Degree," 103.
53 Ibid.
emphasis on any application to ministry practice and particularly to ministry practice within one denomination specifically. Even if classes are taught at Knox or at Holy Cross still at this stage, the inclusion in them of students other than ordinands demands that a wider view be presented by their teachers, who are to them only university teachers, not also church professors.

The burgeoning relationship with the staff at Holy Cross had begun when Geering was Principal and was fostered further by the Holy Cross and Theological Hall students meeting in the hospital orientation courses arranged by Wilson, lecturer in Clinical Pastoral Training. The availability of the Catholic teachers made the mounting of the BTheol proposals possible, and Catholic interest increased student numbers for the new degree. Common lectures were a goal from the beginning of the relationship, but the geographical separation of the two colleges made this difficult. “Meanwhile, interchange of lecturers became more frequent, particularly in the fields of Biblical Studies and Maori and Polynesian Studies.”

In 1979, the Special Committee on Ministry Training (SCMT) critiqued the church’s response to increasing multiculturalism in both the church itself and the ministry student body after the arrival of Pacific Island ministry students from 1972. In its report to Assembly, the committee suggested a Pacific Centre of learning for ministry based in Auckland. The alternative venue for ministry formation was to address the level of education which a ‘normal’ Presbyterian ministry formation required. After the original Pacific Centre concept was poorly received at the 1978 General Assembly, the following year, SCMT came back with advocacy of Theological Education by Extension (TEE).

In the process of arguing for TEE, the committee heavily criticised Theological Hall training on several grounds, including one criticism that taking young people from their church context “in which leadership is formed” for academic study assumed “leadership is a function of academic training.” The committee asked why training could not exist at other levels such as School Certificate or Form 2. “Some in the church are ministering at these levels and

56 Other criticisms included: that the small numbers trained could be termed elitist, its expense, and that distinctions were heightened between minister-specialist and parishioners.
57 Ibid.
need training for their ministries.”

SCMT here echoed Farley’s identification that University training had come to be the exclusive preserve of clerical training – or, vice versa, that clerical training was the preserve of the University.

SCMT critiqued the current method of residential training using university resources which removed prospective ministers from their ministry locations while they trained. TEE is cited by SCMT as the “most vigorous alternative creative form of preparation for the ministry.”

Students training in their own communities and congregations, would mean training was taken to the leaders, “… rather than leaders away to an institution.” TEE, it was argued, could deliver theological education in contexts other than “European, university-related, English language, etc. context [sic] that imposes itself, however sympathetically, on all students for ministry in our church at present.”

SCMT claimed TEE could train people first and later decisions would be made as to who would be ordained. Auckland was again the suggested centre because it was a Polynesian city with support for lay training at St John’s.

The committee asserted that more responsiveness to Polynesian needs was required for both Polynesian and European students. While the Dean of Polynesian Studies had this “impossible” task, SCMT considered the appointment of a dean “not fulfilment of the church’s responsibilities in this area.” This suggestion appears to be more open to Pacific Island cultural and pedagogical needs. To be so, it overtly avoids encounter with theology (scientia). In other words, without using that specific terminology, the committee seeks to avoid fragmentation of theologia in ministry formation. It recognises the contextual reality that not all members in the church could cope with university-educated preaching. Neither TEE nor a Pacific centre came into being and the residential programme continued with its emphasis on university theological education where possible for each student.

Back in Dunedin, in 1981 Holy Cross first proposed common lectures in the theological, historical and biblical studies papers. “Integral to Holy Cross’s proposals was the idea that

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58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Ibid., 28.
62 Ibid., 28-29.
common lectures should be held on the University Campus." Pollard comments on the reasons for this proposal.

A number of telling reasons were presented in support of this position: e.g. the importance of the ‘presence’ of the Faculty of Theology on the University Campus, benefits to both staff and students from closer association with members of other Faculties, the likelihood that more non-theological students would do BTheol units if they were offered on Campus instead of at Holy Cross and Knox.

These are much the same reasons given in the original proposal for the BTheol. Greater bonding and visibility with the University drive this proposal, interestingly enough proposed by a denomination, (Roman Catholic), less traditionally devoted to university training for its clergy. On the eve of his departure at the end of 1982, Pollard described this proposal (which he claims was the aim of the Knox-Holy Cross relationship from the beginning) as meeting "considerable opposition from the Presbyterian Church’s Committee on Education for the Ministry and from the Knox Theological Hall Students Union." Pollard was not there to see the result, but two years’ discussion culminated with the instigation of a three-year trial of lectures on campus with Holy Cross students and teachers beginning in 1984.

Judging from Assembly reports on ministry training, fears were held for the Hall community life and maintenance of the Presbyterian tradition, and other fears were held that "...theological education will get sucked increasingly into the orbit of the university and towards a merely academic approach..." (italics added) Farley’s argument suggests this fear is warranted. EMC was convinced, however, by 1984, that positives outweighed the negative, and promoted the academic advantages to the Church:

... it is a real venture of faith, [that] the fears and problems which it raises must not deter us from seizing such a unique opportunity, not only to raise our profile on the university and to enrich our ecumenical fellowship, but to introduce our students to doing theology in a more challenging and broad-based way. (italics added)

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64 Ibid.
65 Ibid.
66 Committee on Education for Ministry (CEM) Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1982, 46. This was only a majority decision. Ibid., 52. In 1982, sharing campus lectures with Holy Cross was discussed at the Hall. Ibid., 54. Knox College lies a kilometre from the University. Holy Cross Seminary is 20 km south of Dunedin city. In 1983 this concept was dropped in favour of combined classes at Knox and Holy Cross. EMC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1983, 58. Between the 1982 and 1983 reports, the initials used for the Education for Ministry Committee changed from CEM to EMC. There was no change of personnel or function at the time. The Hall community included increasing numbers of non-ordinand University students. EMC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1984, 46.
67 Ibid., 52.
EMC was virtually asking the church to reward it academically for concessions it had made on spirituality and community life, which suggested these changes had been made grudgingly. “In ... spirituality, community life, more emphasis on practical training, pastoral care of students, the Hall has responded to the concerns of the church ... the Church equally should voice its confidence in the Hall by giving its blessing to this new and adventurous initiative.”68 This move to the campus was certainly a watershed in the area of theological study, and theology became increasingly more focused on the university in subsequent years, even though some lectures relevant mainly to Presbyterian ordinands remained at Knox until 1996. Peter Norris notes that integration of non-ministry students for Holy Cross seminarians was actually easier when the lectures moved to the university. “The seminary was once again the home of the seminarians rather than the property of all students.”69

It is significant that in the same year, 1984, revised Hall requirements also favoured increased academic specialisation. The new Bachelor of Theology (Hons) offered more flexibility, allowing specialisation in a major subject in three years.70 As a result, to decrease students’ workload, exit exercises were reduced from two to one essay in the students’ major, which would be “…the culminating piece of work in ministerial preparation. It may be prepared in Biblical, Historical, Systematic or Ethical, or Pastoral Studies, and may be presented for degree and diploma purposes.”71 (italics added) For ordinands completing university work, therefore, the presbytery exercise became a purely academic university research paper. Readiness for ministry tests thereby became more focused on theological scholarship. How could a presbytery dismiss a paper if it had been awarded a passing grade by the university?

This change in licensing requirements has resonance with the debate in Scotland in 1851 about the relative responsibilities of College and presbyteries in determining academic success and ministry readiness. These two moves seem counter to contemporaneous investigations of theological education by extension and the concept of a “ministry of the

68 Ibid., 52-53. This sounds rather like ‘we scratched your back, now you scratch ours.’ Raising the profile on campus seems to be a desired goal; for whom, teachers, students, or the Church?


70 “The revision will mean that one main area of study will be pursued for 3 years; that not less than one year will be spent on the others, two of which must be carried on for two years.” EMC Report, Proc. GAPCNZ, 1983, 58-59. Also, “Review of Degrees in the Faculty of Theology,” 4 April 1984, Faculty of Theology Minutes, 1978-1988, 160.

71 EMC Report, 1983, 59. Both these moves made it more possible and therefore more likely that some ordinands would be more able to go on to postgraduate study.
whole people of God,” which made fewer distinctions between clergy and lay-people. It also demonstrates the increasing specialisation of academic disciplines which Farley later noted as a major barrier to reform.  

As the new BTheol and common lectures carried on, Norris notes also the careful consideration of each side which prevailed between Knox and Holy Cross. He also notes the new expectations from the University for Holy Cross staff: “The University link created a new expectation that College staff should have reasonably high qualifications and also publish regularly. While the college certainly had some good scholars in the past publishing had never been emphasised.” This was also partly true for the staff at the Theological Hall, although, since it had always appointed staff with an eye to their academic ability, the possibility of their having published was more likely. In both institutions, however, the staff had other church responsibilities to fulfil which at times made publishing difficult to achieve. This would prove to be a problem in the next decade. The same pressures were felt in the Catholic seminary, where student and staff travel time was markedly increased, probably more so than for the Presbyterians.

