

**The Church Militant:  
Dunedin Churches and Society During World War One**

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# Contents

<b>List of Figures</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>vii</b>
<b>Naming Conventions</b> .....	<b>viii</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>ix</b>
<b>Abstract</b> .....	<b>xi</b>
<b>Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
Why Dunedin? .....	1
War-time Dunedin .....	1
Religious History in New Zealand.....	6
New Zealand’s World War One History .....	14
International Equivalents .....	20
Roman Catholic Sources .....	21
Anglican Sources .....	22
Presbyterian Sources .....	24
Denominational Primary Sources .....	25
Non-denominational Primary Sources.....	26
Structure .....	28
<b>Chapter 1: Christianity in Dunedin</b> .....	<b>31</b>
Attendance Statistics .....	31
Population of Dunedin City and Greater Dunedin Area .....	34
Presbyterian Statistics .....	35
Anglican Statistics.....	37
Roman Catholic Statistics .....	39
Conclusions from the Data.....	40
Communicating Christian Values to the Community.....	42
Sunday Schools.....	42
Presbyterian Sunday Schools .....	45
Anglican Sunday Schools .....	45
Roman Catholic Church Schools.....	48
Protestant Church Schools .....	50
Church Groups.....	54
Adult Organisations .....	54

Youth Organisations .....	56
The Catholic Federation.....	60
Social Service Organisations .....	61
Community Missions and Evangelism .....	64
Church Building and Planting.....	66
Communicating the Christian Message Without Involving the Church .....	67
<b>Chapter 2: Holy War .....</b>	<b>72</b>
A Just War .....	73
Justifying the War: Honour and Defending the Weak .....	75
Good versus Evil.....	76
God’s Judgement.....	78
Defending New Zealand and the Empire.....	79
Outside the Churches .....	81
German Tactics, Terror and Frightfulness .....	84
Holy War and the Presbyterian Church .....	92
Holy War and the Anglican Church .....	93
Holy War and the Roman Catholic Church .....	94
The Kaiser .....	95
Outside the Press.....	97
Casualties .....	97
Germany’s Alliance with the Ottoman Empire .....	98
The Armenians .....	100
Declaration Day.....	103
Departing for Camp.....	109
War and Sacrifice.....	110
Religion and Anzac Day .....	119
Anzac Day and the Anglican Church.....	119
Anzac Day and the Presbyterian Church.....	120
Anzac Day and the Roman Catholic Church .....	122
Anzac Day Outside the Churches.....	122
Intercessory Services .....	123
Holy War Outside the Churches.....	128
Opposition to Holy War .....	130
<b>Chapter 3: Patriotism.....</b>	<b>134</b>
The Empire and Imperial Patriotism.....	135
Memorialising Earl Kitchener.....	141
Imperial Patriotism Outside the Churches .....	143

Service and Patriotic Organisations.....	147
Patriotic Work Outside the Churches.....	155
Military Chaplains and Denominational Institutes.....	157
Military Chaplains Before the War.....	157
Military Chaplains During the War.....	158
Anglican Institutes.....	159
Presbyterian Institutes.....	162
Roman Catholic Institutes.....	165
Military Chaplains.....	167
Anglican Chaplains.....	167
Presbyterian Chaplains.....	170
Roman Catholic Chaplains.....	172
Military Chaplains in General.....	173
Disloyalty, Defeatism and Confidence in Victory.....	177
Presbyterianism's Belief in Victory.....	182
Belief in Victory Outside the Churches.....	183
<b>Chapter 4: Recruiting.....</b>	<b>187</b>
Voluntary Recruitment.....	188
Churches and Recruiting.....	190
Recruiting Messages Outside the Church.....	197
Recruiting Rallies.....	199
Conscription.....	203
Conscription and Parliament.....	207
Conscription and the Anglican Church.....	209
Conscription and the Presbyterian Church.....	210
Conscription and the Roman Catholic Church.....	213
Conscription of Clergy and the Anglican Church.....	215
Conscription of Clergy and the Roman Catholic Church.....	219
Conscription of Clergy and the Presbyterian Church.....	224
Conscription of Clergy: Perception Outside the Churches.....	229
Religious and Conscientious Objectors.....	231
Objectors and the Anglican church.....	234
Objectors and the Presbyterian church.....	235
Religious and Conscientious Objectors and the Roman Catholic Church.....	240
<b>Chapter 5: Sectarianism in New Zealand.....</b>	<b>244</b>
Sectarianism in Historiography.....	245
Bible in State Schools.....	247

Ireland and Irish Issues.....	251
Ireland and Protestantism .....	259
Ireland Outside the Churches.....	261
Irish Migration to New Zealand.....	263
Ireland and Roman Catholic Clergy.....	265
Temperance and Prohibition .....	267
Presbyterian / Roman Catholic Tensions.....	270
Anglican / Roman Catholic Tensions.....	275
Roman Catholic / Protestant Tensions .....	276
Sectarian Tensions Outside of the Churches .....	281
Howard Elliott, the Postal Investigation and the Auckland Assault Case.....	283
The Protestant Political Association (P.P.A.).....	285
The Protestant Political Association and the Anglican Church .....	286
The Protestant Political Association and the Presbyterian Church .....	288
The Protestant Political Association Outside the Churches .....	290
Impact of the Protestant Political Association.....	293
Sectarianism and Socialism.....	296
Socialism during World War One .....	300
Socialism and Sectarianism.....	303
<b>Conclusion.....</b>	<b>309</b>
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>316</b>
Primary Sources: Unpublished .....	316
<i>Clergy Papers</i> .....	316
<i>Soldiers' Papers</i> .....	316
<i>Church Records: Anglican</i> .....	316
<i>Church Records: Presbyterian</i> .....	318
<i>General papers</i> .....	319
Periodicals.....	319
Secondary Sources: Published .....	320
<i>Books and Chapters in Books</i> .....	320
<i>Journal Articles</i> .....	324
Conference Paper .....	326
Secondary Sources: Unpublished Theses.....	327
<b>Appendix 1: Selected Clergy .....</b>	<b>329</b>
Anglican .....	329
Presbyterian .....	330
Catholic .....	331

Other Christian Denominations .....	332
<i>Baptist</i> .....	332
<i>Church of Christ</i> .....	332
<i>Congregationalist</i> .....	332
<i>Methodist</i> .....	333
<i>Salvation Army</i> .....	333
<b>Appendix 2: Parishes and Congregations in Dunedin .....</b>	<b>334</b>
Anglican .....	334
<i>Anglican Church Extensions</i> .....	334
Presbyterian.....	334
<i>Presbyterian Missions</i> .....	335
Roman Catholic.....	335
Other Christian Denominations .....	335
<i>Baptist</i> .....	335
<i>Brethren</i> .....	336
<i>Church of Christ</i> .....	336
<i>Congregationalist</i> .....	336
<i>Methodist</i> .....	336
<i>Salvation Army</i> .....	337
<i>Others</i> .....	337

## **List of Figures**

Figure 1: Examples of Anglican parishes with declining Sunday School attendance .....	47
Figure 2: Examples of Anglican parishes with increasing Sunday School attendance .....	47

## **List of Tables**

Table 1: Population of Dunedin City and suburban boroughs.....	34
Table 2: Dunedin Presbytery statistics 1910-1919 .....	35
Table 3: Anglican Diocese of Dunedin statistics for Dunedin City and suburbs .....	37
Table 4: Catholic populations of Greater Dunedin boroughs as per 1916 census .....	40
Table 5: Sunday School statistics for Dunedin Presbytery. ....	45
Table 6: Sunday School and religion in schools, Anglican Churches in Greater Dunedin.....	46
Table 7: Dunedin Presbytery Bible Class enrolment statistics .....	57

## **Abbreviations**

C.E.M.S. - Church of England Men's Society

Hocken - Hocken Collections, University of Otago

N.E.V. - North East Valley

N.Z.E.F. - New Zealand Expeditionary Force

O.P.G.W.A. - Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Organisation

P.C.A.N.Z.A.O. - Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand Archives Office (now known as P.C.A.N.Z. Research Centre)

P.C.N.Z. - Presbyterian Church of New Zealand

P.P.A. - Protestant Political Association

Y.M.B.C. - Young Men's Bible Class

Y.M.C.A. - Young Men's Christian Association

Y.W.C.A. - Young Women's Christian Association

## Naming Conventions

A list of clergy, along with their denominational and parish affiliations, is contained in Appendix 1. Many of these clergy feature repeatedly in this thesis and, inevitably, several have the same surname. To avoid confusion, Samuel Nevill, Bishop of the Diocese of Dunedin and Primate of New Zealand, is generally referred to as ‘Nevill,’ while his brother, the Canon of Dunedin’s St Paul’s Cathedral, is ‘Edmund Nevill.’ There are two men named Allen. “Charles Allen” was an Assistant Curate at Holy Innocents Anglican Church, while Sir James Allen, generally referred to in the thesis as “Allen,” was Minister of Defence and Acting Prime Minister while William Massey was absent from New Zealand. There are also three men named Allan, recorded always with their first names to allow the reader to locate them accurately in Appendix 1.

In the naming of churches or parishes the suburb is in most cases given, whether it is a formal part of the name or not, as an aid to locating and identifying specific churches. There are three instances (St Mary’s, St John’s, and St Andrew’s) where two or more churches shared the same name and in these cases the suburb is crucial in identifying which church is meant.

Catholic is used to refer to Roman Catholic. Similarly Anglican is used to describe the church variously called (by different sources and authors) the Church of the Province of New Zealand, the Church of England, and the Church of England in New Zealand. Unless otherwise stated the Presbyterian Church refers to the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand formed in 1901 by the Union of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand and the Synod of Otago and Southland, the latter sometimes called the Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland or the Free Church of Otago and Southland.

First Church of Otago, the Presbyterian Church in the heart of Dunedin, has been truncated to First Church, the name by which it has always been popularly known in the city and beyond.

Great Britain, or more accurately “the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,” has generally been truncated to “Britain.”



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## Abstract

The First World War occupies a pivotal position in New Zealand's history. From a population of just 1.1 million, around 124,000 men were mobilised into the New Zealand Expeditionary Force and 100,000 were sent overseas. Of those, approximately 18,000 were killed and 41,000 more wounded.

Hitherto, much of the historical focus of New Zealand's war experience has been on its military commitment, unsurprising given the human cost. Somewhat less attention has been paid to the experiences of the one million people who remained at home, largely supportive of the war effort. This thesis examines the role and influence of religion in shaping the attitudes of the people on the "home front" to the war and the war effort. It investigates specifically the themes of patriotism, recruiting, holy war and sacrifice, and sectarianism.

The city of Dunedin has been selected as the object of this study, with a specific focus on its three dominant Christian denominations, Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic. As one of New Zealand's four main urban centres, Dunedin had a broad cross-section of socio-economic groups and ranged from the highly urbanised boroughs of South Dunedin and St Kilda to the rural Taieri Plain.

Based on a comprehensive search of religious and other New Zealand newspapers published over the period of the war, there is clear evidence that the residents of Dunedin were broadly supportive of the nation's war effort and that the extent to which religion was influential in the lives of ordinary people was much greater than has been previously represented in many historical accounts. There is also evidence that elements of religious observance and belief were present in everyday life for many New Zealanders, more important to some than others, but almost always present. This undoubtedly influenced society's reaction to the war and its continuing support for the war effort. Religion was not confined to the churches, but was demonstrated in everyday life, through the press, public meetings, social and community organisations, schooling, donations and voluntary work. It was a vital part of New Zealand's make-up.



## Introduction

It is widely accepted that the years 1914 to 1918 were a pivotal time in New Zealand's history. There is no doubt that the country was greatly affected by the social, demographic, political and economic pressures created by its involvement in the Great War.

Much of New Zealand's historical scholarship around the wartime period has focussed on the Dominion's military commitment – the raising and equipping of the New Zealand Expeditionary Force (N.Z.E.F.) and the experiences of its soldiers. The story of the men, women and children who remained in New Zealand has suffered in comparison. An important part of this social narrative, also under-explored until recently, is New Zealand's religious history.

This thesis examines the proposition that it is impossible to fully understand New Zealand's war effort without examining the role of religion within New Zealand society, in particular on the "home front," during World War One. It takes as its starting point the high degree of integration of Christianity into Dunedin and New Zealand society in the years prior to 1914, and examines the influence the churches and religious belief had on public attitudes to the war, and the role that religion, organised and informal, played in everyday society. The study is focussed primarily on the city of Dunedin and on the influence of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches within the city.

### **Why Dunedin?**

The three largest denominations together nominally represented around 77% of the city's population at that time. They all have ample historical sources that relate to Dunedin city, they were significant regionally and nationally, and had well-defined and authoritative national and regional structures. Each of the three was ethnically diverse and among them they covered a wide range on the theological spectrum, including the Episcopalian-evangelical and Catholic-Protestant divides. Further, the large size of each of the three denominations allowed for multiple and, at times, competing internal groupings, reflecting the diversity and range of views present in New Zealand during the war. Finally, the availability of such a wealth of historical material necessitated the application of constraints in order to conform to the requirements of the dissertation.

This restricted focus does, of course, leave some unanswered questions, both in relation to the twenty per cent of Dunedin city's residents who were adherents of minor denominations and also as to whether there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the conclusions of this study are applicable on a nation-wide scale. The Methodist church, at around 9.5% of the city's population during the war, was the largest of Dunedin's minor denomination to be excluded from this study. This denomination was relatively new, being the result of a merger between the Wesleyan and Primitive churches at the start of the twentieth century (though these two churches traced their roots to the eighteenth century and had been active independently for many decades), and future research may well result in interesting comparisons with the three larger denominations. It could also be suggested that the smaller denominations could have provided additional foils for the conclusions drawn from the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic Churches, although it should be noted that the responses of at least the Methodist, Congregational, Church of Christ and Baptist churches to the war were likely to be broadly similar to those found within the Presbyterian Church. The Brethren and Quakers, on the other hand, had long maintained a desire to limit their interaction with the state, and their inclusion may have added a further dimension to this thesis, particularly in relation to the themes of involvement in church-run and church-affiliated societies, recruiting, conscription and patriotism. Including Dunedin's 226-strong Jewish congregation would also have added an element of cross-cultural and cross-religion comparison.

### **War-time Dunedin**

Dunedin was New Zealand's fourth largest city during this period, with a population (including its hinterland) of around 70,000 people, a significant conglomeration of people and large enough to provide a critical mass of information about their views, opinions and attitudes. It was the administrative and logistical centre for Otago and Southland and the hub of the Otago Military District. It was socially diverse, with significant numbers of working and middle class residents employed in a range of industrial, agricultural, educational, government, service, professional and financial enterprises. Dunedin firms were involved in importing and exporting a wide range of products and many of New Zealand's companies, such as Shacklock, Reed Publishing, Coulls, Culling & Co., Roslyn Woollen Mills and Ross and Glendining, had their head offices in the city. Southern Dunedin was one of the most urbanised areas of the country, home to large numbers of working and middle class families. Skilled and educated workers and

professionals were common. The hill suburbs, opened up to settlement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were home to large numbers of middle class families.

The city had two major daily newspapers and a weekly compendium circulated throughout much of the lower South Island. Smaller newspapers, such as the *Green Ray*, were also published in the city and served niche nationwide audiences. These newspapers, big or small, catered to a large and highly literate audience.

Dunedin had a significant religious “footprint.” There were over 130 major worship centres representing at least twelve different denominations in and around the city, many with large and diverse congregations. Seventy worship centres were Anglican, Presbyterian or Catholic. The city housed ministry training institutions for the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic Churches. The national Presbyterian and Catholic newspapers and the Anglican diocesan newspaper were all edited and printed in the city, and after the war the Anglican Church’s national newspaper would also be edited in Dunedin. The Catholic and Anglican southern Dioceses were centred in Dunedin, and the Dunedin Presbytery was a highly influential element of the Presbyterian Church. The Anglican Bishop of Dunedin was Primate of New Zealand and many influential Catholic and Presbyterian clergy were based in the city. Large numbers of Dunedin residents attended church regularly and even larger numbers interacted with church-run or Christian-based organisations.

Dunedin’s religious make-up differed from that of the rest of New Zealand. The 1916 Census recorded New Zealand’s religious break-down as 41.7% Anglican, 23.7% Presbyterian and 13.5% Catholic. In Dunedin, 39% of the city were Presbyterian, 26.5% were Anglican and 11.3% were Catholic. These numbers mask the fact that Catholics were present in Southern Dunedin in a far higher proportion than their overall Dunedin city percentage would suggest. Dunedin Anglicans, especially the senior clergy, often demonstrated the tension between their relative lack of financial and numerical resources locally and the wealth and greater power of their church nationally.

Dunedin’s preponderance of Presbyterians and relative lack of Anglicans, referred to above, should not be interpreted as negating any ability to apply the conclusions reached in this study to other parts of New Zealand. Superficially the city presents an atypical ethnic, religious and cultural picture. It should be noted that no one part of New Zealand reflected the overall national religious mix but, nevertheless, Dunedin’s large number of Presbyterians was

indicative of a strong Scottish and Ulster-Scots community, proportionately far greater than in other parts of New Zealand. Yet Presbyterians, Scots and Ulster-Scots were not the majority and co-existed alongside other large ethnic and religious groups. English-origin inhabitants, although the largest ethnic grouping nationwide, were a smaller proportion of the city than in other urban areas. The city had a strong Irish-Catholic community, co-existing at times uneasily alongside its Ulster Protestant compatriots.

However, the people of Dunedin did not exist within a vacuum. Their actions, beliefs and attitudes were influenced by, and were influencing, the wider New Zealand context. This raises the question of the extent to which Dunedin was typical or atypical of the rest of New Zealand. Could similar evidence be collected from other parts of New Zealand, and would the conclusions drawn from that evidence be comparable to the Dunedin experience? The nature of much of the denominational source material, in particular the three main church newspapers cited, enables helpful and frequently illuminating references to attitudes and actions in other parts of the Dominion, and suggests that despite the differences in population make-up in the various cities, further research may well reveal more similarities than differences in the way the people at home reacted to the war. To approach this question more fully it is necessary to first examine how representative Dunedin was of New Zealand.

Dunedin has long been characterised in popular imagination as a “Scottish” city. Superficially this is correct, with its first settlers being immigrants largely drawn from Scotland, a pattern that continued for many years. Its ecclesiastical landscape was dominated by Presbyterianism, be it the Free Kirk of its foundation or the blended Presbyterianism of post 1901. Presbyterianism had considerable influence on the character of the city, and its emphasis on education helped spur Dunedin to be the site of New Zealand’s first University and the colony’s first girls’ secondary school. Some attribute the city’s pioneering business success to uniquely Scottish characteristics of thrift and hard work. Taken together, these and other traits would suggest that Dunedin was unique in New Zealand and that the conclusions of this study could not be applied to the rest of the Dominion. However, closer examination has shown that Dunedin was in many respects broadly typical of New Zealand during this period.

Although its religious make-up Dunedin was dominated by the Presbyterian Church, there is clear evidence that the many different denominations worked together to a greater or lesser extent, with a range of *ad hoc* groupings forming to tackle different issues. This could take the form of Episcopalian versus evangelical during the prohibition debate, Protestant versus



Catholic in sectarianism, or pan-Christian groupings to agitate for cinema censorship and combatting of immorality. These groupings were not unique to Dunedin but were found nationally. In no major centre was any one denomination the majority, and all denominations periodically worked together to secure common aims, indicating a commonality in denominational operations across the country.

Dunedin's Scottish character was not as all-encompassing as popular belief would suggest. Dunedin, Otago, and Southland were all important centres of Scottish migration, but Scots also settled in large numbers in many other parts of New Zealand. As Patterson, Brooking and McAloon have shown, they formed significant communities within the cities of Auckland and Wellington, as well as in rural Canterbury.<sup>1</sup> Smaller communities were present in Northland, Taranaki, Nelson, Marlborough, the West Coast and Hawkes Bay. Data gathered by these researchers indicate that from 1887 the proportion of Scots settling in Otago had dropped from over a quarter to around twelve per cent.<sup>2</sup> Clearly, the vast majority of Scots were settling outside of Southern New Zealand. Furthermore, Presbyterianism itself was not uniquely composed of Scots. The denomination also included an Ulster-Scots dimension, diluting the image of a "pure" Scottish Presbyterianism. These different ethnic mixes were found throughout New Zealand and, while the exact proportion would vary from place to place, very few settlements did not possess a mix of English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish people, to say nothing of immigrants from outside the British Isles. The Scottish migrants themselves came from throughout Scotland, representing a diversity of Highland and Lowland cultures that was spread throughout New Zealand.<sup>3</sup> In addition, Dunedin's lack of Māori residents was common to urbanised New Zealand during this period.

Nor was Dunedin atypical in population. At 76,171 people, including its hinterland, it was the smallest of the four main cities, but it clearly belonged in the list of New Zealand's main urban and industrial centres.<sup>4</sup> In 1916 Christchurch had 92,733 inhabitants, Wellington had 95,235 and Auckland 133,712. Outside of these four large cities, the next largest urban settlement was Wanganui, with 19,517 inhabitants, significantly smaller than Dunedin. Dunedin's level of

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<sup>1</sup> Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking, Jim McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists: the Scots in New Zealand* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press; Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2013), 60.

<sup>2</sup> Patterson et al, 69.

<sup>3</sup> Patterson et al, 30.

<sup>4</sup> This figure combines Dunedin city with the St Kilda, Green Island, West Harbour and Port Chalmers boroughs and the Taieri and Peninsula counties. All figures are sourced from the 1917 New Zealand Official Year Book.

industrial, commercial, professional and educational activities were in line with those of the other main cities.

This is not to suggest that Dunedin was exactly the same as Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch. There were clear differences in size, diversity of commercial activity, denominational mix and ethnic diversity. In particular, Dunedin's distinctive feel arose from its Presbyterian preponderance and, at least to some extent, from its Scottish origins. Nevertheless, its differences should not mask the considerable similarities between it and the rest of the country, nor should they prevent the conclusions drawn from the Dunedin study from being cautiously being applied more widely, at least to urban New Zealand.

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Much of the thesis is necessarily comparative. The views, opinions and language expressed by the three denominations are compared to those found outside the churches and in the non-denominational press. There were many commonalities, and some areas of divergence. Differences of opinion that did occur did not threaten the bonds between church, state and populace or cause the majority of people to question the role that religion and religious organisations played in the war effort.

Another important component of this story is an examination of why religious belief was so strong during this period. How were Christian values, beliefs and morals communicated and reinforced? The narrative moves beyond the notion that attending church services was the only means of exposure to the Christian message. It looks at the many ways in which key tenets of Christianity were communicated and present in much of everyday New Zealand life, helping to frame experiences of and attitudes towards the conflict.

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### **Religious History in New Zealand**

Until relatively recently, historians have often discounted the role played by religion in the ongoing development of New Zealand society. In Peter Lineham's words, there has been 'a tendency to downplay the significance of religious belief in New Zealand society. ... Too easily religious history has been seen as a minor aspect of social history with no significance in

itself.<sup>5</sup> Examining past scholarship indicates that Lineham has been largely correct, reflective of a tendency to see New Zealand's history as a march towards modernity and secularism. Keith Sinclair, in *A History of New Zealand*, characterised New Zealand's religion as 'a simple materialism,' effectively removing whatever spiritual dimension religion may have had.<sup>6</sup> J. J. Mol, in his article "Religion" in *The Pattern of New Zealand Culture*, believed that 'the effect of the New Zealand religious institution has been ... ambiguous.'<sup>7</sup> Mol argued that New Zealand's religion was merely a continuation of 'forms of worship' that had been 'virtually unchanged' since the establishment of the country: a truly developed country would have created its own distinctive religious identity.<sup>8</sup> Other historians have made little attempt to investigate the underlying causes of some social movements. Matthew Wright, for instance, in his recently published *Illustrated History of New Zealand* stated: 'New Zealanders had never been a particularly religious society,' but in the next paragraph discusses prohibition with no mention of the central role played by religious organisations within the temperance movement or the religious conviction that underpinned many of their arguments.<sup>9</sup>

Some histories that do mention the influence of religion dilute its on-going importance, their arguments sometimes reflecting the personal biases of the authors.<sup>10</sup> Oliver and historians who followed in his tradition had embraced a 'liberal Christian humanism,' yet argued that the contribution of the church was insignificant and short-lived.<sup>11</sup> In *The Story of New Zealand* Oliver wrote that despite their respective Scottish Presbyterian and English Anglican backgrounds, 'neither colony [Dunedin and Christchurch] retained for long its intended religious character.'<sup>12</sup> Some authors have argued that New Zealand's history was largely a progression from a religious to a secular society.<sup>13</sup> Prominent among these was Sinclair, who wrote with 'deep scepticism' about Christianity and led the way in telling New Zealanders

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<sup>5</sup> Peter Lineham, "Religion," in *The Future of the Past. Themes in New Zealand History*, eds. Colin Davis and Peter Lineham (Palmerston North: Department of History, Massey University, 1991), 21.

<sup>6</sup> Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand, 4th edition* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> J. J. Mol, "Religion," in *The Pattern of New Zealand Culture*, ed. A. L. McLeod (New York: Cornell UP, 1968), 164.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 160.

<sup>9</sup> Matthew Wright, *Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Auckland: David Bateman, 2013), 264.

<sup>10</sup> Peter Lineham, "The Controversy over the Recognition of Religious Factors in New Zealand History," in Geoffrey M. Troughton and Hugh Morrison, eds., *Spirit of the Past. Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 29-31; John Stenhouse, "God's Own Silence. Secular Nationalism, Christianity and the Writing of New Zealand History," *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, vol. 1 (2005), 53.

<sup>11</sup> Stenhouse, "God's Own Silence," 63.

<sup>12</sup> William Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand* (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), 70.

<sup>13</sup> Stenhouse "God's Own Silence," 61.