Staff were also adversely affected. Time was the central issue. Faculty members were responsible not only for the spiritual and academic development of seminarians, but also for teaching a substantial number of lay students and for maintaining their own academic credibility as university lecturers. In addition they were often asked to perform pastoral duties around Otago.

These are essentially the same problems faced by the staff at the Theological Hall. Norris cites a comment from the Holy Cross Rector which identifies the formational issues with the increased workloads:

A degree of busyness seems to have become endemic to the seminary. This is neither conducive to proper living nor to that education of the whole person for priesthood that is the purpose of the seminary. The difficulty experienced by staff of finding time for reading and research is well recognised. We are aware of the demands of the University where these are concerned. But we are aware too of the fact that their neglect brings a deterioration in competence and in the quality of teaching.

Conflict between academic demands and the place of formation in the programme was a difficulty for some at Holy Cross. Norris argues that advocating for students’ needs by the

72 Farley, “The Reform of Theological Education as a Theological Task.”
73 Norris, Southernmost Seminary, 99.
74 Ibid., 104.
75 Vincent Hunt, cited in Norris, Southernmost Seminary, 104.
moderators of the pastoral groups formalised the difference between the formation and academic staff. The conflict between making time for both theology *scientia* and theology *habitus* is seen in the awkwardness of some of these relationships as the academic side of Holy Cross college increased. Formation and education are becoming competitors for the same space rather than complementing each other and integrating what is learned elsewhere.

The 1985 visitation to the Hall questioned University-Hall relationships in more administrative areas. "At what point, because of financial constraints, is the Hall ready to relinquish control of studies?" The visitation was impressed with the staff's coupling of pastoral concern for students with academic excellence as a goal, but also noted constant under-entitlement of staff due to study leave, illness and delays in appointments and their discomfort with reviews and limited tenure. The staff's concept of the teaching ministry as a vocation did not gel with national church employment procedures which advertised limited-term appointments in an attempt to keep the teaching at the Hall freshly connected with parish ministry experience.

*Theologia Continues to be Fragmented in the 1990s*

Above all, the 1990s were a decade which saw multiple changes in governance of New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry Training. Some change in governance occurred in each year of the decade. It has been seen previously that a significant governance decision had been made in the late 1980s when, although financial anxiety seemed to underlie an extended defence of a single-location Theological Hall in the 1987 EMC report, work had continued on what the report called "Home setting training." Some worried this would produce a two-tiered ministry, as in the time of the Home Missioners. In 1988, however, Community Based Ministry Training (CBMT) was approved. CBMT students were to be "...based in, called by, trained and serving in a localised area attached to a particular community of faith. That community

76 VTH, 1985, 15. EMC Secretary's papers, Presbyterian Archives, 95/232. Staff cited difficulty getting overseas applications for limited posts and staff leaving prematurely around the time of their review, in case of not being re-appointed.  
77 See Appendix A.  
78 EMC Report, *Proc. GAPCNZ*, 1987, 93. There were fears "home trained" ministers would be seen as second best. This may well be memories of the Home Missioner rising once again.  
79 Ibid., 100.
would undertake to support and encourage the student during the period of training. This suggests a strong local-church focus, but CBMT graduates were mainly ordinands nationally selected for ordained ministry nationwide.

Pedagogically, CBMT favoured ministry formation rather than the academic bias which had dominated New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training. Each week students were expected to complete theological reflections on their work. Academic requirements tended to be less rigorous than those expected of Hall students, though some exceeded the requirements. Practical projects based on the local church base were a major part of the course. This programme had more potential for reintegrating theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) than the residential academically-oriented residential programme.

At the end of the 1980s, therefore, theology was found in two locations. First, theological reflection-style theology was supplied in a community based training programme approved towards the end of the decade, envisaged at this stage for training people who would stay in their local area. On the other hand, the new BTheol (Hons) offered greater specialisation to residential ministry students completing degrees, which made it more likely they would move on to postgraduate work, before, after, during or instead of parish ministry. The left hand did not seem to know what the right was doing. Or, perhaps it knew very well, for TEE and/or community-based programmes did not replace the dominant model of academically focused, residually-trained ministry of Word and Sacrament in the next decade.

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80 Ibid., 106. The four-year course would consist of a week each year at the Hall, regional schools, distance learning courses, practical ministry reflection, annual home visits, reviews by the Community Ministry Director, and ongoing involvement in local church ministry. Ibid., 106-107. In fact, CBMT students offered in much the same way as Hall-based ordinands. The local church sending a candidate out of its own midst to return to its midst seldom worked.

81 This programme later produced ministers available for ordination anywhere in New Zealand. It seemed the church could only cope with one model of ministry after all.

82 Sarah Mitchell argues that lack of a theology of lay ministry was the root cause of this; in other words, an integrated ecclesiology of leadership had not been achieved for a ministry of the whole people of God. Sarah Mitchell, “Inhabiting the Landscape: Community Based Ministry Training in Aotearoa New Zealand 1991-1999,” in Mapping the Landscape, ed. Susan Emilson and William W. Emilson (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 275-6.

83 In the first year some were completing BTheol, BD and PhD courses. Report of CBMT Director, 1991. Presbyterian Archives, 95/23/6.

84 These included projects on liturgies, community and contextual issues of race, gender and disabilities.
1992-1996: Church and University Connect and Disconnect

It has been argued that governance issues directly affect the quality of ministry formation, particularly those concerning the shape of the institution delivering the formation. As church membership continued to fall in the 1990s, governance of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry training was directly affected financially, along with the rest of the church. This made the possibility of university funding very attractive. In 1991 an EMC report had reviewed the relationship between the Hall and the University in favourable terms.

The university connection has been hard won and is immensely valuable. It provides standards, and gives a credibility … It enables access to many more resources, and thus real economies of operation, especially when candidates can train while on the Government Student Allowance. It enables … an ecumenical consciousness, and it keeps ordinands engaged … beyond a limited church constituency. Through the Faculty we have access to the University’s Distance Teaching Unit, which enables the teaching of the Diploma in Theological Studies, the minimum academic component of … Community Based Ministry Training. The connection also adds a unique dimension to the church’s mission both through staff and student involvement with … ‘independent’ students, and …our formal commitment to the academic enterprise being reciprocated by a formal recognition of the Christian Faith as being worthy of serious academic engagement.85

It has already been seen that, since introduction of the BTheol in 1972, both Hall and Holy Cross staff were honorary University lecturers, appointed and paid by their churches. The Faculty decided who would be its members, with university approval. Historically, University funding had been limited to secretarial and material support, and funding for library, tutorial and refresher leave costs. One advantage of this system has already been seen. Degree courses could be structured and taught by the church teachers within the Faculty so that they closely mirrored Assembly formation requirements while still meeting university standards.86 Practical training and formational requirements were covered by the Hall Diploma, still the key requirement for licensing by the presbytery. A change in these funding arrangements, however, it seemed was now possible.

More non-ordinands taking lectures because of the BTheol courses, and a changed basis to Government funding of universities, now made possible University-based funding of teaching and resources in the Faculty.87 One implication was that University input into appointments

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86 Ibid., 139.
87 This came about partly because of changes in Government funding of the universities and its expectation of greater accountability over where the student funding was being spent.
would be required "to safeguard their different concerns." For EMC, the value of the arrangement was "the standard against which the academic standing of appointments will be measured; the emphasis on staff research time; the sharing of lecture loads ecumenically; and of course an injection of finance into the Hall enterprise." The report does not say what ecclesiological or formational values were represented by the envisaged arrangement, apart from the much desired financial relief.

This request indicated not only a funding crisis, but also a willing desire to fall more into line with the requirements of academic theology. Greater control by the university was inevitable if it was to provide more funding, but at the time it seemed both Church and University would benefit. An Extra Assembly held in Dunedin in 1992 deliberated on "...matters relating to the proposed agreement with the University of Otago and the New Zealand [Catholic] Bishops' Conference with regard to the funding of theological education." An agreement was signed between the three parties. The churches gained funding and the university gained input on church appointments. Teachers at the Hall and at Holy Cross were paid for the proportion of their time spent on university papers. That the university also inherited already-made church appointments into which it had had no input would later prove significant.

Paradoxically, there were meanwhile developments and discussions which indicated the present staff were keen to have a more interdisciplinary approach to theological education and ministry formation. In 1993 a high-level consultation, including members of another special committee, the Special Committee on Ministry (SCM), discussed core ministry training requirements, and identified seven key principles. The discussion revealed that

89 Ibid.
91 This had been intimated at the 1991 Assembly when three PCNZ representatives had been appointed to a working party between the University, PCNZ and the Catholic Bishops Conference. Proc. GAPCANZ, 1991, 87.
92 The full list comprised: 1. The need for accreditation of lay and ordained ministries; 2. standards set by the church maintained by the Hall even when conflicting with an ordinand's sense of vocation; 3. importance of the Community Component in training; 4. the fundamental position of scholarship in Presbyterian ministry; 5. integration of academic and practical training; 6. Multicultural context important for ministry training and theology stated in the context of Aotearoa New Zealand; 7. the theology of the PCANZ as confessional;
accreditation issues for lay and ordained ministers were still an issue. Also highlighted were
difficulties experienced in convincing ordinands of the importance of the church's academic
standards. One statement of principle proclaimed: "Scholarship is fundamental to
Presbyterian ministry. It is the breadth of the University concept of scholarship which is
desired. 'Sound scholarship' involves integrity, humility, openness to the criticism of peers,
faith in a future in which God acts." The role of university theology as part of New Zealand
Presbyterian ministry training was thereby restated as firmly as ever. It is not that the Hall
was not also providing pastoral training, and other non-academic learning opportunities, but
integration principles which could recover theologia were not governing the process. The
major part of formation for ministry is governed by academia rather than ecclesia, by
university rather than church.

Formational interests were prized by this group, however, as the community component of
training was valued both for the course of training and for ministers after ordination.
Integration of academic and practical was said to value the relationship between "... academic
theatre and piety." In Farley's terms, this is the relationship between theology scientia
and theology habitus. The sixth principle showed a high priority on contextualising the faith:
... Multiculturalism is the context of PCANZ and therefore the context of training for
ministry. Whatever shape ministerial training takes it must express, incorporate, and honour
our cultural diversity. Moreover, engaging in theology means expressing truths in the words
and experiences of our own culture and life journey in Aotearoa New Zealand.

How these principles were carried out in practice in CBMT is described in the 1993
Handbook. It has been seen that the course is divided unequally in terms of time spent on
each of four aspects: Theological Education, Field Work, Life in Community, and

Reformed and reforming. These had become evident during a core requirements review at a special meeting held
December 1992. Present were: "...staff, committee, student representatives, the two Convenors of the Special
Committee on Ministry, the Convenor of the Commission, and the Assembly Executive Secretary." EMC

93 The first principle listed.
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.
97 This aspect included Diploma or Degree study rated at approximately 300 hours, regional school attendance, a
week's residential training annually at the Hall, and exit exercises for third and fourth year students. Community
98 Life in Community included network gatherings associated with regional schools, a "special needs" project in
year 1 or 2 (40-hour project with a group with special needs) a "personal needs" project (a 40-hour project
developing ministry in areas where the student needed to develop specific ministry skills), and "living in
Spiritual Formation. The course favoured formation while still continuing a desire for scholarly excellence. Even in this formational programme, university scholarship was kept separate from the practical work. This arrangement was to last only three years, since another major governance change occurred because internal tensions had led to a Commission into the Theological Hall in 1992, which proposed separation of policy and administration by the appointment of a Ministry Training Board and a Theological Hall Committee.

By 1995, the new policy-making Ministry Training Board proposed that, from 1996, ordinands should be able to take foundational theological studies at either Otago or other approved institutions, though the preferred option was still completing the entire ministry formation process at Dunedin, supported by available housing. Students then would complete a two-year programme of ordination training, the Ordination Studies Programme (OSP), at the Hall. THC and Senatus were asked to “design and implement a new curriculum to be inter-disciplinary in approach, and to integrate academic and practical concerns so that ordination candidates will emerge with proficiency in ministry and well prepared for its challenges in a changing Church and society.” (italics added)

There are obvious formational flaws in this arrangement. Firstly, the separation of formational programmes from the theological programme chronologically means that ordinands are taught the theological disciplines without any mediation of formational development. Secondly, even if a formational programme were attempted alongside the academic programmes, as had been suggested by an earlier special committee, this would prove far more difficult when ordinands were studying physically removed from where the teachers resided and from the Hall community, which had proved to be a valuable formational tool in ordination training. The new OSP programme nevertheless was to cater for “... academic, practical and spiritual formation” of ordinands. To prepare for this, staff took partnership” projects (60 hours of projects relating to culture, gender, denomination, age and able-ness). CBMT Handbook, 1993, 19.

Spiritual formation included personal devotional life, journal writing (using one of two methods of theological reflection, 2 hours a week), supervision and readiness for ministry reports.

Though within CBMT training students were expected to do weekly theological reflections on their course work experiences.

MTB Report, Proc. GAPCANA, 1995, 201. During the first Hall year Dunedin students might be completing degrees and students from other centres taking additional studies. Ibid., 202.

Ibid.

Ibid.
part "...in a facilitated workshop on integrating the study programme" since the planned interdisciplinary nature of the programme would require them to work together. As Farley points out, getting teachers from different disciplines to work together is one of the barriers to curriculum change. Enthusiasm for this development amongst this staff, however, was high. No one seems to have publicly raised objections that studying theology in a different geographical location would affect the likelihood of good formation and integration.

The context was that pressure for alternate theological education providers had been applied from Auckland churches for all or part of the training to be conducted there, where the church scene was more varied and populous. The University of Otago had lost its geographical advantage in being the only university offering on-campus theological degrees. From the turn of the decade, theology degrees had been available in Auckland. The ACTE offered the Melbourne College of Divinity degree in 1988 and the Auckland University BTheol degree in 1990. The Bible College of New Zealand gained accreditation to offer their own degree through the New Zealand Qualifications Authority (NZQA) in 1991. The NZQA, a product of the 1990 Education Amendment Act, provided a more wide-ranging system of accreditation of education providers, opening up both possibilities and accountability in theological education. "The Authority, by requiring learning outcomes of courses and relating assessment directly to teaching, raised important educational questions for the Consortium."

Together with the desire to offer ministry formation acceptable to the evangelical wing of the church this availability of other degrees led to the policy of allowing Presbyterian ordinands (or those contemplating applying for Presbyterian ministry formation) to study with other providers for their foundation theological studies. The principle of approving alternate

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105 The original Synod of Otago and Southland foundation (SOS) which funded national ministry formation from 1876 is still a major funder of PCANZ ministry formation. Financially the church was tied to theological education in Dunedin, since, by its founding Act of Parliament, Synod money could not be used further north. As the population of New Zealand relocates more to the north this becomes theologically and geographically anomalous.

106 Church colleges such as St Johns and Baptist Theological College had been preparing some of their students for the Melbourne College of Divinity BD.

107 Davidson, Selwyn's Legacy, 297.

108 It is noted widely that teachers in higher education, unlike primary and secondary teachers, are not trained as teachers and matters to do with curriculum, pedagogical methods and assessment often prove difficult for them.
approved foundation studies providers was passed at the 1995 General Assembly. The Auckland University Bachelor of Theology taught by the ACTE was approved as a foundational theological degree in 1996. The process culminated at the 2000 Assembly, with the acceptance of the Bible College of New Zealand (BCNZ) Bachelor of Divinity degree as completing the foundation studies requirements. The BCNZ operates under a set of evangelical principles which all staff sign and which it is usually expected even second markers in other institutions will also sign.

These decisions about foundation theological studies would strongly influence ordinands’ approach to ministry formation programmes when they arrive in Dunedin for the two year Ordination Studies Programme. They also shifted the theological emphasis amongst Presbyterian ministers in the future. Ordinands are now being educated in one of three Presbyterian-sanctioned spaces for their foundational theological studies. One is under secular rationalistic university scholarship, which has no mandate or responsibility to enhance understanding of the ministerial role. Another is in a theologically proscribed evangelical college. St John’s provides a possible compromise, as university theology is still taught there within a church college, although since 2003 St John’s teachers of degree subjects have been part of the Auckland University School of Theology, which may require greater detachment from church interests. To use Carl Braaten’s metaphor, the Ordination Studies Programme is the ecclesiological icing on the already baked theological cake.

The PCANZ is not the only church which experiences such difficulties. In the period immediately after St John’s began teaching for degrees, opinion within the Anglican communion was divided on the directions theological education and ministry formation were taking.

110 Ibid., 179. While this sounds like a wide range of experiences, in practice students tended to attend one facility since travel was a problem in attending more than one theological school. The Consortium was dissolved when the four colleges were associated with the School of Theology at Auckland University in 2002-3 after negotiating of a Memorandum of Agreement. John Salmon and Elaine Wainwright, “ACTE/Auckland University School of Theology,” Report to NZATS, 2003, http://www.nzats.godzone.net.nz/acte.pdf, accessed 10 December 2004.
111 The Bible College of New Zealand now offers two Bachelor degrees, one in Divinity and one in Ministries. Apart from any theological bias which might be operating, the Ministries degree offers essentially the same style of programme as does the ordination studies programme at the School of Ministry, meaning graduates coming on to the School feel they have ‘done this all before’. Since then accreditation of Malua College, Samoa has been put in progress and Malua offers its own BD.
Degree teaching was seen by some as putting external constraints on what should be an essentially church-based form of training. Others argued that degree teaching provided a helpful framework in which the Christian tradition can be examined with the rigour of modern scholarship. This, however, was seen as only part of the preparation for ministry in which the theological college engages. Balancing the needs of theological education, ministry training and spiritual formation presented considerable tensions for those involved in work at St John's-Trinity. Concerns such as contextual relevance, commitment to bicultural partnership, cross-cultural sensitivity and regard for gender issues added to the complexity of theological education. It was impossible to get the balance right so that all the contending voices in the churches were satisfied.\footnote{Davidson, \textit{Selwyn's Legacy}, 315.}

The position of St John’s in relation to the Consortium was somewhat like that of the Theological Hall staff during the existence of the Faculty of Theology, where teachers were recognised as university teachers while still being teachers at their own colleges.