‘where they had come from, who they were and where they were going.’<sup>14</sup> New Zealand may have had a form of religious past, but its future was firmly secular. Erik Olssen, Peter Matheson and Hugh Jackson, among others, have removed religious history from entire classes of New Zealanders.<sup>15</sup> In “Towards a New Society,” Erik Olssen wrote that the working class had ‘defected in droves’ from churches in the late nineteenth century, and that church-going was a middle class concern.<sup>16</sup> These views have had remarkable longevity and are still repeated: Stevan Eldred-Grigg, in *The Great Wrong War*, declared that evangelical Protestant churches were essentially a middle-class institution.<sup>17</sup>

However, historians have more recently provided more nuanced analyses of working class attitudes towards the church. John Stenhouse’s article “Christianity, Gender and the Working Class in Southern Dunedin” included an examination of church attendance and demonstrated that working class families maintained both formal and informal connections to churches even when some individuals within the family, commonly the men, did not.<sup>18</sup> James Belich, in *Paradise Reforged*, wrote: ‘Urban unskilled men had never been great churchgoers,’ but added that ‘women, skilled workers, the middle class and rural people’ were the stalwarts of the church.<sup>19</sup> Erik Olssen made significant changes to his contribution to the second edition of the *Oxford History of New Zealand*. His research in the Caversham Project had indicated that many working class people were active in churches, leading him to acknowledge the role of church-based social and community work. However he still seems to maintain that class was all-important, and attempts to incorporate religion into his article suffered as a consequence. Radical Christianity and Christian socialism, both existing in Southern Dunedin during this time, were not examined as possible foils to conservative Christianity. He may, as Lineham argued, still have viewed churches as ‘essentially conservative institutions’ but his approach showed more flexibility and tolerance of religion in New Zealand’s narrative.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> John Stenhouse, “Christianity, Gender and the Working Class in Southern Dunedin, 1880-1940,” *Journal of Religious History* 30, no. 1 (February 2006), 19.

<sup>16</sup> Erik Olssen, “Towards a New Society,” in *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, ed. William Oliver (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 263.

<sup>17</sup> Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War, New Zealand Society in WWI* (Auckland: Random House New Zealand, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Stenhouse, “Southern Dunedin,” 28-29.

<sup>19</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged. A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Allen Lane: Penguin Press, 2001), 164.

<sup>20</sup> Lineham, “Controversy,” 31.

Few historians who have examined religion seem to have moved beyond treating denominations as monolithic blocks, with members of a particular denomination usually depicted as thinking and acting similarly. However, there are many areas ripe for further investigation. Catholics came from many different sources, including England, Scotland, Ireland and the Balkans, yet the focus is usually on Irish Catholics. The divisions and tension between Catholicism's religious and secular clergy are often overlooked. Presbyterianism is a denomination founded on dissent and has a (sometimes) chaotic democratic structure which provided the vehicle for airing disagreements and contrary opinions, yet these are often overlooked. The Anglican Church encompassed high and low theological forms often reflecting the class and social order of the parish's boundaries, but the exact relationship is ill-defined and under-explored. The tensions within the churches between new immigrants and second and third generation New Zealanders are often overlooked. Fortunately there are scholars who have begun to investigate these fruitful areas, among them Michael King, Rory Sweetman, Ali Clarke and Bernard Cadogan.<sup>21</sup>

Two works by Belich, *Making Peoples* and *Paradise Reforged*, present an interesting case study of how religious history has become increasingly more "mainstream."<sup>22</sup> In *Making Peoples* Belich argues that churches played little part in aiding the development of new communities and that the efforts of clergy and church members did nothing to help 'bond the majority of people' in the community.<sup>23</sup> He declares that 'there is considerable evidence that organised religion was not enormously strong in Colonial New Zealand,' argues that settlers rejected religion once they arrived in New Zealand, and that their lifestyle 'corroded religiosity.'<sup>24</sup> Writing five years later, in *Paradise Reforged*, Belich makes very different statements, arguing: "The general impression of mainstream New Zealand in this period [the late nineteenth and early twentieth

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<sup>21</sup> Michael King, *God's Farthest Outpost. A History of Catholics in New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin Books, 1997); Rory M. Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922," PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990; Alison Clarke, "The Presbyterian Way of Life in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," paper presented to the Presbyterian Research Network, Dunedin, 15 October 2009, <http://www.presbyterian.org.nz/archives/presresnetworkoct09.pdf>. Accessed 1 Nov. 2013; Bernard F. Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics. The Catholic Bourgeoisie of the Diocese of Dunedin: 1900-1920" BA(Hons) dissertation, Otago University, 1984.

<sup>22</sup> James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Auckland: Penguin Press, 1996).

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 417.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 438.

centuries] is the very opposite of irreligious. ... This was an era in which revivalism, fundamentalism, and Protestant sects with elements of both featured quite prominently.<sup>25</sup>

Belich's *volte face* is in part due to a central thesis of *Paradise Reforged*: New Zealand's "Great Tightening," occurring between the late nineteenth century and 1960. Belich argues that society became much more conformist, regulated and ordered during this period and that religion was one of the key forces that brought this about. He accepts that religiosity cannot be measured just by church attendance, writing that 'decline in Protestant churchgoing' could occur 'without a decline in broader religiousness,' acknowledging that religiosity was prevalent in society.<sup>26</sup> Yet Belich's equivocation over religion is still evident. He argues that other forces also drove the "Great Tightening" whilst denying that religious belief and organised Christianity could underpin, feed into and feed off these other forces.<sup>27</sup> Religiosity seems confined to a box, reducing its impact and limiting its influence, when the symbiotic relationship between religion and each of these other forces could instead have been explored further.

Historians' attitude towards New Zealand's religious history has not been helped by many of the histories produced by the individual denominations, usually written to commemorate significant milestones in the history of that denomination, parish or congregation and often reading as a list of seemingly important ecclesiastical events. Anglican histories such as William Morrell's *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* and John Evans' *Southern See* detail the founding of churches, establishment of cathedrals and Dioceses, ordinations of priests and enthronements of bishops.<sup>28</sup> John Elder's history of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand was concerned mainly with the role of clergy and largely overlooked the laity.<sup>29</sup> Dennis McEldowney's *Presbyterians in Aotearoa* attempts to address this oversight, incorporating the laity into the narrative of the church and attempting to place some events within the context of New Zealand's history, but it does not address the impact of the Great War on the denomination.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 164.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 163.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 121-122.

<sup>28</sup> William Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand* (Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand [distributed by J. McIndoe] 1973); John Evans, *Southern See: the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin New Zealand* (Dunedin, NZ: John McIndoe [for] the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Dunedin, 1968).

<sup>29</sup> John Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1914* (Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1940).

<sup>30</sup> Dennis McEldowney, ed., *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990* (Wellington: Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990).

The two World Wars are treated as full-stops between periods of development, rather than events worthy of examination in themselves. Michael King's *God's Farthest Outpost* is the only book examining the history of Catholicism as a whole in New Zealand, rather than studying specific parts of it.<sup>31</sup> King provides an overview of the Catholic Church's operations in New Zealand, yet dedicates only a handful of pages to the Great War and has no discussion concerning the impact of the war on Catholicism. There is no Catholic history of the Diocese of Dunedin. Small works examining the histories of the Christian Brothers, the Dominican Sisters and the Sisters of Mercy do exist, but these were never intended to be academic or rigorously investigative texts.<sup>32</sup> Sweetman's work has led the way in Catholic studies, albeit focussed largely on events and individuals rather than aiming at a history of the denomination or a Diocese.<sup>33</sup>

In their introduction to *Spirit of the Past*, Geoffrey Troughton and Hugh Morrison discuss the deficiencies of the "in-house" denominational histories.<sup>34</sup> These works are largely written for their own audience, focussing on the institutions, structures and policies of the denomination and the "leading" people within it. Their lack of critical analysis and hard questioning is the result, Lineham argues, of the ability to identify people within these types of histories.<sup>35</sup> They often make little attempt to place the history within the wider context of New Zealand or in relation to other denominations. Each history treats its own subject as the primary actor and consequently there is no way of determining how widely accepted a particular development, opinion or idea was. King's history of Roman Catholicism in New Zealand, Breward's works on Presbyterianism and religion in Australasia, and McEldowney's history of Presbyterianism avoid this shortcoming, representing a new method of examining denominational history.

Despite these shortcomings, the study of religious history has persevered and strengthened. King's work on Roman Catholicism in New Zealand, Breward's studies on Presbyterianism

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<sup>31</sup> M. King, *God's Farthest Outpost*.

<sup>32</sup> Graeme Donaldson, *To All Parts of the Kingdom: Christian Brothers in New Zealand 1876-2001* (Dunedin: Christian Brothers 125<sup>th</sup> Committee, 2001); W. J. Meehan and Brian Scanlan, eds, *1876-1976: The First 100 years in New Zealand at Christian Brothers School, Dunedin* (Dunedin: Christian Brothers School Centennial Committee, 1876); M. A. McCarthy, *Star in the South: The Centennial History of the New Zealand Dominican Sisters* (Dunedin: St. Dominic's Priory, 1970); Mary Stella, *Divide and Share: the Story of Mercy in the South, 1897-1997* (Dunedin: Sisters of Mercy, 1996).

<sup>33</sup> Rory M. Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922." PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1990; Rory M. Sweetman, *Bishop in the Dock: The Sedition Trial of James Liston*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1997.

<sup>34</sup> Troughton and Morrison, 14.

<sup>35</sup> Lineham, "Religion," 7, 9.

and religion in Australasia, and McEldowney's history of Presbyterianism represent a new method of examining denominational history. Stenhouse's article "God's Own Silence" provides evidence of how incorporating religion and religious faith into studies of individuals and networks has enriched historical investigation. Gender histories, Binney's study of Te Kooti, Lyndsay Head on Māori modernity and Tony Ballantyne's study of trans-national networks during the age of empire all demonstrate how a sensitive study of religious belief and faith can aid historical investigation.<sup>36</sup> Since the 1980s, a new coterie of historians has come to the fore, intent on redressing the confinement of religious history to niche parts of New Zealand's story. They include not only religious history specialists, such as Alison Clarke, Allan Davidson, Stenhouse, Troughton, Lineham and Sweetman, but also biographical historians such as Tom Brooking and others, who have incorporated religious history to provide a fuller and better-rounded analysis of their subjects. Together, these historians have demonstrated the importance of religious faith in the lives of many New Zealanders, not just the "great and the good" but the great mass of "ordinary" people. Clarke, Davidson, Sweetman and Troughton have begun the task of investigating and explaining how religion influenced the lives of many New Zealanders.<sup>37</sup> Sweetman, Davidson and Ballantyne have demonstrated that New Zealand's churches had strong ties to their sister denominations in Europe, North America, Australia and the Pacific, influencing and in turn being influenced by these connections.<sup>38</sup> Lineham has examined the smaller denominations and sects and Stenhouse has written on the intersection of religion and science and on the role of missionaries in pre- and early-colonial

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<sup>36</sup> Stenhouse, "God's Own Silence," 53, 64-65.

<sup>37</sup> Sweetman, *Bishop in the Dock*; Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism"; Alison Clarke, "A Godly Rhythm: Keeping the Sabbath in Otago, 1870-1890," in Stenhouse and Thomson; Clarke, "Presbyterian Way of Life"; Geoffrey M. Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus. Social and Religious Transformations of an Image, 1890-1940*, (Bern, Switzerland; New York: P. Lange, 2011); Geoffrey M. Troughton and Hugh Morrison, eds., *Spirit of the Past. Essays on Christianity in New Zealand History* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011); Geoffrey M. Troughton, "Jesus and the Ideal of the Manly Man in New Zealand After World War One," *Journal of Religious History* 30, 1 (February 2006): 45-60; Geoffrey M. Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand c.1900-1940," *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, 1 (2006): 39-56; Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa. A History of Church and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 1991).

<sup>38</sup> Troughton and Morrison, 16; Rory M. Sweetman, "Waving the Green Flag in the Southern Hemisphere: the Kellys and the Irish College, Rome," in *The Irish College, Rome, and its World*, eds. D. Keogh and A. McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008); Rory M. Sweetman, "Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week? Antipodean Irish Catholic Responses to the 1916 Rising," in *The Impact of the 1916 Rising: Among the Nations*, ed. Ruan O'Donnell (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008); Allan K. Davidson, "New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War," in Crawford and McGibbon; *Selwyn's Legacy: The College of St. John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843-1992, a History* (Auckland: The College of St. John the Evangelist, 1993).



New Zealand. He has been instrumental in challenging the long-held belief that working class New Zealand was antagonistic to or ignorant of religious faith.<sup>39</sup>

Theses and journal articles have had an important role in the “discovery” of New Zealand’s religious history. Harold Moores and Max Satchell each had a pioneering role in examining the intersection of religion with New Zealand’s politics. Their work focussed on the Protestant Political Association and its national and regional impact respectively.<sup>40</sup> Their works are in need of updating but they remain important sources for scholars investigating New Zealand society and religion during the Great War. Many other works have joined these two in recent times. George Davis’s doctoral thesis on Anzac Day observance in New Zealand and Australia investigated, in part, the day’s religious influence and spiritual undertones.<sup>41</sup> His collaboration with Australian academic John Moses examined the importance of Anglican cleric David Garland to the development of Anzac Day.<sup>42</sup> Together with Scott Worthy’s article, “A Debt of Honour. New Zealand’s First Anzac Days,” these works indicate how Christianity informed and underpinned the development of Anzac Day and its associated ceremonies.<sup>43</sup> David Keen’s thesis on Otago and Southland Sunday Schools, and Grace Bateman’s work on how children learned, understood and exhibited religious behaviour, have shown the pervasiveness of formal and informal Christian education within the lives of Dunedin’s youth.<sup>44</sup>

There are only a few works critically examining the lives of New Zealand’s prominent clerics during this time. This is unfortunate as these people had considerable influence over their denominations and were able to shape churches, their teaching and theological interpretation with a legacy that could extend for decades. Two examples are Laurie Barber’s work on James

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<sup>39</sup> Peter Lineham, “The Controversy over the Recognition of Religious Factors in New Zealand History,” in Troughton and Morrison (eds), *Spirit of the Past*, 40.

<sup>40</sup> Harold S. Moores, “The Rise of the Protestant Political Association. Sectarianism in New Zealand during World War 1” (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1966); Max Satchell, “Pulpit Politics. The Protestant Political Association in Dunedin from 1917 to 1922” (BA(Hons) dissertation, University of Otago, 1983).

<sup>41</sup> George F. Davis, “Anzac Day Meanings and Memories: New Zealand, Australian and Turkish Perspectives on a Day of Commemoration in the Twentieth Century” (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2008).

<sup>42</sup> John A. Moses and George F. Davis, *Anzac Day Origins. Canon DJ Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration* (Barton, ACT: Barton Books, 2013).

<sup>43</sup> Scott Worthy, “A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders’ First Anzac Days,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, 2 (2004), 185-200.

<sup>44</sup> David S. Keen, “Feeding the Lambs: The Influence of Sunday Schools on the Socialisation of Children in Otago and Southland” (PhD thesis, Otago University, 1999); Grace Bateman, “Signs and Graces: Remembering Religion in Childhood in Southern Dunedin, 1920-1950” (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2013).

Gibb and Geoff King's work on John Dickie.<sup>45</sup> Both subjects were prominent Presbyterian ministers who were at the height of their authority and intellectual prowess during the Great War. Similar studies of the lives of Anglican priests such as Nevill, Fitchett, Sprott and Averill would be a significant contribution to the historical record, especially during this period of simultaneous transformation and continuity in the period surrounding World War One, and they would complement Sweetman's work on Catholic clerics.

These scholars, and others, have challenged beliefs that religious history was somehow a small and inconsequential part of New Zealand's story. An underlying theme of their scholarship has been the breadth and importance of religion in the lives of everyday New Zealanders and its impact on the development of the country. They have tested and found wanting some hitherto widely accepted "truths," including the class parameters of faith, the effect of religion on New Zealand's great social movements, the importance of faith to individuals, and the way that religiosity should be measured. Above all, they have shown that religion was a topic worthy of serious study, that without doing so a biased and skewed picture of New Zealand would develop, and that religion has been, and continues to be, an important part of New Zealand's society.

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### **New Zealand's World War One History**

The study of New Zealand's "home front" during World War One has been patchy. Books and articles related to the period have tended to focus on the experience of New Zealand's soldiers, not the people back home who supported the war effort. This has been the case for much of the past century, from the original unit histories to the many campaign histories and biographies of later years. Even in the most recent decade or two, when New Zealand's Great War historiography has experienced a renaissance, the most prominent histories have addressed the military side of the war effort. The "home front" is absent in Chris Pugsley's *The Anzac Experience*, John Crawford's *The Devil's Own War*, and Terry Kinloch's *Devils on Horses and Echoes of Gallipoli*.<sup>46</sup> Glyn Harper's *Dark Journey* and Matthew Wright's *Shattered Glory* do discuss

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<sup>45</sup> Laurie H. Barber, "The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian pastoral frontier, 1882-1935" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 1975); Geoff King, "Organising Christian Truth: An Investigation of the Life and Work of John Dickie" (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1998).

<sup>46</sup> Chris Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience: New Zealand, Australia and Empire in the First World War* (Auckland: Reed Pub, 2004); John Crawford, *The Devil's Own War: The First World War Diary of Brigadier-General Herbert Hart* (Auckland: Exisle Pub., 2008); Terry Kinloch, *Devils on Horses: In the*

the home front, but only briefly and with scant mention of religion.<sup>47</sup> This is not to argue that these works are deficient in their scholarship or contribution to New Zealand historiography. They all make important contributions to New Zealand's knowledge-base, but they are examples of the focus which has dominated World War One studies in New Zealand, on the soldiers, not on New Zealand as a whole.

Some works have attempted to address this imbalance. They include H. T. B. Drew's *The War Effort of New Zealand*, Paul Baker's *King and Country Call*, and *New Zealand's Great War*, edited by John Crawford and Ian McGibbon.<sup>48</sup> Drew's book formed part of the Government's official history of the conflict and was published in 1923. It documented the contribution of the "home front" to the war effort, particularly the patriotic organisations and the economic and financial efforts made by New Zealanders. It does have some limitations, largely stemming from its status as an official history. It has a celebratory tone, glossing over the very real adverse effects that the war inflicted on New Zealand society. No mention is made of the polarisation that occurred, the political and social forces unleashed by the conflict and how latent problems within society were made more extreme. However, even allowing for these deficiencies, it covered ground that remained undisturbed for many decades.

Baker's *King and Country Call* is widely regarded as the definitive work on New Zealand's domestic military development during the First World War. This reputation is well deserved and the book has yet to be superseded. It examines society's attitude towards voluntary recruitment and conscription insightfully and in detail. It does, however, have some shortcomings that limit its usefulness. Its very familiarity to scholars has helped to mask the fact that it is examining only one part of New Zealand society during the war. Its main focus is recruiting for the armed forces and maintaining the N.Z.E.F. Of necessity it has to venture into other developments during the war, but only in so far as they are related to recruiting. Large areas of political and social debate are consequently given scant attention, while topics such as economic development are largely absent. Similarly, religion and the contributions of the churches receive only superficial attention in the text, and the religious motivation that

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*Words of the Anzacs in the Middle East 1916-19* (Auckland: Exisle Pub, 2007); Terry Kinloch, *Echoes of Gallipoli: In the Words of New Zealand's Mounted Riflemen* (Auckland: Exisle Pub., 2005).

<sup>47</sup> Glyn Harper, *Dark Journey* (Auckland: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007); Matthew Wright, *Shattered glory: The New Zealand Experience at Gallipoli and the Western Front* (Auckland: Penguin, 2010).

<sup>48</sup> H. T. B. Drew, *The War Effort of New Zealand* (Auckland: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1923); Paul Baker, *King and Country Call: New Zealanders, Conscription and the Great War* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988); John Crawford and Ian McGibbon, eds., *New Zealand's Great War: New Zealand, the Allies and the First World War* (Auckland: Exisle Publishing Ltd, 2007).

spurred men to enlist is glossed over or disregarded. *King and Country Call* is an important work but lacks a degree of depth and breadth in its analysis.

*New Zealand's Great War*, published in 2007, is a collection of articles written by thirty-three historians, mostly New Zealanders but including some international contributors. The articles canvass many aspects of New Zealand's experience during the war. It is the first book of this type to encompass a study of New Zealand's overall war effort and constitutes a very valuable and much needed addition to New Zealand's historiography. Its essays are grouped thematically, examining political, social and international perspectives; the operational context; service in the armed forces; and home front perspectives. It is this last which makes such an important contribution to New Zealand's scholarship, examining religion, gender and welfare, sacrifice, the National Efficiency Board, patriotism, and the effects of the war on rural and urban communities.

*New Zealand's Great War* makes a significant contribution to World War One studies but it does have limitations. Being the first work to undertake a serious examination of New Zealand's war effort on the home front is a two-edged sword. Authors had freedom to choose their topics but also lacked the contextual background and support that a wide body of scholarship provides. Articles were necessarily limited by space and this, in some cases, precluded the ability to add nuance to their conclusions. Several topics were given either scant or no attention, including the national ministry, Ward's and Massey's absences, Allen's role, the economic impact, the rise of socialism and the Labour Party and the overall impact of the war on pre-existing fractures within society, especially sectarianism. Enough material remains unexamined for a companion volume.

Eldred-Grigg's *The Great Wrong War* stands in marked contrast to *New Zealand's Great War*.<sup>49</sup> The latter is a scholarly and well researched work, written by respected historians who understand the topic and the historical context in which they are writing. Eldred-Grigg, on the other hand, has produced a frequently incorrect, biased and politically slanted work. He makes his own opinion clear from the very title of the book and this central theme runs throughout the work. In historical works context is the *sine qua non*. Eldred-Grigg has, in this work, ignored the vast quantity of contextual information that would undermine his conclusions. Religion is

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<sup>49</sup> Crawford and McGibbon; Eldred-Grigg.

scarcely mentioned and, when it is, it is possible to detect Stenhouse's "villain" hypothesis.<sup>50</sup> Eldred-Grigg sees churches as one-dimensional, uncaring and largely devoid of compassion. New Zealanders' religious beliefs are discounted or ignored, mentioned only as an avenue of criticism. It is unfortunate that this book has such weaknesses, given the paucity of other works discussing New Zealand's home front.

Other accounts of the war and the home front tend to focus on specific events or circumstances that were atypical of the experiences of the majority of society. Archibald Baxter's autobiographical *We Will Not Cease* and David Grant's *Field Punishment No. 1* are two of them.<sup>51</sup> These two books detail the experiences of religious and conscientious objectors. They do not purport to examine or reflect fully the social context of the events they describe but do provide comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the conscientious objector movement. Religious belief informed many pacifists' convictions, but it was very different from the religious belief held by the vast majority of New Zealanders.

Most general histories of New Zealand dedicate little space to the Dominion's experiences during the Great War, and they tend to focus on the N.Z.E.F. and its campaigns. Notable examples are Oliver's *The Story of New Zealand* and Sinclair's *A History of New Zealand and A Destiny Apart*.<sup>52</sup> Some general histories barely mention the war at all, and certainly do not include details concerning the conflict's societal effects. Among them are John Beaglehole's *New Zealand: a Short History*, Nellie Coad's *New Zealand from Tasman to Massey*, and Angus Harrop's *New Zealand After Five Wars*.<sup>53</sup> Other more recent works, such as Tom Brooking's *The History of New Zealand* and Philippa Mein Smith's *A Concise History of New Zealand*, provide some information on the effect of the conflict on New Zealand society but this is limited and usually forms part of a chapter that is more widely dedicated to the military effort.<sup>54</sup> Matthew Wright's *Illustrated History of New Zealand*, referred to above, does provide some information about wartime society, but it is far from complete and largely superficial. Olssen has attempted to

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<sup>50</sup> Stenhouse, "God's Own Silence," 52.

<sup>51</sup> Archibald Baxter, *We Will Not Cease* (Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1968); David Grant, *Field Punishment No. 1: Archibald Baxter, Mark Briggs & New Zealand's Anti-Militarist Tradition* (Wellington: Steele Roberts, 2008).

<sup>52</sup> Oliver, *Story of New Zealand*; Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*; Keith Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart. New Zealand's Search for National Identity* (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1986).

<sup>53</sup> J. C. Beaglehole, *New Zealand: A Short History* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1936); Nellie Coad, *New Zealand from Tasman to Massey* (Wellington: Harry M. Tombs Ltd, 1934); A. J. Harrop, *New Zealand after Five Wars* (London: Jarrods, 1947).

<sup>54</sup> Tom Brooking, *The History of New Zealand* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2004); Philippa Mein Smith, *A Concise History of New Zealand* (Cambridge (UK): Cambridge University Press, 2005).

cover some aspects of the war's impact on New Zealand, notably in his contribution to *The People and the Land* and in some of the Caversham study publications, but these suffer from being too narrow and focus on the areas and issues of interest to the author. A close perusal of these general histories uncovers some overlooked areas in New Zealand's historiography and highlights the need for scholarship not just on its military history, but on the effect of the war on the whole country.

The past few decades have also seen the publication of many theses examining New Zealand during the Great War. Natalie Wright has examined the war's impact on Clutha county and the way New Zealand's enemies were portrayed in the Otago and Southland press. Her works help to explain the war's impact on rural New Zealand as well as providing a nuanced understanding of the stereotypes used to describe Germany, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey.<sup>55</sup> Richard Kay has comprehensively examined New Zealand's diplomatic history, demonstrating that New Zealand's Government was not as compliant and obedient as hitherto believed.<sup>56</sup> David Littlewood's investigation into the Wellington Military Service Boards indicates that the Boards were far less independent of the Government, and much more impartial in how they considered cases, than hitherto believed.<sup>57</sup> Steven Loveridge's work on the mobilisation of New Zealand society addresses some of the areas overlooked by previous historians, helping to build a better picture of the war on the "Home Front".<sup>58</sup> Davis's doctoral thesis, referred to above, examines the development of Anzac Day observance over the decades in Australia, New Zealand and Turkey.<sup>59</sup> Gwen Parsons has challenged the myth of failure behind the Government's soldier settlement schemes of the immediate post-war period.<sup>60</sup> The present author's work on the New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade examined the myth of a peculiarly "New Zealand" soldier, independent of and antagonistic towards the

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<sup>55</sup> Natalie J. Wright, "Clutha at War! The Impact of the First World War on the District of Clutha" (B.A.(Hons) dissertation, University of Otago, 1993); Natalie J. Wright, "Beyond the pale of Human Recognition: the Image of the Enemy as Portrayed in the Otago/Southland Press during WWI" (MA thesis, Otago University, 1996).

<sup>56</sup> Richard H. Kay, "In Pursuit of Victory: British-New Zealand Relations During the First World War" (PhD thesis, Otago University, 2001).

<sup>57</sup> David C. Littlewood, "'Should He Serve?' The Military Service Boards' Operations in the Wellington Provincial District, 1916-1918" (MA thesis, Massey University, 2010).

<sup>58</sup> Steven Loveridge, "'Sentimental Equipment': New Zealand, the Great War and Cultural Mobilisation" (PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> George F. Davis, "Anzac Day Meanings."