Additional pressures affect PCANZ ministry beyond those raised by Allan Davidson. Not only are the regulations of theological degrees and their academic approach adding their own paradigm to PCANZ ministry formation, but those paradigms now vary from one teaching institution to another. A suggestion made in the consultation papers that the Principal appoint a person to supervise the courses of approved students at other colleges, alongside someone “whose special competence is in pastoral ministry supervision,” was not pursued.\footnote{“Issues and Implications,” \textit{Consultation on Mission and Ministry in Context}, 4.}

‘Approved students’ at other colleges were left without a regular appointed mentor whose task is pastoral supervision and who could have helped the students begin a process of formation and integration.\footnote{By regulation, presbytery student convenors are to keep in touch with ordinands as they train, but these convenors are usually parish ministers with an already full-time job. Furthermore, they have never been overtly trained in the kind of mentoring envisaged by this suggestion.}

This makes all the more contradictory the other significant result of the consultation. The 1993 consultation paper on Integrative Theological Education had been supplied by Keith Carley and Allan Davidson.\footnote{At the time, both teachers at St John’s College, but both Presbyterian ministers.} It describes two accounts of different ways of teaching thematically, where teachers worked together on an issue with students, teaching in an interdisciplinary fashion. Both men regretted their inability to persuade their colleagues at St Johns to try this approach, perhaps because “Such teaching requires high levels of commitment and cooperation from faculty and willingness to give up some power over
traditional course requirements.”

Optimistically, they concluded, “But we note that Universities generally are encouraging interdisciplinary study and we live in hope for ourselves as well as for Knox Theological Hall.” This idea of an integrated course of study was pursued. It resulted in the production of the original integrated Ordination Studies Programme which was being planned during 1994 and 1995, trimmed to a two-year course. Staff prepared for interdisciplinary teaching and their enthusiasm for the new programme was high.

Whatever flaws or inadequacies this programme would have had, another governance upheaval occurred that year, for during 1996, when the new programme was still being developed, the University of Otago reviewed the Faculty of Theology and swiftly followed the review’s recommendation to retain Theology as a separate discipline in the university, reconstituting the Faculty as a Department of Theology and Religious Studies. A curriculum review was conducted and a new staff of five full-time teachers, and a Professorial chair, were appointed to start at the beginning of the 1997 University year.

This news came only shortly before the 1996 General Assembly and left the Church without finance for all of its professorial appointments for the next year. The Assembly hastily decided momentous matters of theological education in the shadow of vigorous debate on the ordination of homosexuals. All Church professorial chairs were dis-established, and new positions advertised; a principal (a continuing position), two full-time lecturers in Ordination Studies, and two half-time lecturers in Biblical Studies and Systematic Theology. This

117 Allan Davidson and Keith Carley, “Integrative Approaches to Theological Education,” Consultation on Mission and Ministry, Paper K.1, 2.

118 Ibid.


121 During Assembly a sessional committee studied an extra MTB report and 6 notices of motion on the matter.


123 “The [full-time] appointments will be in two distinct areas: communication of the Christian faith, and the worship, life and mission of the church...” MTB Extra Report, Proc. GAPCantz, 1996, 154. Three of the five professors gained positions in the two institutions. Two were appointed to the University of Otago Department of Theology and Religious Studies, and one gained a half-time position at the Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies. Another went into parish ministry and the fifth was appointed lecturer at the United Theological College, Sydney. In the Centre, one of the new full-time appointments could not be sustained and so there were some months' delay in gaining a full complement of staff. In 1999, the professor appointed to one of the two half-time positions was made Principal of Ormond College, and the two half-time positions were then held by
replacement for the Theological Hall was to be called the Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies.  

MTB was to continue its work on developing ministry education, and to consult widely "... on appropriate models in education for ministry in a New Zealand mission context." Foundation studies already undertaken by applicants would be assessed by an MTB-appointed Foundation Studies Panel. In time, the new Otago University degree would be assessed for suitability for Presbyterian ministry training, along with other providers. Other positions also suffered. The Co-ordinator of Ordination Studies position was combined with the CBMT Director position and appointed for only one year. The Maori and Pacific Island positions were also deferred. Thus the long history of the Theological Hall came to a sudden end almost exactly 120 years after its inception. The University had exercised its prerogative to maintain control of its staff and its curriculum, and left both Presbyterians and Catholics in a difficult financial and organisational position.

All the OSP programme documents emphasised that formation for ministry is a life-long task begun before ministry training and continued long after it. The programme was a reasonable recovery from the more completely integrated programme planned before the University’s withdrawal, although the plan for foundational studies left PCANZ ordinands studying their theology at separate institutions over which the church has little control. While Presbyterian

one person. Thus the now School of Ministry had, at the beginning of 2005, a Principal and three full-time teachers.

124 Proc. GAPCANZ. 1996, 73.
125 Ibid., 72-74.
126 And also "... monitor with care developments in the University of Otago and ensure that it remains the Church’s capacity to respond to all options that may arise.”
127 Ibid., 74.
128 Ibid., 86.
129 MTB Extra Report, Proc. GAPCANZ, 1996, 154. Commissioners to this Assembly commented afterwards on the lack of discussion with which these momentous changes were made. The theological education upheavals were overshadowed, as was other business, by the debate on homosexuality and leadership.
131 Ibid., 184-5.
132 Holy Cross Seminary relocated to Auckland as a result of this move by the University. Norris, Southernmost Seminary, 104. Norris identifies findings of the review as negative, regarding the proliferations of courses in pastoral theology and lack of research done by Faculty Staff prior to 1996.
ordinands provide part of the clientele of the Universities, they are a decreasing proportion of
that clientele and so Presbyterian requirements now carry less weight in departmental
decisions. Teachers at the university are not selected necessarily for any faith orientation and
in a secular university are not expected to show any. Their publishing record and ability to
supervise students successfully are the main criteria for their continuing promotion.

The PCANZ now finds itself, at the present time, almost back at the position it was in 1876,
with its own ministry formation programme. There is a difference, however. Theology is still
in the University and this time only on the university’s terms. Teaching staff in the
Department are selected on university criteria, not for their usefulness to any type of church’s
ministry formation programme, though many of the Department’s students are aspiring clergy
or church leaders. Not quite back at the position in which it first stared, the church must now
depend on the state universities or non-denominational church colleges to provide theological
education to its prospective ordinands, or on non-denominational church colleges such as the
BCNZ offering their NZQA approved degrees. Following those it offers a formative,
integrative two-year ordination studies programme. In New Zealand Presbyterian Ministry
formation, theologia is entirely fragmented.
Chapter Eight

Conclusion

This work has found that few writers in the theological education literature over the past forty years, either in the United States of America or the Commonwealth, have addressed the causes of the unrest in theological education, tending rather to address the symptoms. It has also found that Edward Farley is acknowledged by his peers as the one writer who has done the former in the North American debate.

Farley’s thesis, that the cause of the crisis in theological education is the fragmentation of *theologia* since the founding of the University of Berlin, has been termed seminal to the theological education debate. His analysis reaches beyond the arrangement of courses to a basic premise, that the disease in theological education is due to the separation of theology *scientia* and theology *habitus* – in other words, the fragmentation of *theologia*.

This work has used Farley’s argument as one which is also significant specifically for the formation of ministers. Unlike theology students embarking on careers in academic theology, clergy under formation, in order to be truly successful ministers, need an integrated formation programme which will advance their scientific understanding of theology while at the same time developing the Christian character and pastoral abilities which characterise Christian *habitus* or practice. Thus the recovery of *theologia* needs to be recognised as a primary goal for those in governance over schools and colleges which have the specific task of forming ministers.

The focus in this work has been on governance decisions made in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation. Governance of any theological school or ministry formation centre provides the framework which contains and orders the elements of any programme. If governance decisions do not favour the recovery of *theologia*, then the programmes will continue to exacerbate its fragmentation, since on their own they cannot recover *theologia* for the entire institution. Concerning actions taken at the founding of the University of Berlin with regard to the status of theology in the university, Farley identified that the problem was
the consequences of a governance decision made by Friedreich Schleiermacher. In Farley’s view, Schleiermacher’s decision to characterise university theology as professional education for ministers caused the fragmentation of theology. Since the post-Enlightenment universities favoured only the scientific study of theology, this meant ministers received only an education in theology (scientia). This left Christian practice and piety (habitus) to the private domain of the church. Aspiring ministers, while trained in theology (scientia), were not trained in theology (habitus). These two aspects of theology being favoured in different domains, their integration in the minister was more by good fortune than good governance.

A further reason for this work’s concentration on the effect of governance on theologia was that the governance decisions made within New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation were the most continuous and visible record available of what had occurred. Thoughts and actions of both students and teachers were largely lost to the past and could provide only discontinuous and anecdotal information.