<sup>60</sup> Gwen A. Parsons, "'The Many Derelicts of the War'? Great War Veterans and Repatriation in Dunedin and Ashburton" (PhD thesis, Otago University, 2008).

British Empire.<sup>61</sup> Other theses include Megan Hutching's on women in the peace movement, Don Mackay's on the preservation and meaning of Anzac, and Alexander Watt's dissertation on Joseph Ward.<sup>62</sup> These works help to construct a more detailed and robust view of the effect on, and consequences to, New Zealand as a result of its participation in the war.

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Overlooked by many historians is the key role that religion played in binding New Zealand and New Zealanders together during the war. Religion helped to unite the country during the years of conflict, providing a centripetal force that brought the vast majority of New Zealanders together to further the war effort. Religion helped to convince men to enlist, to introduce conscription, made sense of the continual need to provide men, money and munitions to the war, supported patriotic work, and provided its moral authority to justifying the war. In a real sense it is difficult to understand New Zealand society and its determination to prosecute the war until victory without incorporating religion into the narrative.

At the same time, there was another aspect to religion during this time. It provided a centrifugal force, helping to define all those who dissented from the majority societal view as the "other." Those who would not conform to Protestantism, imperialism, militarism and patriotism were in part defined by their religious opinions and beliefs. They were the people who could not or would not conform - Catholics, pacifists, atheists and religious and conscientious objectors - and all suffered. Under the strain of war and the centripetal force of religion these groups threatened the unity and strength of the nation, and it was religion that defined them in their position.

Historians, particularly those who have charted the development of New Zealand, have not fully explored the role that religion played in forming and sustaining both these centripetal and centrifugal forces. Belich has come the closest, listing religion as one of the forces that contributed to the Great Tightening. Yet Belich does not examine the ways that religion could be both a uniting and disintegrating force, one that brought the nation together and helped to

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<sup>61</sup> Dickon J. Milnes, "Imperial Soldiers? The New Zealand Mounted Rifles Brigade in Sinai and Palestine, 1916-1919" (MA thesis, Otago University, 2000).

<sup>62</sup> Megan Hutching, "'Turn Back this Tide of Barbarism': New Zealand Women Who Were Opposed to War, 1896-1919" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1990); Don C. Mackay, "Sépulture Perpétuelle: New Zealand and Gallipoli; Possession, Preservation and Pilgrimage 1916-1965" (PhD thesis, Otago University, 2005); Alexander J. Watt, "Wardism, Romanism, Bolshevism" (BA(Hons) dissertation, Otago University, 2007).

impose societal conformity as well as one that contributed to its fracturing and defining of dissenters. A skewed picture has subsequently developed, one that more and more historians are addressing through incorporating more and more religious history in their works.

This thesis follows in the footsteps of both religious and military historians. It builds on their knowledge base to contribute to New Zealand's Great War historiography. It seeks to examine the lives of everyday New Zealanders, to move outside of histories of the "great and the good" or the history of the "radical" few, and aims instead to show how religious belief was an important and present part of daily life of New Zealanders, the mass of whom were neither "great" nor "radical," but all important. Religion brought them together, united them and defined them, yet at the same time helped to create dissenters. Religion gave labels for dissenters to rally around – religious objectors, Catholics or atheists. There were a million men, women and children who lived their lives day by day, reacting to the stresses and strains created through participation in one of the greatest cataclysms to befall humanity. For many of these people religious faith was important - it was not peripheral to their lives and it permeated all sectors of society. Above all, this present work responds to Lineham's comment: 'We need studies of loyalism and conservatism ... of the intersection of religion and politics ... [and] a better understanding of the values of loyal church members.'<sup>63</sup>

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### **International Equivalents**

To a large extent New Zealand has lagged behind international movements to incorporate religion into studies on the Great War. There is no New Zealand scholarship comparable to works such as Arlie Hoover's *God, Germany and Britain in the Great War*, Alan Wilkinson's *The Church of England and the First World War*, Jonathan Vance's *Death So Noble*, John Wolffe's *God and Greater Britain* or Michael McKernan's *Australian Churches at War*.<sup>64</sup> Even some general histories about World War One, such as Niall Ferguson's *The Pity of War* and Max Hastings' *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War* attempt to examine, however briefly, the religious aspects of the

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<sup>63</sup> Lineham, "Religion," 16.

<sup>64</sup> Arlie J. Hoover, *God, Germany and Britain in the Great War: A Study in Clerical Nationalism* (New York: Praeger, 1989); Alan Wilkinson, *The Church of England and the First World War* (London: SPCK, 1978); Jonathan F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997); John Wolffe, *God and Greater Britain: Religion and National Life in Britain and Ireland 1843-1945* (London: Routledge, 1994); Michael McKernan, *Australian Churches at War: Attitudes and Activities of the Major Churches 1914-1918* (Sydney: Catholic Theological Faculty, 1980).



conflict.<sup>65</sup> There are few New Zealand equivalents of articles such as Michael Snape's and Patrick Porter's work on British and German army chaplains, Stewart Brown's and Peter Matheson's work on Scotland's Presbyterian Churches in wartime, or John Moses' work on Australia's Anglican leaders.<sup>66</sup> These books and articles examine the input of the churches and society's religious beliefs on the war and war effort. They demonstrate the extent to which organised religion involved itself in the war effort of Britain and the Dominions, as well as how the religious belief of ordinary men and women helped maintain the war effort of these societies. The churches and religious belief are often not the central themes of these works, but they are placed within the context of the war and the forces that the war released on those societies. They provide not only a context that is lacking in New Zealand historiography but also an additional narrative that enriches their study of the way societies responded to the demands of war.

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### **Roman Catholic Sources**

Catholic sources are the least diverse of the denominations. There are few sources providing insights into parish and congregational events, attitudes and opinions. This was a reflection of the structure of the church, which was heavily centralised and under the direction of the parish priest, bishop and archbishop. Little input was expected or asked of parishioners, and certainly not through the formal medium of committees. There were no organisations comparable to Anglican or Presbyterian parish committees. Central records, such as those of the bishop and Diocese, are of little value. Bishop Verdon was very ill during the period covered by this thesis and much of the bishop's functions were performed by James Coffey. The majority of extant records concern legal or ecclesiastical procedures rather than presenting a picture of attitudes and opinions within the church.

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<sup>65</sup> Niall Ferguson, *The Pity of War: 1914-1918* (London: Penguin Press, 1999); Max Hastings, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War* (London: William Collins, 2013).

<sup>66</sup> Michael Snape, "Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to 'Goodbye to All That.'" *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62, 2 (April 2011): 318-345; Patrick Porter. "Beyond Comfort: German and English Military Chaplains and the Memory of the Great War, 1919-1929," *The Journal of Religious History* 29, 3 (October 2005): 258-289; Stewart J. Brown, "'A Solemn Purification by Fire': Responses to the Great War in the Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1914-19," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45, no. 1 (January 1994): 82-104; Peter C. Matheson, "Scottish War Sermons 1914-1919," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 17: 207; John A. Moses, "Australian Anglican Leaders and the Great War, 1914-1918: The 'Prussian Menace,' Conscriptio, and National Solidarity," *The Journal of Religious History* 25, 3 (October 2001): 306-323.

Necessarily, this thesis has relied heavily on the *New Zealand Tablet* to provide the “Catholic voice.” This is not as limiting as it may at first seem. The *Tablet* was over sixty pages long, edited in Dunedin and published weekly by the Catholic Church’s Dunedin-based press. It regularly reported on the Catholic Federation, topical issues, church developments, theological discussions and Catholic schools. Each issue had reports from the four Dioceses providing information about parish events and developments. Articles included information from overseas, especially Ireland, and advice on how readers could maintain and support their faith. It reported on Catholic casualties during the war, as well as enlistments of important national and international Catholics. War news was included in almost every issue. Letters to the editor and editorial responses were periodically published and each issue featured an editorial on a topical issue. Reports were also included on Catholic social and recreational groups. An accurate reflection of the Catholic leadership and its attitudes and views during the war can be constructed from this source.

In 1918 Auckland Diocese began publishing *The Month*, a rival newspaper to the *Tablet*. Its genesis was a disagreement in church policy between Henry Cleary, bishop of Auckland, and *Tablet* editor Kelly. *The Month* provides a second and at times contradictory Catholic viewpoint *vis-a-vis* the *Tablet* and is consequently very valuable, though the circumstances of its creation must be remembered and this bias acknowledged.

More problematic is divining the opinion of Catholic men and women. Letters to the editor published in the denominational press and reports from Catholic organisations provide some information but they are limited by the medium in which they were expressed. Some form of censorship would have been exercised by each newspaper’s editor and his board. It was rare for either newspaper to publish letters dissenting from the accepted attitude of the church. In certain select areas this was allowed but this seems to have been done mainly to provide a vehicle for justifying the church’s stance rather than as an attempt to foster a truly open dialogue. Consequently, to ascertain dissenting or contradictory voices, it is necessary to consult other sources such as the letter pages, editorials and reports on Catholic and other organisations in non-denominational newspapers.

### **Anglican Sources**

The Anglican Church and Diocese of Dunedin maintained several newspapers during this period. The *New Zealand Guardian* was published from 1899 to 1912. After a one-year hiatus

the *Church Envoy* began in 1914 and ran for many decades. Both newspapers were published monthly, were diocesan-based and were edited and published in Dunedin. Rules governing the *Envoy's* circulation ensured that the newspaper reached each parish in the Diocese. Initially 1350-1400 issues were published each month, distributed to every parish and on-sold to parishioners. By November 1915 circulation had reached 3,300 issues per month. Each issue would have multiple readers as many subscribers were families. The *New Zealand Churchman*, a national Anglican newspaper, first appeared in January 1920, and was bundled with the *Envoy* to aid distribution. It had a national and international focus, providing news and the wider context for articles within the diocesan *Envoy*. All three newspapers were edited and published in Dunedin. William Fitchett, Vicar of St John's Roslyn, edited the *Envoy*, assisted by John Mortimer and G. Herbert Fenton, Curate of All Saints' and later Vicar of St Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay, and an advisory board consisting of laymen and clergy. Louis Whitehead, Warden of Selwyn College and Vicar of St Andrew's Ravensbourne, edited the *New Zealand Churchman*. Fitchett also managed both newspapers and headed the editorial boards.

The diocesan and provincial newspapers provide a wealth of material. Information about the day-to-day happenings in parishes and the Diocese enables a real insight into what Anglicans were doing, thinking and experiencing. Letter pages and editorials provide some insight into the views and opinions held by Anglicans, both supporting and opposing the church's official stance, as well as information about what the church believed and why. The *Envoy*, being a regional newspaper, has the added benefit that its letters and articles can be seen as directly pertinent to the life of Anglicans in Otago and Southland, the majority of whom lived in Dunedin. The newspaper's narrow focus in terms of target audience and subscribers is therefore helpful as a source of information for this thesis.

There are numerous parish and diocesan sources. Each parish had a Vestry, comprising elected members of the congregation, some officeholders and the Vicar, charged with the day-to-day spiritual welfare of the parish and congregation, the financial wellbeing of the congregation and the maintenance of the buildings. Vestries are consequently an important source of information about the discussion, debate and resolutions around the issues affecting the congregation. Parishes also had *ad hoc* social and community organisations, often with their own minute books and correspondence files. Service registers included attendance statistics, readings and sermon topics.

The Diocese of Dunedin has a very full archive that includes extensive correspondence files detailing the day-to-day activities of the bishop and officeholders, as well as committee and synod minute books. Ad hoc files include newspaper cuttings, faculty petitions and memoranda. Files for diocesan social institutions are also part of the diocesan archive. The proceedings for each annual synod were published, containing records of debates and discussions as well as copies of the reports delegates received and statistical information about the parishes and the Diocese, and the Diocesan Trust Board accounts and reports.

Not all parishes have the full range of minute books, service registers and miscellaneous collections, nor has the Diocese preserved every document that could have been of use. However, there is sufficient evidence to enable a full picture of the life of each parish and the Diocese's activities. Included in this picture is information concerning the official attitude and view of the church, its clergy and, through the various committees and letter pages, those of its parishioners and members.

### **Presbyterian Sources**

*The Outlook* is a very important source of information about the Presbyterian Church. It was edited and published each week in Dunedin and comprised 36-40 pages. All issues had multi-page editorials and parish, presbytery and international news. News, reports and commentaries from national church committees and bodies were also regularly included. Sermons and articles on important theological, social and community topics were often published, as were regular reports on war-news and enlistments. The letter pages were larger and more informative than their Anglican and Catholic equivalents, and Presbyterianism's history of debate is easily identified. Correspondents were free to criticise articles and editorials and to debate the church's views on particular issues and developments in the community. These letters, along with those supporting the church's position, were often published. This makes the *Outlook's* letter pages a very good source of church members' opinions and views.

Presbyterianism had a plethora of different General Assembly, Presbytery, Synod of Otago and Southland and congregational committees. The preservation of the minute books, correspondence, reports and associated records is generally good and they provide a wealth of information. Each parish maintained either a Deacons' Court and Session or a Board of Managers tasked with overseeing the congregation's spiritual welfare and assets. Presbyterian organisations, clubs and groups were usually congregationally based and had minute books and

papers lodged in the congregational archives. Some parishes maintained correspondence collections, newspaper cuttings, orders of service, financial records and annual reports.

The Dunedin Presbytery archive has much useful information contained within its papers and minute books for itself and its committees, including its Chaplains' Committee and its Public Questions Committee.

Full copies of the proceedings of each General Assembly were printed, and included statistical reports on the church's membership, congregations and finances. Each standing committee presented an annual report and these were also printed in the proceedings. Copies of the Synod of Otago and Southland's proceedings were bound with the General Assembly's proceedings. These also included statistical and financial reports and copies of the reports from the Synod's standing committees and the Church Board of Property.

There are personal papers from many Presbyterian clergy, including correspondence collections, sermon collections, newspaper cuttings and several unpublished memoirs. This material provides additional insight into the beliefs, attitudes and opinions of clergy, invaluable when examining their motivation.

### **Denominational Primary Sources**

The many sources of information created by the churches within Dunedin and New Zealand allow for the construction of a comprehensive picture of the various denominations, their presence and life. Parish and congregational records provide insights into how events, great or small, were viewed and interpreted. Records concerning social and community organisations provide information on the impact that these organisations had, the level of support they enjoyed, and the day-to-day struggles they experienced to fulfil their purpose.

Sources concerning the higher levels of the church organisations, such as the General Assembly, the Dioceses and their respective committees, give information concerning what decisions were made. Reports reveal what the decision-makers considered important, not just for the church but also for the community. Published proceedings give information concerning the discussion at these meetings.

There are limitations concerning these documentary records. Although it is true that they provide evidence for a congregation's beliefs and attitudes, such evidence is derived from examining the input of a small number of people. Parish committees usually comprised a few

dozen men, regardless of the size of the congregation. Anglican and Catholic diocesan synods and the General Assembly were representative of their denominations but still limited in terms of the numbers who participated. They tended to be dominated by clergy and therefore not necessarily representative of the denomination as a whole.

Each denominational newspaper provides invaluable information about its own constituency, although overreliance on this source brings its own difficulties. All but *The Month* were edited and published in Dunedin. Consequently there is a risk of both over- and under-representation of Dunedin issues. The Diocese of Dunedin's section in the *Tablet* occupied less space than the reports of the other three Catholic Dioceses. The *Outlook* reflected the opposite bias, with much of the news sections being dominated by Otago and Southland. Nevertheless, the newspapers had to cater for a diverse national audience and consequently editors had constantly to balance the needs and desires of different readers and interest groups. The smaller *Envoy* suffered a capability disadvantage *vis-a-vis* the *Outlook* and *Tablet*. Otago and Southland had proportionally fewer Anglicans than the rest of New Zealand. This was reflected both in its print-run and in the financial strain under which the Diocese laboured. These two factors had caused the *New Zealand Guardian* to fail and exercised a constant threat to the *Envoy's* viability.

The structures that supported and maintained the editors represented a possible single point of failure. The personality and opinions of the editor could exercise considerable impact on the type and tone of the articles printed within these newspapers. Nowhere was this truer than in the *Tablet*, where the tone of the newspaper's articles and editorials changed dramatically following Kelly's appointment as editor in early 1917.

### **Non-denominational Primary Sources**

The major daily and weekly newspapers and some of the smaller special interest newspapers provide important information for this study. This period was the heyday of newspapers. They were the primary means of disseminating news, information and entertainment. Circulation figures for major daily and weekly newspapers ran to many thousands. Almost every small town would have one local newspaper and the major centres two or more. Weekly newspapers, either standalone publications or conglomerations of a daily title, were sold over wide geographical areas. New Zealand was a highly literate society and a household without at least one literate person would have been very rare. The *Otago Daily Times*, the *Otago Witness* and *The*

*Evening Star* provide a wealth of information on all aspects of New Zealand society during the First World War. They provide the voice of “official New Zealand” and “official Dunedin.” Their editors supported the war, backed the patriotic movement, advocated an open-ended and ever-increasing commitment and endorsed prosecuting the war until final victory. Their views, actions and commitment were largely supported by Dunedin’s residents. This should not, however, be taken as meaning that the newspapers were exactly the same. The *Times* and the *Star* would adopt different standpoints on issues, while their regular satirical columnists, “Civis” and “Roar,” often took opposite views.

Newspaper correspondence columns and community organisation reports provide a window into the thoughts and opinions of Dunedin’s residents. In some cases correspondents clearly indicated their denomination, providing the means of reinforcing or contradicting the dominant message being communicated by their denomination, freed of the institutional bias that may exist if this opinion was being considered for publication by the Anglican, Presbyterian or Catholic Churches. Where a denomination is not indicated they provide an important balance, indicating the prevalence or otherwise of particular beliefs. Leading articles provide a similar function. To a large extent the major daily newspapers provide the context within which the churches, the activities of the individual denominations and congregations, and the opinions of their members can be placed and seen *vis-a-vis* those of the wider community.

If the *Times* and *The Evening Star* represented the establishment, where was the voice of those people who opposed the dominant viewpoint? Who represented them? Their viewpoint can be discerned through two of the largest anti-establishment and pro-socialist newspapers, *The Maoriland Worker* and *New Zealand Truth*. *Truth* expressed its support for the war effort but specifically rejected an open-ended commitment. It frequently opposed the government’s methods of prosecuting the war and at times came close to endorsing a negotiated peace with Germany. The *Worker’s* viewpoint was much stronger than that of *Truth*. It was vehemently opposed to the war and believed it to be a capitalist endeavour contrary to the interests of the working classes. Both newspapers attracted readership throughout the country and regularly published articles, letters and opinions openly questioning the war, the methods by which it was being waged and the Empire’s war aims. The opinions aired in these newspapers are a foil against which those from the *Times* and *The Evening Star* and the denominational press can be compared. It is the typicality of Dunedin, discussed above, which makes it possible to draw on

evidence presented in these national newspapers. It must be acknowledged that it is impossible to attribute the views expressed in newspapers such as *Truth* and the *Maoriland Worker* directly to Dunedin, unless these are specifically linked to events or people within the city. However the similarities between Dunedin and the rest of New Zealand, outlined above, allow the evidence contained in these two newspapers to be used as sources. The views and opinions expressed in them were likely to have been indicative, and at times representative, of some Dunedin residents.

Taken separately the “establishment” and “anti-establishment” newspapers provide part of the story. Combined they provide a much fuller representation of Dunedin and New Zealand life outside that portrayed in the three main denominations. When all three are combined the reader can comprehensively discern the enormity of the effect that the war had on society.

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## **Structure**

Within the context of the subject material - the three main denominations in the city of Dunedin - four themes frame this investigation: they are patriotism; the belief that the war was just, righteous and holy; the churches’ role in recruiting; and sectarianism. Within each of these themes the language, attitudes and practices of the churches and their membership are compared with those demonstrated by society outside of the churches.

Religion and faith were not confined to the church or the denominational press. They were found throughout society, not only as background noise to daily life, but as an integrated part of many activities throughout the war years. They were seen in the presence of clergy on patriotic society committees and their participation in patriotic demonstrations and recruiting efforts. They were demonstrated by the integration of church-based patriotic efforts with community, provincial and national organisations, and in the language used by many men and women outside the churches in their everyday life. Newspaper editors and columnists, correspondents and ordinary citizens used language replete with Christian metaphors, morals and values. The commonality between what was expressed from the pulpit and in the daily newspaper, between what the parishioner thought and said and what the correspondent wrote, was marked and real. Divergences were largely merely a matter of degree rather than a wholesale rejection by one party of the other. Where dissent from the dominant narrative was strong, it was usually from a small group and disseminated by an even smaller one.



It is not surprising that such a state of affairs should exist. New Zealanders largely embraced Christianity at this time. Thousands of Dunedin's residents attended church services on a regular basis. Thousands more had interacted with the church or church-based institutions. Sunday School, Scouts, Boys' and Girls' Brigades and other youth organisations exposed children and their parents to Christianity. Church schools, be they the extensive Catholic network, the fledgling Presbyterian system or the halting Anglican structure, exposed yet more children and their parents to Christianity. Social organisations extended the net further, exposing many more to the Christian message. The Christian viewpoint was communicated through the state school system, by the daily and weekly newspapers and through entertainment.

Churches were an important part of the patriotic effort, organising their members to collect funds and to acquire or make goods for the war effort. These efforts were widespread and ongoing throughout the war. Churches and church members largely accepted this work willingly and organised themselves spontaneously. They worked in close contact with other patriotic organisations but were perhaps better organised due to their longer history of involvement in social and community work. The language and form of patriotism within churches was no different to that found outside of them. Events such as Anzac Day, Declaration Day and Trafalgar Day blended patriotism, religiosity and high levels of community involvement.

The justifications put forward to explain New Zealand's involvement in the war demonstrate the importance of religion. Religion helped convince the public that the conflict was just, righteous and necessary. It helped maintain morale and justified the commitment of increasing amounts of life and wealth. The metaphor of the life of Christ was appropriated by many parts of society for the war effort and equated to that of New Zealand's soldiers, their families, and even Belgium. Churches were heavily involved in the recruiting campaigns, and religious motivations for enlistment were asserted by clergy and believed by many recruits. There was little dissent on the part of church leaders, churchgoers or society in general to Christianity being used in this way.

The prevalence of sectarianism indicates the extent to which religious belief and identification with particular denominations permeated New Zealand. Thousands of New Zealanders were willing to accept and use religious arguments to attack or support their fellow citizens. Sectarian conflict had been a part of New Zealand society for decades, but the crucible of war

allowed these forces to manifest themselves with intensity hitherto unseen. The extent of sectarian conflict during this time demonstrates how religious belief, for some, underpinned their political standpoint.

The four themes examined demonstrate the extent that religion and religious belief, outlined in chapter one, had penetrated New Zealand society. Generations of New Zealanders knew that they were Christian, they knew what Christian values were and they reflected these values in their everyday lives. For the vast majority of Dunedinites, and indeed of New Zealanders, being Christian was not a matter of whether or not individuals went to church – they were Christian by virtue of their upbringing, their culture and their background. Consciously and unconsciously their beliefs and actions reflected this.

## Chapter 1: Christianity in Dunedin

### “Bringing in the Sheaves”<sup>1</sup>

Christian mores and values were a widespread and ever-present part of the daily lives of most people in Dunedin and New Zealand. Attendance at church services was but one of many ways in which people were exposed to Christianity. Other involvement ranged from the growing church school movement to church groups, clubs and societies, social service organisations and evangelical missions. At times the means for spreading Christian morals and ethics had no formal involvement from the church at all. New Zealand’s state school system reflected the Christian nature of the Dominion’s community, with Christian symbolism and morals being used as essential aids to learning. Recreational activities, such as listening to bands at community events or giving and receiving gifts and prizes, reflected and promoted Christianity. Even such everyday events as reading a newspaper exposed the reader to Christianity and the Christian message.

Assessing the many different ways in which people interacted with Christian messages leads inexorably to the conclusion that many more people were exposed to Christianity and its message than has hitherto been suspected. The high numbers of church attendance, Sunday School and participation in youth activities, community outreach and mission activities all indicate that New Zealand was very familiar with Christianity. Consequently it is no surprise that so many people in Dunedin were willing and able to accept the churches’ position on the war and to support the churches’ role in the war effort. To understand the population’s exposure to the Christian message is to understand why the views expressed by the churches, clergy and church members were so similar to those voiced in the non-denominational and supposedly secular spheres during the war period.

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#### Attendance Statistics

Jackson’s article ‘Churchgoing in Nineteenth Century New Zealand’ has long been accepted as the authoritative work on churchgoing, being cited by historians and social scientists such as

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<sup>1</sup> The words to ‘Bringing in the Sheaves’ were written by Knowles Shaw in 1874. The hymn was originally set to music also written by Shaw, but is now more usually sung to a tune written in 1880 by George Minor.

Belich, Fairburn, Caroline Daley and Sinclair.<sup>2</sup> Jackson's article was published in 1983 and used census data to conclude that 28% of New Zealanders, or around 47% of adults, regularly attended church in the early 1890s.<sup>3</sup> From a high point in 1896 the proportion of adults attending church went into continuous decline. In 1906 it was 36%, 34% in 1911, 33% in 1916 and 30% in 1921.<sup>4</sup>

Since Jackson's article was published historians have put forward different figures to support or refute his conclusions. Olssen supported Jackson's methodology and conclusions, using the 1881 census to show that 30% of all New Zealanders, adults and children, attended church services.<sup>5</sup> Belich similarly used Jackson's figures to indicate that 48% of New Zealand adults attended church services in 1886 but that the proportion dropped steadily after that.<sup>6</sup> Belich later pushes back his starting date to 1876, writing that there was a 'substantial upsurge in churchgoing' between then and 1886 but from that date onwards there was a 'long-term decline' in Protestant church-service attendance.<sup>7</sup> Grigg puts the figure 10% lower than Olssen, with the balance of the population being 'unchurched.'<sup>8</sup> Clarke has examined Jackson's figures and believes that around a third of New Zealanders attended church weekly during the late nineteenth century, and that this number fell to around a quarter during the early twentieth century. David Grant puts attendance at an extremely high 90% of the adult population in the immediate pre-war period.<sup>9</sup> Baker, like Olssen and Belich, relies on Jackson's figures.<sup>10</sup> Guy believes that it was around 30% of the adult population in the 1890s.<sup>11</sup> Morrell's *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, John Elder's *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand* and John Evans' *Southern See* make no attempt to present information concerning congregation size.