It was therefore considered important to assess governance of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation from the point of view of whether it continued the fragmentation of theologia or acted to recover it. A set of three criteria was drawn from Farley’s work which described aspects of ministry formation programme where theologia was still intact. First, pre-dominant use of the traditional theological disciplines in their four-fold pattern is highlighted by Farley as fragmenting theologia, particularly when these disciplines are under strict university control, such as funding or research requirements. Second, the presence of pastoral theology as a separate discipline, being used as a bridging discipline with the other theological areas of study, suggests a fragmented theologia. Signs that pastoral work is being subordinated to academic work would also indicate a tendency to favour scientific theology being kept as a separate entity.\(^1\) Third, strong representation or use of a professional view of ministry which over-emphasises the acquisition of skills, or an application of theory-to-practice model might indicate fragmentation, which can lead to a lack of reflective modes of teaching or learning and use of the term ministry ‘training’.

A different set of three criteria were drawn from his argument which described aspects of a ministry formation programme where theologia has been recovered to some extent. First, signs of interdisciplinary teaching might suggest an approach which is prepared to cut across,

\(^1\) There may nevertheless be evidence in Pastoral Theology programmes of ways in which they may provide for and facilitate self-reflective practice by students.
to some extent, the four-fold division of theological disciplines. These might be the use of imaginative pedagogy and contextual approaches to theology and ministry, and the appointment of staff for their ability to be excellent role models in integrative living. Second, one would look for movement away from the divided academic theological encyclopaedia toward reflective ministry practice-oriented courses, along with appointment of staff with expertise in ministry practice, not only academic expertise. Under this criterion, assignments would require integration of academic theology with aspects of ministry or faith. The third criterion was use of the word ‘formation’ in such a way as to lead to valuable formation opportunities developing, clear descriptions of the end goals of a formational programme, and encouragement of reflective practice in students. Such formational programme design would favour reflection and interdisciplinary teaching, demonstrate awareness of the kinds of formation required in an effective minister and use assignments which require synthesis of complex material.

These six criteria provided two frameworks from which to assess New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation from 1961-1997. The first set of criteria could assess the degree to which theologia was fragmented in the delivery of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation programmes. The second set of criteria could be used to assess whether the New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation programme had been able to recover theologia from its fragmentation within western theological education since the founding of the University of Berlin.

First, a comparison of the inauguration of the University of Berlin and the University of Otago, Dunedin was made. While theology (scientia) and theology (habitus) were, in Farley’s view, fragmented from each other at the opening of the University of Berlin, at the opening of the University of Otago a different circumstance occurred. Due to secular opposition, theology was not admitted to the university curriculum and, once prospective ministry students graduated from the University, their theological formation was the responsibility solely of the Church. While the four-fold theological encyclopaedic curriculum was evident from 1881, other aspects suggesting fragmentation were not present. All the subjects were taught by two teachers initially, reducing specialisation, and no separate pastoral theology department or subject was present in the curriculum. The rhetoric of professionalism was not employed in the Theological College Committee reports. While the aspects suggesting recovery of theologia are not present, nevertheless the coverage of more
than one subject by the teachers suggests some integration was possible by the person of the teacher, if not by the curriculum.

The historical path which New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation took subsequent to the founding of the University of Otago was then followed and evaluated from the point of view of the career of *theologia*, so as to see where it had arrived at the beginning of the period under study (1961-1997). This period fell naturally into three parts: the first from John Dunlop’s arrival as Salmond’s replacement in 1887 to student pacifism in 1930; the second from the 1931 arrival of the first New Zealand-born Professor, John Collie, to the end of World War II in 1945, the last year of non-university theology; and the third from the 1946 opening of the University of Otago Faculty of Theology to a foreshadowing of the later development of clinical pastoral education (CPE) in the arranging of a hospital chaplain to supervise pastoral visiting in 1960.

Within the period from 1887 to 1930, there had been two significant shifts. One was in the number of teachers. From two teachers in 1887, Dunlop newly arrived from Scotland and Michael Watt still continuing as lecturer, the teaching staff had grown to four: Dickie as Principal teaching Church History and Systematic Theology, Cumming in Old Testament, Collie in New Testament and Salmond in Christian Education. The teaching of the four-fold curriculum had become three-fold and, although a Pastoral Theology department has not been set up, the new Christian Education lectureship was a first separating out of an aspect of pastoral studies. The other major shift was in the setting for ministry formation. Knox College, a residential hall, was providing a community setting for the single male ordinands and this can be assumed to have an integrating effect on the formation ordinands received. *Theologia* could thus be said to be cracked but not severely fragmented.

From 1931 to 1945, the Theological Hall saw several changes of staff and by 1945 there was a full complement of teachers for each curriculum area. Salmond was still lecturing in Christian Education, but Rex had moved into Church History, and Henderson into Systematic Theology. Allan held New Testament while Principal Hunter’s discipline was Old Testament. This was the last year in which the church would have sole charge of the theology taught to its prospective ministers. Despite the greater number of teachers, *theologia* is not completely fragmented since, even though teachers taught in separate disciplines, some also taught Homiletics, Public Worship or Pastoral Care alongside their academic specialisation. There was not yet a separate department of Pastoral Theology, and there were signs that both
teachers and students integrated theoretical theology with Christian and ecclesial practice. The rhetoric of professionalism was also still absent. Perhaps more cracked and battered, theologia could be described as not yet entirely fragmented by 1945 in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation.

From 1946 to 1960, after prolonged pressure from the Presbyterians, and more recently an offer of underwriting from the more recently formed National Council of Churches (NCC), theology entered the university at Otago and the fragmentation of theologia seemed more likely to occur, as Farley claimed it had at Berlin. The university, however, did not appoint a separate staff for its Faculty of Theology, but appointed the already existing church teachers in the Presbyterian, Church of Christ and Anglican church colleges to the status of honorary lecturers. Thus, while theology was technically under university control, curricula and teaching were overseen by a Faculty of church teachers who, it would be expected, drew more than the occasional integrating connections with ministry practice. With the advent of the beginnings of Clinical Pastoral Education in New Zealand in 1958, also sponsored by the NCC, a softening by the staff towards the idea of a separate department of Pastoral Theology could be seen. At the end of this period in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation, the four-fold curriculum was the only criteria suggesting fragmentation of theologia, but separate Pastoral Theology and the rhetoric of professionalism were not far away.

It has been seen that from 1961, the beginning of the period of study of this thesis, the formation of a separate department of Pastoral Theology was inevitable and the appointment of Ian Dixon as the first Professor of Theology was the outcome of pressure from the Church and increasing specialisation within the academic theological disciplines. The ‘academisation’ of Pastoral Theology was sealed with its introduction into the new primary Bachelor of Theology degree. Other university departments were assured that only pastoral papers which provided good academic content would be taught. Other aspects of pastoral theology were deemed part of the church’s responsibility in the minister’s formation.

This meant that even Pastoral Theology was fragmented. Its scientific aspects constituted the university papers. The aspects which related more to vocation and habitus were left within the Theological Hall as hall courses, usually rated poorly by students and staff. The only redeeming feature of this time as concerns the total fragmentation of theologia was that church teachers, increasingly Presbyterian and Catholic, were still the university lecturers and also involved in formational activities in the church colleges. Also, while the concept of
professionalism was raised by a new New Zealand-born lecturer in Religious Education with a recent doctorate from America, this did not become the rhetoric used in Church and Hall reports.

It was not until 1996 when the University established its own Faculty, severing the relationship with the Theological Hall and Holy Cross Seminary that theologia was finally and decisively fragmented in New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation. In the final year of this study, the University opened its new Department of Theology and Religious Studies with appointments made with church input but under the university’s criteria, which included research degrees, a publishing programme and academic specialisation along the four-fold curriculum. Theology (scientia) was therefore under the control of a secular institution which had no responsibility to form ministers’ habitus though it looked to prospective ministry students as part of their student base. Theology (habitus) was the preserve of the new entity which the Presbyterian Church created, finally named the School of Ministry.

Students in the two-year ordination studies programme tended to have two attitudes. One was that if the subject of the courses was ministry practice, resort to academic texts was irrelevant. Other students, looking on the ordination studies programme (OSP) as post-graduate work, were disappointed at its lack of academic rigour. Tensions arose because of the differing theological backgrounds of the students. The Bible College degrees held by some of the students tended to be more oriented towards practice and lighter on theology, while the university degrees paid more attention to theology, but less to its connections with ministry practice.

While it was being done after the fact, after ministry students had completed their foundational theological studies at both universities and the Bible College, over which the Presbyterian Church had no control, integrative approaches were used in the Ordination Studies Programme, notably the major synthesis paper which took the place of academic work as the exit exercise for presbyteries. One potential effect of the Church being in charge of formation might have been that formation was given more attention and a posthumous recovery of theologia might be achieved. To discern whether or not that has occurred is beyond the time period of this work.
Effects from the Past which Affect the Future after 1997

In 1998, following the creation of what was first known as the Centre for Advanced Ministry Studies and later as The School of Ministry, Knox College taught a revised programme for Ordination Studies which brought together mission statements, goals, aims and outcomes from three sources: Church statements, Special Committee statements and School of Ministry OSP planning. It reads disjointedly because of this, but includes several key principles within the preamble.