Matters are not helped by historians omitting to indicate if they are considering the entire population of New Zealand or just the adult population. What is immediately apparent is that

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<sup>2</sup> Clarke, *Presbyterian Way of Life*.

<sup>3</sup> Hugh Jackson, "Churchgoing in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," *The New Zealand Journal of History* 17, no. 1 (1983): 48-49.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 48, 51.

<sup>5</sup> Clarke, "Presbyterian Way of Life."

<sup>6</sup> Belich, *Making Peoples*, 417.

<sup>7</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 163.

<sup>8</sup> Grigg, 136-137

<sup>9</sup> Grant, *Field Punishment No. 1*, 11.

<sup>10</sup> Baker, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Guy, 13.

assessments differ widely, and confusion rather than clarity reigns. Even if Grant's figure of 90% is discounted, rates still range from 20% to 50%.

Clarity is not provided by scrutiny of denominational statistical returns. The Presbyterian and Anglican Churches published a wealth of statistical evidence concerning congregation size and participation. Unfortunately, these supposedly comprehensive data do not bear close inspection. When compared to the data in census returns and figures and statistics cited by historians the picture becomes murkier. It is unclear whether parishes included Māori, which may have affected statistics for St. John's Waikouaiti and the Otago Peninsula congregations, where Māori were present in significant numbers. There is no indication as to whether or not children are included. Sunday School attendance is included in some statistical reports but it is not clear if these figures are additional to congregational totals or a subset of them.

Perhaps the biggest question pertains to the definitions used by parishes and congregations. Presbyterians included the category 'at worship' and Anglicans 'communicants' in their statistical tables, but what exactly do these words mean? The word 'communicants' suggests that these were people who took communion, but what about those people present who did not take communion? Was 'communicants' merely another term for members and, if not, does this mean that those people who did not take communion were excluded from the statistics? High Anglican Churches would have celebrated communion more often than low Anglican Churches, making it difficult to compare recorded numbers of communicants from one parish to the next. Did 'communicants' and 'at worship' refer only to the number of people recorded on parish lists as members? Were the numbers compiled from a single service, from a single day over multiple services, or averaged over a period of time – a week, a month, or a year? If Anglican figures were averaged, were they averaged only across services that included Holy Communion or across all services? Comparisons with parish and congregational service registers indicate little or no correlation with the numbers provided in the Anglican Diocesan synod proceedings, leaving these and many other questions unanswered.

The mere act of counting people presents significant questions. Evidence suggests that some denominations, particularly the Anglican Church, had many people who would only attend significant services, such as Christmas and Easter, yet counted themselves just as Anglican as people who went weekly. Such people were probably not included in the 'communicant' section of the Anglican returns. Presbyterians attempted to account for this by ministers being

instructed to inflate the number at the “census service” by an arbitrary percentage. However there was no explanation as to how the percentage was arrived at, and it is unknown how many Dunedin congregations followed the policy. What is obvious is that the absolute numbers promoted by historians such as Jackson, Baker, Belich and Olssen lack solid foundation, while Clarke’s figures, providing a more nuanced examination, are perhaps more accurate, both in terms of weekly church attendance and wider religiosity within society. Consequently a different measure of determining the extent of Christianity in the community and the exposure of the population to the Christian message and its morals, ethics and values is required. Absolute numbers, on their own, cannot be relied upon.

### Population of Dunedin City and Greater Dunedin Area

Table 1 provides population statistics for the Greater Dunedin area between 1910 to 1919, as defined and obtained from the New Zealand year books.<sup>12</sup> During this decade the population of the Greater Dunedin area increased by 3.5%, from 66,494 in 1910 to 68,716 in 1919. The data provide some means of comparison between the figures provided by the Anglican and Presbyterian churches and the total population of the city.

**Table 1: Population of Dunedin City and suburban boroughs**

Borough	1910	1919
Green Island	1,500	1,904
Maori Hill	2,303	-
Mornington	4,683	-
North East Valley	5,300	-
Port Chalmers	2,410	2,615
Roslyn	6,299	-
St. Kilda	3,400	5,520
West Harbour	1,742	1,631
Other	-	1,790
Dunedin City	38,857	55,256
Total Greater Dunedin	66,494	68,716

<sup>12</sup> The boroughs of Green Island and Port Chalmers have been included to ensure consistency across the decade. They were excluded from the Greater Dunedin area in the 1910 year book but included in the 1919 edition. Comparisons without including them would, therefore, have been meaningless. The Maori Hill, Mornington, North East Valley and Roslyn boroughs were incorporated into Dunedin city during the period 1910-1919.

## Presbyterian Statistics

The statistics presented in Table 2 have been acquired from the data provided by Dunedin Presbytery annually and published in the church's *Proceedings of the General Assembly*. It should be noted that Dunedin's Presbytery bounds were larger than those of Greater Dunedin, extending north to Waikouaiti, south to the Brighton Home Mission station and east to Hindon and Lee Stream, though of course the vast majority of people would be concentrated within Dunedin city. The Presbytery data purport to be a comprehensive list of congregational statistics. Given the difficulties outlined above concerning exactly how the data were acquired, what they comprised and geographical matching, it is perhaps more useful to consider the trends presented in the table rather than focus on the absolute numbers.

**Table 2: Dunedin Presbytery statistics 1910-1919**

Year	Preaching places	Members	Under pastoral care	At worship	Baptisms
1910	72	6,889	17,732	9,535	349
1911	76	7,267	19,531	10,127	421
1912	84	7,622	19,424	10,471	439
1913	76	7816	-	10356	378
1914	80	7,972	-	10,401	350
1915	75	7,874	-	10,241	349
1916	71	8,012	17,516	9,818	379
1917	75	7,803	17,517	9,969	345
1918	75	7879	17,720	10,019	348
1919	69	7,647	17,105	10,029	268

What is immediately apparent is the large number of people recorded in the Presbyterian statistics, regardless of their overall position in the categories at the start and end of the decade. Thousands of people were active in some way within Dunedin's Presbyterian Church and maintained some connection with their local parish church. Both increasing and decreasing trends are apparent. The 'Membership' and 'People at Worship' categories increased by 11% and 5% respectively over the decade. The numbers of people 'Under Pastoral Care' decreased by around 3.5% over the decade, but this masks the fact that the 1919 figure was really 11.3% below its peak for the decade. A further trend obvious in several categories is that numbers tended to peak in the middle of the decade. Membership peaked in 1916 and worship numbers were reasonably static from 1912 to 1915. Pastoral care figures were higher during the first half of the decade, though the data are fragmentary between 1913 and 1915. Baptism figures

present an interesting anomaly, as population growth was declining during this period, yet baptisms seem to be stable from 1912-1918.

A more complex situation develops when individual congregations are examined. Some congregations experienced dramatic growth during this decade. South Dunedin Church's membership grew from 297 to 385 and the numbers attending weekly services increased from 275 to 400. Roslyn Church's membership grew from 171 in 1910 to 309 in 1919 and people under the church's pastoral care increased by 90%. Maori Hill Church's figures show increases of almost 100% in membership, worship attendance and people under its pastoral care. St. Stephen's North Dunedin had a 50% growth in the numbers under its pastoral care and a 60% growth in the numbers of people attending its services.<sup>13</sup>

However, congregational growth was not constant across all Presbyterian congregations during this decade. First Church experienced dramatic falls in the number of people at worship and people under pastoral care, falling by 300 and 900 respectively. At the same time congregational members increased by 35% from 708 to 954. The number of people recorded as at worship at St. Andrew's church declined from 450 in 1910 to 250 in 1919, having peaked at 520 in 1916 and 1917. Its membership also declined, dropping from 499 to 410. Knox Church had 500 fewer under its pastoral care in 1919 than in 1910, though worship numbers and membership increased. The number of people attending services at Iona Port Chalmers declined from 370 in 1910 to 300 in 1919.<sup>14</sup> This drop of 70 people masks the fact that in 1912 there were 600, indicating that attendance at Iona's services effectively halved during that decade.<sup>15</sup> Paradoxically, the number of members increased by over 60% to sit at 347 at the end of the decade.

This pattern of decline and expansion is broadly consistent with the growth in suburban living during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. All denominations planted churches in the increasingly densely settled suburbs of Roslyn, Maori Hill, Mornington, St. Kilda, Musselburgh and St. Clair.<sup>16</sup> Parishes such as First Church, Knox Church and St. Andrew's could be considered as central city congregations and therefore most at risk of a movement to the suburbs and "inner city clearance." It also helps explain why the number of Presbyterians

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<sup>13</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1910*, 58-61; *Ibid.*, 1919, 234.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, 58-61; *Ibid.*, 1919, 234.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1912, 208A-211A.

<sup>16</sup> Charles Croot, *Dunedin Churches: Past and Present* (Dunedin: Otago Settlers Association, 1999), 16.



in Dunedin remained reasonably constant despite some severe fluctuations within individual congregations. Variations in collecting statistics may also explain these declines, though it seems unlikely that this would account for significant falls, such as that at Iona.

### Anglican Statistics

Table 3 below indicates the presence of the Anglican Church in Dunedin, compiled from the parish returns published in each Diocesan synod proceedings. The data are an amalgamation of the fourteen Anglican parishes in the Greater Dunedin area.<sup>17</sup>

**Table 3: Anglican Diocese of Dunedin statistics for Dunedin City and suburbs**

Year	Sittings	Baptisms	Confirmations	Communicants
1910	3,801	355	139	2,166
1911	3,931	357	197	2,321
1912	3,989	310	185	2,401
1913	4,159	346	185	2,222
1914	4,079	387	137	2,250
1915	3,546	357	215	2,289
1916	3,629	319	218	2,302
1917	3,629	326	174	2,277
1918	3,721	224	191	2,364
1919	4,129	280	185	2,202

No figures were provided for the average size of the congregation or the numbers of people who were under the supervision of the vicar, however nominal this may have been. Numbers are, however, provided for ‘communicants.’ Bearing in mind the problems over the exact definition of what was meant by ‘communicants’ outlined above it is still possible to draw some general conclusions from these figures. Communicant numbers increased by 10% from 1910 to 1912, but then fell almost to 1910 levels in 1913. A similar pattern occurred from 1913 to 1918, again dropping back almost to 1910 levels in 1919, indicating no overall growth during the decade, despite two periods where increases of around 10% had occurred.<sup>18</sup> It is unclear what may have caused such dramatic fluctuation. Changes in statistical collecting

<sup>17</sup> The parishes are: All Saints’, Holy Cross St. Kilda, Holy Innocents Woodhaugh, Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, St. Andrew’s Ravensbourne, St. John’s Roslyn, St. Martin’s North East Valley, St. Mary’s Mornington, St. Mary’s Portobello, St. Matthew’s, St. Michael’s and All Angels Anderson’s Bay, St. Paul’s Cathedral, St. Peter’s Caversham and St. Mark’s Green Island.

<sup>18</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings Second Session Fifteenth Synod 1910*, Statistical Table; *Ibid.*, *Sixteenth Synod 1913*, Statistical Table; *Ibid.*, *Eighteenth Synod 1919*, Statistical Table.

methods may well be the culprit, but other reasons may also be possible, including the absence of men overseas in the expeditionary forces and the impact of the 1918/19 influenza pandemic, which caused many churches to close for a period and thus could have affected statistical collection. Other causes, including demographic change, returning demobilised soldiers being disenchanted with organised religion, and the general disruption caused by the movement from wartime to peacetime economies may also have contributed. Whatever the reason, the returns indicate that the Anglican Church remained effectively static in size over the course of this decade.

Confirmations increased by around a third over the decade, indicating that young adults were electing in increasing numbers to participate in this rite and that they continued to feel attached to their church and wished to participate in its rites and liturgies. Baptisms reflect the same anomaly as exhibited by the Presbyterian Church. Despite declining population growth rates, and the absence of many young men overseas, the figures are reasonably static from 1910 to 1917.

‘Sittings’ represented the capacity of the individual Anglican churches, and the data indicate that space was provided for 4,129 people in 1919, an increase of 10% over the decade. This is despite ‘communicant’ numbers being essentially flat during this period. It should be noted that the 1915 sittings’ decline was due to the closure and demolition of St. Paul’s church, which was replaced by a new structure to service the cathedral parish. The old building, erected as a parish church, had had a capacity of 680, while the new building, designed from the outset as a cathedral, was built to hold 750 people. As constructed, the new cathedral was intended as an interim solution. The building lacked the planned (but never built) crossings, transept and sanctuary which would have significantly increased the numbers that the cathedral could accommodate. ‘Communicant’ numbers for the cathedral parish, however, took much longer to recover and in 1919 remained fewer than half of what they had been in 1910.<sup>19</sup>

As well as the new Cathedral, a new church was constructed in St. Kilda to service the newly formed parish of Holy Cross, divided from St. Peter’s Caversham. St. Peter’s had operated a mission station-cum-Sunday School in St. Kilda since 1903 and in 1917 the decision was made to make the area a Parochial District with its own vicar.<sup>20</sup> The new church building was constructed with a capacity of 200 people. What is surprising is the effect on the statistical

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., *Fifteenth Synod 1910*, Statistical Table; Ibid., *Eighteenth Synod 1919*, Statistical Table.