Mission-focused ministry identified by the Special Committee include Ministries which:

- invite people to turn to God through Jesus Christ ...
- equip people for their vocation as Christians in the world ...
- educate and enable discernment ....
- Ministries of social and pastoral concern ...
- prophetic call and action ...
- liturgy, public worship and the “being” of the Church ...
- of environmental concern.

These ministries are described as of the whole people of God, and the minister’s task is to “enable” all of them. Consequently the programme calls for the following facets to be developed in the ordinand: “Minister as Theologian ... Spiritual Guide ... Hope-Bearer ... Community Builder ... Pastor ... Liturgist.” Later in the document another role of “Steward” is added.

The model of ministry formation described in the document involves a contextual circle comprising Church Tradition, Community Centre, Personal Experience and Personal Culture. To this is added a learning square comprising Theological Education, Critical/Analytical Tools, Practice of Ministry and Partnership Studies. This is joined by a spiritual triangle: Theological Reflection, Supervision and Spiritual Journeying. These three figures are held by a cross-shaped figure comprising two axes of public worship – personal worship and

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3 Ibid., 6-7.

4 Ibid., 7-8.

5 Ibid., 8-9.
personal life-community life. Through this web of intersecting parameters spirals the integrative process – input followed by reflection and action.

This is a good model conceptually, but it is difficult to see the connections between this and the terms used in subsequent pages when roles, skills and outcomes are detailed under the headings of “ministry as thinking theologically ... pastoring ... community building ... hope-bearing ... spiritual guiding ... celebrating liturgy ... stewarding resources.” Learning outcomes under these headings are listed under other headings of “Foundational, Church and Ministry, Practical, Interdisciplinary, Integrative.” It is not very clear whether these lists are to be used as checklists when readiness for ministry is being assessed or whether they are a map of the territory which could potentially be covered.

The originally proposed shape of ministry training was, firstly, completion of Foundation Studies with both academic and practical placements. The subsequent two-year Ordination Studies Programme would include academic papers only if needed to complete degrees or supplement existing degrees. In OSP, an Integration Synthesis paper would be completed under supervision through the two years, and forms the presbytery exit exercise for licensing. This kind of exercise would have had the potential to recover theologia, for the student at least.

This Integration Synthesis will be an ordered, formal exercise that will demonstrate the candidate’s ability to employ the disciplines in which he/she has been educated and to bring into coherent order a variety of data. Its aims will be not the specialised examination of an isolated academic topic, but an ordered, integrated synthesis of significant elements of the personal, spiritual, profession, [sic] academic and ecclesial formation required for ministry in a church of the Reformed tradition.

This synthesis paper being made an exit exercise places formation and integration squarely in the assessment process. Other planned elements of OSP were Church and Ministry modules.

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6 Ibid., 9-10.

7 Ibid., 10. This process can also be found in Sarah Mitchell, “Ministerial Formation: A Model,” Ministerial Formation 72 (1996): 11-14.


9 Ibid., 14, for example.


11 Ibid., 25. Presbyteries are asked to respect the greater degree of vulnerability shown by students in this exercise. Ibid., 26.
“to develop students’ competency in ministry,”\textsuperscript{12} practical placements, an individual Integration portfolio, and interdisciplinary and integrative work throughout the programme.

Subsequently, the School of Ministry staff developed a cycle of semester-length courses, covering two years, which began in 1999. The first-year courses included: Pastor as Person, Presbyterianism in Historical Context, From Hermeneutics to Homiletics (From Text to Testimony), and Social Ethics in Christian Ministry. The second year courses included: Worship: Liturgy and Music, Theological Reflection, Communication and Group Dynamics, Mission and Many Cultures in New Zealand, and Clinical Pastoral Education.\textsuperscript{13} “For each of these courses reflection upon the practice of ministry will provide a clinical dimension or praxis based aspect, to be integrated closely with the more theoretical aspects of the course.”\textsuperscript{14} These modules would be classroom based and “... employ a higher degree of cognitive content that other aspects of OSP.” Shorter, more intensive learning modules were also offered, including “Contextual Theology in Aotearoa, PCANZ Assembly, PCANZ Polity and Legal issues, Union and Co-operating Parishes, and Pastoral Care and Sexual Abuse.”\textsuperscript{15} These “learning modules” lie alongside field education, spiritual formation,\textsuperscript{16} Wednesday forum,\textsuperscript{17} tutorial relationships, and the synthesis paper.\textsuperscript{18}

All the programme documents emphasise that formation for ministry is a life-long task begun before ministry training and to be continued long after that ends. This is a reasonable recovery from the more complete integrative programme which was planned before the University’s withdrawal. It has left PCANZ ordinands studying their theology at separate institutions over which the church has no influence. While Church ordinands provide part of the clientele of the universities, they are a diminishing proportion of that clientele and so Church requirements will carry less weight in university decisions. University desires to

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{13} School of Ministry, Knox College, Handbook (Dunedin: Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, 1999), 32-37. “Pastor as Person,” “From Hermeneutics to Homiletics,” “Social Ethics in Christian Ministry,” “Theological Reflection” and “Clinical Pastoral Education” are all papers available through the University of Otago in its Master of Ministry Programme. (See below.)

\textsuperscript{14} School of Ministry Handbook, 1999 ed., 32.

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid., 29.

\textsuperscript{16} Pastoral groups and spiritual direction.

\textsuperscript{17} A community hour held before chapel when outside speakers bring a variety of topics.

\textsuperscript{18} School of Ministry Handbook, 1999 ed., 28.
increase their number of students in a competitive tertiary education sector, however, did open a door which may prove very useful in the future for continuing formation of ministers.

The year 2000 marked an endpoint of lengthy discussion between the teachers of the School of Ministry, its overseeing Ministry Training Board and the University of Otago. The modules which had been taught at the School of Ministry were proposed as the basis of a Master of Ministry, comprising first a postgraduate diploma of taught courses and then a MMMin research project on ministry practice. Students at the School of Ministry could enrol for university credit in the courses being taught at the School of Ministry. People in ministry throughout the country could also access the courses through distance courses. This reintegration of the School of Ministry with the University satisfied the need of the existing teachers to reconnect with a prestigious educational institution. The effects on the ordination studies programme, however, were like those experienced when the BD was available but not all students took the paper. Even in this ministry-oriented degree, pastoral subject matter had to be supported with academic content and academic standards in assignments. The degree of Master of Ministry had been developed by an ecumenical board of church representatives and the Department, with considerable input by School of Ministry staff. The purpose of the programme is described in the advertising brochure thus:

> These programmes have been designed specifically for ministers, priests, pastors and others involved in a range of ministries. The aim is the enhancement of contemporary ministries. The ongoing practice of ministry provides the base for ministry courses which link theory to practice. The MMMin\(^{19}\) and the PGDipMin\(^{20}\) incorporate current scholarship in the practice of ministry with options from Biblical Studies, Christian Thought and History and Pastoral Theology within an on-going process combining theological learning and reflective practice.\(^{21}\)

Students would continue to reside in their places of ministry, with papers offered as intensive short courses, or by distance teaching. Topics advertised for the year 2000 included: Theological Reflection, Clinical Pastoral Education, and The Epistles (a Biblical Studies paper). In future years, Hermeneutics in Homiletics, Social Ethics in Christian Ministry and Research Methods would be offered.\(^{22}\)

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\(^{19}\) This comprises 6 papers: 3 ministry studies papers taught by the School of Ministry and 3 in Biblical Studies, Christian Thought and History and Pastoral Theology from Otago, plus a 20,000 word research project.

\(^{20}\) This comprises 4 papers, two of them from Ministry Studies.

\(^{21}\) From "Master of Ministry Postgraduate Diploma in Ministry," a brochure advertising the programmes produced by Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand, 1999.

\(^{22}\) The Theological Reflection, Hermeneutics and Homiletics, and Social Ethics in Christian Ministry papers were all developed and taught by School of Ministry lecturers.
The 2006 paper in Theological Reflection taught at the School of Ministry to the Ordination Studies students comprised two disconnected aspects: the learning and practice of different models of theological reflection and study of several theologians from Augustine to Trible. The essays demand a 400-level standard of academic style while all the students in the class are destined for parish ministry and some may never study again above this level. Choice of enrolling for university credit was available and so the class sitting in the same room was split between those enrolled and those doing it for ministry formation purposes alone. The advantage of introducing the ordinands to these postgraduate diploma papers is that they may be encouraged to complete the qualification when out in ministry and so this experience contributes to their continuing academic ministry formation. There is a possibility of a Doctorate of Ministry (DMin) being arranged by the University of Otago which will draw students to study further in ministry practice. This line of study, given the admissibility of reflection on ministry practice, does provide an integration of theology *scientia* and theology *habitus* if taught with that purpose. Predictably, the Master of Ministry papers are considered low status by some students and staff in the University Department.

In 2006 more governance change was proposed for the future of New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation. Cost cutting being required, at the time of writing, a new proposal has been made for the School of Ministry. If this proposal is approved by the 2006 General Assembly, the School will be renamed The Centre for Christian Leadership, reflecting the present concentration on leadership in the church as a tool to reverse decline in church attendance. For the ordination studies programme equivalent of this new programme, ministry students will work for two years as interns in churches which can afford to pay and house them. Prior to that, during their foundational degrees, they will take block courses with formational content. During the internship period, bringing the class together for block courses will also be a method of programme delivery. The value of a residential community as a formational tool will be lost from the programme and it is unclear as yet how much and what kind of influence the parishes providing internship opportunities will have on the formation of the students. Nor is it clear yet what effect a totally at-distance programme will have on formation. There is, however, for the first time since 1997, the chance to influence

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23 The author taught this paper in 2006 using a course book organised by a previous lecturer. The class comprised 9 university students and 6 taking the paper for formational purposes only. One of the latter six students objected to doing the same length of essays if not getting university credit.

24 The author was told, “The other [theology] students don’t bother to take these papers,” accompanied by a facial expression that suggested an inferior status for the MINS papers.
the formation of students while they study theologically, suggesting a chance to recover _theologia_ for those students during this period of scientific theological study.

The factor which has most governed New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation since 1996 has been cost. The formation of a School of Ministry was all the church was said to be able to afford in 1996 and now that institution is being reduced in size by shifting the cost to the hosting parishes. No educational, theological or formational reasons have been given for this change in delivery, although lack of disruption for student is cited. Disruption and relocating has long been an effective formational tool as the student must find him/herself in a new setting, at a distance from traditional influences in their formation.

Before the decline in membership from the 1960s, whether _theologia_ remained integrated in the ministry formation programmes of the PCNZ depended on the degree to which teachers and the church could resist the temptation to include university theology in its ministry formation programme. While from 1946-1992 this use of university theology could be greatly influenced by church teachers, once fuller funding was agreed, the control over university theology was lost to the church. This reflects the fact that whether or not an integrated theology, _theologia_, was taught has been dependent on the funds available in recent years. This is especially evident in the recent School of Ministry review, which began with a financially-driven structuring of the delivery method and then requires the teaching staff to fit their formation programme into the mode of delivery which has already been proposed. It remains to be seen whether the Church at its 2006 General Assembly will accept this order of events.25

Farley’s assessment of the root cause for the unrest in theological education is revolutionary. It challenges the churches’ dependence on university theology for the basis of its ministry formation. Given the esteem and prestige with which universities are held, and the general Enlightenment-style approval of the use of reason within society and also in many places within the church, to take university theology with a grain of salt is a difficult position. When practical details such as financing of students drive the use of government-funded education, the church loses the ability to ensure integration happens.

25 Post script: Between submission and acceptance of this thesis, the new proposal was accepted by the Assembly. Instead of a two year formation programme, students will be placed throughout the country in internships, hosted by parishes who are expected to meet some if not all of the cost of housing the students and paying 80% stipend. The students will meet only occasionally for courses in ministry studies.
Those who dislike the intrusion of academic method into preparation for the ministry can also use the concept of *theologia* to denigrate academic theology, misunderstanding that Farley calls for academic rigour as well as attention to the *habitus* aspects of ministry practice. Pursuing such thinking the church can indeed fall into the ‘sectarian temptation,’ but from 1946 to 1996 the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand fell into the ‘academic temptation.’ Unless the ministry formators of the Presbyterian Church take the recovery of *theologia* as their goal in forming the new curriculum of the proposed Centre for Christian Leadership, its fragmentation will continue. The difficulty of achieving *theologia’s* recovery, however, means that if New Zealand Presbyterian ministry formation continues to fragment *theologic*, as it forms ministers for the service of the church, it will be keeping company with many other theological schools.

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26 Outlined in Farley’s sequel, *The Fragility of Knowledge.*
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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF NEW ZEALAND PRESBYTERIAN MINISTRY TRAINING

1840 Presbyterian minister, Rev John McFarlane arrives in Wellington, service held on foreshore at Petone.


1849 Rev George Panton arrives in Auckland.

1854 Otago Presbytery formed.

1860 Mr Gorrie first minister to be licensed in New Zealand by Auckland Presbytery.

1862 Presbyterian Church of New Zealand formed without the presbyteries of Otago and Southland. Gorrie ordained to charge in Whangarei.

1866 Synod of Otago and Southland formed.

1869 Three students being supervised in ministry training by Otago Presbytery.

1870 James Chisholm licensed by Otago Presbytery.

1871 University of Otago inaugurated.

1874 Theological College begun with The Rev. M. Watt as tutor. Students meet in classrooms at First Church.

1875-1877 The Rev. D.M. Stuart appointed tutor.

1876 Professor William Salmond takes up his appointment. Students meet in Salmond’s home, Leith Street. (This site now occupied by St Margaret’s College).

1882 First Curriculum for Theological College settled.

1885 Visitation of Hall by Rev. Dr. James Macgregor.

1886 William Salmond takes up position at University of Otago.

1887-1909 John Dunlop

1901 Synod of Otago and Southland joins with the northern church to form the first nationwide PCNZ. Students meeting in Knox Church School room.
1903  College Erection Committee formed.
1908  William Hewitson appointed Master, Knox College and Professor of Practical Training and English Bible.
1909  Knox College opened and Theological Hall moves there.
1909-1942  John Dickie appointed in Systematic Theology.
1912  Revised curriculum approved.
1920-1928  James Cumming appointed Professor in Old Testament.
1920-1929  John Davies appointed Professor in New Testament.
1930-1946  Dr. Hunter appointed Professor in Old Testament.
1927  William Hewitson retires.
1928  Cumming retires.
1929  Davies retires.
1932  Dr. J. D. Salmond appointed to Christian Education at the Hall and PCNZ Youth position.
1937  J. A. Allan appointed Professor of New Testament.
1940  Helmut H. Rehbein (Rex) appointed as lecturer.
1942  Allan appointed Principal.
1944  John Henderson appointed Professor Systematic Theology and Church History.
1946  Faculty of Theology, University of Otago formed.
1947-1958  George Knight appointed Professor of Old Testament.
1961  Allan retires.
1964   Women’s ordination regulations approved.
       J. Irwin Principal of Te Wananga a Rangi.

1965   G. H. Robinson takes up position as Lecturer in Christian Education.
       Margaret Reid is the first woman ordained to Ministry of Word and Sacrament.
       I. Breward appointed Professor of Church History.

1966   Hall replies to Special Committee on Theological Education Recommendations.
       Hall students study with Holy Cross priests-in-training on chaplaincy Course.
       Assembly debate on Geering’s article on Resurrection.
       Phenomenology of Religion lectureship begins at Otago University.
       MTh offered at the University of Otago.

1967   Special Committee on Church and Ministry reports on Theology of
       Church and Ministry.
       Joint Board of Theological Studies forms.
       Assembly acquits Geering of heresy.

1968   Hall reports mention ‘professional’ training for ministry.

1969   Deaconess College closes.
       Approval for woman as part-time lecturer at Hall.
       Geering resigns to go to Religious Studies department, Victoria University, Wellington.
       Assembly asks for Simple Statement of Faith. Apostles’ Creed confirmed.
       C. I. L. Dixon appointed first Professor of Pastoral Theology.

1970   Assembly dissociates itself from Geering’s statements.

1971   One final deaconess student at Hall.
       F. W. R. Nichol becomes Principal.
       Irwin moved from Whakatane to lecture at St John’s, Auckland.

1972   Ten Pacific island students at Hall.
       BTheol offered at University of Otago.
       Irwin becomes Dean of Maori and Polynesian Studies in Dunedin.

1973   Refresher leave of teachers at Hall aligned with University regulations.
       One Maori student at hall marked by the transfer of Maihi entrance boards from Maori Theological College, Whakatane.

1975   Student regulations changed to allow study at Pacific Theological College.
       Ruth Page appointed tutor in Systematic Theology.

1976   Postgraduate Diploma in Theology offered at University of Otago.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>Regulation change allows admission of students over thirty-five to Hall. D. Glenny appointed Professor Pastoral Theology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Special committee on ministry training reports, considerable Assembly debate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>Theological education by extension advocated. Community based ministry training suggested.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Joan Anderson, laywoman, elected first woman Moderator of PCNZ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>Sharing campus lectures with Holy Cross seminarians discussed. P. Matheson appointed professor of church history. N. Ripley appointed Dean of Polynesian and Maori Studies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>John Bluck appointed Professor of Pastoral Theology. Lay Ministry Committee formed. Nan Burgess first woman lecturer at Hall (Pastoral Studies).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>3-year trial of campus lectures begins.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Quinquennial visitation (VTH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>M. E. Andrew appointed Principal. Hall Diploma developed. Contextualisation experiences required of Professor of systematic theology appointed from overseas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>The Rev. Margaret Reid Martin elected Moderator of PCNZ, first clergywoman elected moderator.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-1990</td>
<td>Nan Burgess acting Principal of Theological Hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>S. Mitchell appointed Director of Community Based Ministry Training. M. Ropeti-Uipeli and S. Riini appointed as Pacific Island and Maori Cultural teachers to the Church. Diploma and Certificate of Theological Studies offered on campus and through distance teaching by the Faculty of Theology, by the University of Otago.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1993</td>
<td>Alister Rae appointed Principal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>PCNZ changes its name to Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand. Quinquennial Visitation to Hall. Special Committee on ministry of word and sacrament appointed/reports. Negotiations with University of Otago over funding begin. Judith E. McKinlay appointed professor in Old Testament, first and only woman professor at Hall. Phenomenology of religion included in BA (Hons) programme at University of Otago.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1992  Extra Assembly signs agreement with University of Otago.  
    Half the Education for Ministry Committee resign.  
    Commission investigates the Hall.  
    A. Rae appointed Professor of Pastoral Theology.

1993  Commission recommends establishment of separate policy making.  
    Ministry Training Board and administrative Theological Hall Committee.  
    SCMWS holds Consultation.

1994  S. Rae appointed Principal.  
    Special Committee reports.  
    Extension to the Resource Teachers’ terms approved.

1995  Ministry Training Board reports, proposing a new programme in which  
    Foundational Theological Studies are followed by Ordination Studies Programme.  
    The Rev Margaret Schrader elected moderator of PCANZ.

1996  University withdraws from agreement.  
    Church Chairs dis-established.

1997  Centre of Advanced Studies for Ministry (later renamed School of Ministry) begins.  
    University of Otago Theology and Religious Studies Department begins.

1998  Revised programme for the School of Ministry (formerly CAMS)

1999  All PCANZ committees restructured into Policy groups.  
    Equipping the Leadership Policy group oversees ministry training.  
    Synod of Otago and Southland funds a five-year Lay and Recognised Ministries Co-ordinator position.

2000  Master of Ministry and Postgraduate Diploma in Ministry launched at University of Otago.
APPENDIX B

TEACHERS AT KNOX THEOLOGICAL HALL 1874-1996

Principals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1928-1942</td>
<td>J. Dickie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-1946</td>
<td>S. Hunter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947-1962</td>
<td>J. Allan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1971</td>
<td>L. Geering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-1986</td>
<td>F. W. R. Nichol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-1989</td>
<td>M. E. Andrew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-1990</td>
<td>N. Burgess (acting)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1993</td>
<td>A. Rae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994-1997</td>
<td>S. Rae</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pastoral Theology / Practical Training / Christian Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1909-1928</td>
<td>W. Hewitson</td>
<td>English Bible and Practical Training</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932-1964</td>
<td>J. D. Salmond</td>
<td>Religious Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(hospital chaplain)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-1969</td>
<td>G. H. Robinson</td>
<td>Christian Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969-1977</td>
<td>C. I. L. Dixon</td>
<td>Prof. Pastoral Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977-1983</td>
<td>D. Glenny</td>
<td>Prof. Pastoral Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1995</td>
<td>N. Burgess</td>
<td>Lecturer in Pastoral Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983-1990</td>
<td>J. Bluck</td>
<td>Prof. Pastoral Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992-1996</td>
<td>A. Rae</td>
<td>Prof. Pastoral Theology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Church History</strong></td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>D. M. Stuart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>J. Chisholm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1887- d. 1909</td>
<td>J. Dunlop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1903- 1921</td>
<td>M. Watt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920 -1929</td>
<td>J. Cumming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1910 - d.1942</td>
<td>J. Dickie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1944 - 1968</td>
<td>J. Henderson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1939 -1948 -</td>
<td>H. H. Rex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1954 -1964</td>
<td>H. H. Rex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1965 -1982</td>
<td>I. Breward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1982 -1996</td>
<td>P. Matheson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| <strong>Multicultural</strong> | 1964-1970 | J. Irwin | Principal of Te Wananga a Rangi |
| | 1971 | J. Irwin | (Lecturer in Polynesian Studies at St Johns, Auckland) |
| | 1972 - 1982 | J. Irwin | Dean of Polynesian Studies |
| | 1982- 1989 | N. Ripley | Dean of Polynesian and Maori Studies |
| | 1991 -1995 | S. Riini | Maori Cultural Teacher to the Church |
| | 1991- 1995 | M. Ropeti-Uipeli | Pacific Island Cultural Teacher to the Church |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Old Testament</th>
<th>New Testament</th>
<th>Biblical studies Lecturer</th>
<th>Systematic Theology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920- 1929</td>
<td>J. Cumming</td>
<td>R. E. Davies</td>
<td>R. M. Paterson</td>
<td>D. M. Stuart Tutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931- 1946</td>
<td>S. F. Hunter</td>
<td>J. Collie</td>
<td></td>
<td>W. Salmond Professor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947- 1959</td>
<td>G. A. F Knight</td>
<td>J. Allan</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Chisholm Temporary Tutor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-1971</td>
<td>L. G. Geering</td>
<td>T. E. Pollard</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Dunlop Prof. of Systematic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-1989</td>
<td>M. E. Andrew</td>
<td>J. McCullough</td>
<td></td>
<td>Theology, Church History and New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-1996</td>
<td>J. E. McKinlay</td>
<td>G. Munro</td>
<td></td>
<td>Testament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-1971</td>
<td>R. M. Paterson</td>
<td>P. Trebilco</td>
<td></td>
<td>J. Collie Temporary Lecturer until</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dickie arrived</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year Range</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910-1942</td>
<td>J. Dickie</td>
<td>Prof. Systematic Theology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-43</td>
<td>H. J. Ryburn</td>
<td>Lecturer after Dickie’s death</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944-1962</td>
<td>J. Henderson</td>
<td>Prof. Systematic Theology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-1986</td>
<td>F. W. R. Nichol</td>
<td>Prof. Systematic Theology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-1979</td>
<td>R. Page</td>
<td>Tutor Systematic Theology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-1993</td>
<td>A. Torrance</td>
<td>Prof. Systematic Theology</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## APPENDIX C

### COMMITTEES, VISITATIONS, COMMISSIONS, BOARDS AND POLICY GROUPS RELATED TO NEW ZEALAND PRESBYTERIAN MINISTRY TRAINING

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Standing Committees/Boards</th>
<th>Special Committees, Visitations, Commissions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>Theological College Committee (TC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Theological Hall Committee (THC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Session Committee on Duties of the Principal of the Theological Hall</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Special Committee on Theological Hall and Youth Matters</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Sessional Committee on Theological Education (SCTE)</td>
<td>Special Committee on Theological Training (SCTT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Theological Education Committee (TEC) (including Deaconess College)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Special Committee on Church and Ministry (SCCM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>Sessional Committee on Ministry training</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>Special Committee on Training for Ministry (SCTM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Education for Ministry Committee (CEM)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Education of Ministry Committee (EMC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Visitation to the Hall (VTH 1985)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCANZ</td>
<td>Standing Committees/Boards</td>
<td>Special Committees, Visitations, Commissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td></td>
<td>Visitation to the Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Special Committee to study the future training, shape and maintenance for ministry of Word and Sacrament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td></td>
<td>Commission on the Theological Hall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>Theological Hall Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ministry Training Board</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>School of Ministry Management Committee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Equipping the Leadership Policy Group: Principal of School of Ministry acts as manager.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

DEGREES, DIPLOMAS AND CERTIFICATES OFFERED IN THEOLOGY, MINISTRY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF OTAGO
1946-2000

1946  Faculty Forms
BD

1963  Concept of a Lecturer of Phenomenology of Religion
within the Arts Faculty accepted by the University Senate

1966  MTh
Religious Studies arrives – Lecturer in Phenomenology of
religion funded by the Synod of Otago and Southland. ¹

1968  First lectures in Phenomenology of Religion. ²

1971  Stage II Phenomenology of Religion papers offered. ³

1972  BTheol⁴

1974  Second Lecturer in Phenomenology. ⁵

1976  Post Graduate Diploma in Theology.
Stage III Phenomenology of religion paper offered. ⁶

1985  BTheol (Hons). Phenomenology included in this degree, making
study of Phenom. possible at PGDip. level, opening the route to Masters
and Doctorates. ⁷

1990  Diploma and Certificate in Theological Studies
(distance learning). ⁸

1997  Department of Theology and Religious Studies formed
within the School of Liberal Arts in the Humanities
Divisions of the University of Otago. ⁹

2000  Master of Ministry
PGDip in Ministry. ¹⁰

¹ A. C. Moore, Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Otago: 1946-2000 (Dunedin: The
Department of Theology and Religious Studies, University of Otago, 2001), 29-30.

² Ibid., 31.

³ Ibid.

⁴ University of Otago Calendar (1972), 303-306.

⁵ Moore, Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Otago, 34.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid., 36.

⁸ University of Otago Calendar, (1990), 357-8.

⁹ Ibid., 39.

¹⁰ The University of Otago Calendar, Dunedin, (2000), 421-422.