<sup>20</sup> Evans, 108.

returns for St. Peter's Caversham. Those people who had attended the St. Kilda mission station and Sunday School had been included in the St. Peter's returns. When the new parish was created they were removed from the St. Peter's returns and included in the St. Kilda statistics. St. Peter's returns reflect this decline in the 'sittings' (the capacity of its church buildings) but 'communicant' numbers remained relatively static despite the loss to the new parish of people who had hitherto been included in the St. Peter's statistics. 'Communicant' numbers in Holy Cross are significantly higher than those lost by St. Peter's, indicating a growth in numbers of Anglicans in Dunedin. This new church, together with the rebuilt St. Paul's Cathedral, considerably increased the Anglican Church's capacity in Dunedin and indicated substantial confidence on the part of the Diocese in Dunedin's Anglican future.<sup>21</sup>

### **Roman Catholic Statistics**

It is impossible to complete a similar statistical breakdown of the Catholic parishes in Dunedin, as any parish statistics that were collected have not survived. Diocesan statistics published in the *Tablet* indicate a total of 24,500 Catholics spread throughout Otago and Southland.<sup>22</sup> However there was no explanation to indicate if this figure indicated the total that attended services, participated in church activities or merely indicated the total number of people who identified as Catholic in the national census.

Data gleaned from the 1916 census do make it possible to provide a reasonably accurate figure for Catholics within the Greater Dunedin area. Table 4 demonstrates that 7,606 people identified as Catholic. However, it should be noted that this is a measure of the total number of Catholics, including children, within that borough or metropolitan area. It does not necessarily indicate how many attended Mass, were connected to the church or participated in church activities.

Actual attendance of Catholics at services is very difficult to deduce. Stenhouse has written that Catholics tended to attend church in greater proportions, on average, than Anglicans.<sup>23</sup> Using the 'communicant' figures provided by the Anglican Diocese as a basis, and putting aside the difficulty as to what this figure definitively represents, it could be inferred that over 2,000

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<sup>21</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings Second Session Fifteenth Synod 1910*, Statistical Table; *Ibid. Eighteenth Synod 1919*, Statistical Table.

<sup>22</sup> "The Apostolic Delegate. Enthusiastic Welcome in Dunedin. Public Reception in the Art Gallery," *Tablet*, 27/1/1916, 24.

<sup>23</sup> Stenhouse, 28-29.

people attended Catholic services in any particular period. This is a large number, indicating over a quarter of Catholics were attending Mass. Belich supports the view that Catholics attended services in higher proportions than Protestants, writing that ‘attendances remained high at 50 per cent or more.’<sup>24</sup> Stenhouse’s and Belich’s statements are contradicted by Jackson. Jackson wrote that Catholics were only ‘middle rank’ attenders, making up 17% of adult churchgoers in 1896 as opposed to the Anglican Church’s 23%.<sup>25</sup> Given declining trends of attendance and demographic and denominational changes over the two decades subsequent to 1896, it is possible that the two rates equalised by 1914 but it is difficult to state this with any certainty.

**Table 4: Catholic populations of Greater Dunedin boroughs as per 1916 census**

Borough	Male	Female	Total
Green Island	37	44	81
Port Chalmers	142	153	295
St. Kilda	271	369	640
West Harbour	64	83	147
Dunedin City	2,707	3,736	6,443
Total Greater Dunedin	3,221	4,385	7,606

### Conclusions from the Data

Due to the difficulties in establishing the exact source of the data and definitions used in its collection it is not possible to ascribe an absolute number to the extent of church attendance in Dunedin. It is not even possible to ascertain what percentage of residents attended church services, regularly or irregularly. This is not to argue that the data provided by the churches are worthless, and several important conclusions can be drawn from these denominational statistics. The key point to note is that the trends referred to above, regardless of the movement in absolute numbers, indicate that a considerable proportion of Dunedin’s residents were exposed to the Christian messages through the medium of church services in some way on a regular and on-going basis during this decade. Large numbers of people, of whatever denomination, attended services at Dunedin’s churches, whether they were formal members or communicants, adherents or merely mildly interested. The relative size of the groupings is also discernible. Presbyterians clearly comprised the largest of Dunedin’s denominations. The lack of Catholic statistics makes it uncertain whether churchgoing Anglicans or Catholics were the

<sup>24</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 163.

<sup>25</sup> Jackson, 50.

next largest, but it is certain that thousands of Dunedin residents identified with those denominations.

The Presbyterian statistics indicate that thousands more than just those people recorded as attending services were under the pastoral care of the church, connected to their local congregation in some form. The total number of these people was consistently significantly greater than those who were recorded as 'At Worship' or 'Members.' It is reasonable to conclude that a somewhat similar situation existed in the Anglican and Catholic Churches, though the figures would have been proportionately smaller. Setting aside the difficulties in exactly defining what 'Under Pastoral Care' means, those with a definite and measurable connection to the church continued to be consistently larger than the church's membership or those attending church. Dunedin residents, the men, women and children who lived in the city, interacted with the church through its formal setting in their tens of thousands, regardless of their exact affiliation to the parish or congregation.

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In *Paradise Reforged* Belich wrote: 'The general impression of mainstream New Zealand in this period is the very opposite of irreligious,' arguing that 'low church attendance' may not necessarily mean 'a decline in broader religiousness.'<sup>26</sup> Yet the evidence he has presented in terms of absolute numbers does not support his statements. Instead he relies on 'a strong tradition of piety and family use of the bible' to explain the lack of decline.<sup>27</sup> Belich is arguing that New Zealand society was a Christian one, even if this was not reflected in the numbers of people he believed were attending church services. Lineham goes further, stating that churches 'were very active in society' and refers to the 'number of fine analyses of the church's social engagement and response to community circumstances,' these being activities and exposure distinct from church attendance.<sup>28</sup> What both authors are arguing, though perhaps Belich does not realise it, is that numbers of churchgoers cannot be used to reflect or explain adequately the influence of Christianity in New Zealand society during this time. Another measure must be found, but what can this measure be if the numbers of churchgoers cannot be used? The only answer is to examine the degree to which Christianity penetrated society in ways outside of traditional church services – the social and sporting clubs, children's groups, schools,

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<sup>26</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 164.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Lineham, "Religion," 15.

Sunday Schools, home life, local press – those avenues hinted at by Belich and Lineham but not explicitly stated. Where these have been stated, however, is in two doctoral studies: Grace Bateman’s examination of the religious worlds of children in Southern Dunedin from 1920 to 1950 and David Keen’s examination of Otago and Southland Sunday Schools in the late nineteenth century.<sup>29</sup> Bateman identified the many ways in which children were exposed to and assimilated Christianity, as well as the diverse ways it was demonstrated in their everyday lives. She argues that ‘almost all children in southern Dunedin between 1920 and 1950 received formal Christian instruction at some time in their childhood ... reinforced in many other, less formal ways throughout popular culture, rendering it pervasive and influential.’<sup>30</sup> Her conclusions should not be limited to just this period, but project backwards to the decades prior to the First World War. Keen reached similar conclusions.<sup>31</sup> Formal religious services were important, but certainly not the limit of religious expression and religious learning during the early twentieth century.

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## **Communicating Christian Values to the Community**

### **Sunday Schools**

Historians have differing views over the extent of participation in the Sunday School movement. Breward, writing on Presbyterian Sunday Schools, wrote that by 1900 there was a ‘large number of children who were not in Sunday Schools and who received no religious instruction in their day schools.’<sup>32</sup> Such children would have had no exposure to any form of Christian teaching. Morrell made the somewhat self-contradictory claim that ‘Sunday Schools were common and well attended but they touched only a minority of children.’<sup>33</sup> The conclusions from both these statements are clear: Sunday Schools had limited appeal and, whatever the numbers actually attending the schools, as a proportion of the population it was small.

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<sup>29</sup> Grace Bateman, “Signs and Graces: Remembering Religion in Childhood in Southern Dunedin, 1920-1950” (PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2013); Keen.

<sup>30</sup> Bateman, 18, 34-35.

<sup>31</sup> Keen, 232, 243, 246.

<sup>32</sup> Breward in McEldowney, 57.

<sup>33</sup> Morrell, *Anglican Church*, 103.

Morrell's and Breward's claims seem to be unsupported either by facts or by other historians. By the early twentieth century all Protestant churches in Dunedin had established Sunday School organisations with large and elaborate classrooms and libraries as part of their building complexes. These had been built at great expense and represented a considerable commitment on the part of the congregation, standing as testament to the importance of Sunday School teaching to the parish.<sup>34</sup> The cost of materials to teach the curriculum represented a further financial drain on congregations. Significant numbers of adults, acting as teachers and supervisors, were also involved. Troughton has written that participation in Sunday School peaked in the years immediately prior to the First World War, with 69% of all children aged 5 to 14 years attending Sunday School.<sup>35</sup> Stenhouse agreed with Keen that the proportion of children attending Sunday School in Otago was higher than the national average and that three quarters of all Otago children were enrolled and attending some form of Sunday religious instruction.<sup>36</sup> Keen provided statistics demonstrating that Sunday School attendance increased from around half of school-aged children in 1871 to three-quarters in 1900.<sup>37</sup> Clarke cites statistics similar to Stenhouse's, writing that in the 1860s around half of Otago's children attended Sunday School and that this increased to 75% by 1900.<sup>38</sup> Hugh Morrison wrote that New Zealand had 'high rates of juvenile involvement in organised religion.'<sup>39</sup> The specific denomination of the Sunday School was not seen as being as important as attendance and it was common for children to attend the closest school rather than one that necessarily corresponded to their denomination.<sup>40</sup> Children who did not attend Sunday School tended to be Catholic, lived too far away from a functioning Sunday School or had non-Christian parents. Troughton's, Stenhouse's and Clarke's numbers are far greater than those claimed by Morrell and Breward and argue against Sunday Schools being only a minor parish activity with few participants. Their conclusions are, moreover, supported by the physical plant and the statistical returns of Presbyterian and Anglican parishes.

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<sup>34</sup> Keen, 120, 124.

<sup>35</sup> Troughton,

<sup>36</sup> Stenhouse, "Christianity, Gender and the Working Class," 28-29.

<sup>37</sup> Keen, 138, 151.

<sup>38</sup> Alison Clarke, "A Godly Rhythm: Keeping the Sabbath in Otago 1870-1890," in Stenhouse and Thomson, 49.

<sup>39</sup> Hugh Morrison, "Empire, Nation and Religion in Canadian and New Zealand Protestant Juvenile Missionary Periodicals, c.1890-1930s," in *Missions and Media. The Politics of Missionary Periodicals in the Long Nineteenth Century*, eds. Felicity Jensz and Hanna Acke (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2013), 27.

<sup>40</sup> Geoffrey Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood in New Zealand c1900-1940," in *New Zealand Journal of History* 40, no. 1 (2006): 40.

Sunday Schools provided a wide range of social functions, a factor which contributed to their popularity. They provided a means of teaching Christian morality and values and were a 'significant feature in New Zealand's early religious life and a normal part of childhood experience.'<sup>41</sup> Sunday School was an important link between the church and the community, as children came from more than just the families of regular churchgoers. They were not just a means of reaching the child. They also reached back from the child to his or her family, incorporating them into the system through social activities such as picnics and concerts. Sending a child to Sunday School helped parents gain respectability and provided social centres for children, entertaining them as well as educating.<sup>42</sup> Churches saw Sunday School as complementary to religion in the home and reinforcing what children learned from their parents during times of family worship and prayer in the home. Churches accepted that Sunday School was the primary means of providing religious instruction to children from the homes of irregular churchgoers or non-attenders.<sup>43</sup> Attendance at Sunday School was not perfect. Keen believes that around a third of the nominal roll were irregular. However, quoting Troughton, Keen agreed that 'irregularity did not necessarily equate with ineffectiveness.'<sup>44</sup> Bateman supported such a view, and it seems improbable that no religious knowledge was passed on to these irregular children, even if it was as basic as the Golden Rule and the Ten Commandments.

Presbyterian congregations and Anglican parishes all had Sunday Schools associated with them and provided annual statistics on their Sunday School programmes. There are problems with these figures that must be acknowledged. It is unknown if the published figures represent all children who attended Sunday School, averages over a period, or the number present on a selected day. However, examining the trends of these returns, rather than the absolute numbers, enable conclusions to be drawn. These trends support Troughton's, Stenhouse's and Keen's conclusions rather than Breward's and Morrell's. Table 5 indicates that hundreds of adults served as teachers in the Presbyterian Sunday School system, a figure that seems to have remained constant over the decade. Very few of these people would have been paid, indicating that they believed teaching Christian values to children on a Sunday was a worthwhile use of their time.

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<sup>41</sup> Bateman, 18.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 41-2.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 44.

<sup>44</sup> Keen, 151.



## Presbyterian Sunday Schools

Presbytery statistics for Sunday Schools present a reasonably static picture. Numbers of children who participated increased by 2.5% over the course of the decade, with two peaks – 1911 and 1918. Teacher numbers experienced a more dramatic change, increasing by 11% over the decade.

Some congregations saw dramatic increases in their statistics over this decade. Between 1910 and 1920 children attending the Caversham Church's Sunday School increased from 230 to 280; Maori Hill increased from 140 to 203; St. Clair increased from 65 to 164; and St. Stephen's rose from 154 to 229. The smallest of these increases was 20% while the largest was 280%. Other congregations, however, had similarly dramatic decreases. One such was First Church, which fell from 282 to 108, a drop of 60%.<sup>45</sup> As with the congregational statistics it seems likely that the movement in these figures could be explained by internal relocation of families within Dunedin and natural increases and decreases in populations.

**Table 5: Sunday School statistics for Dunedin Presbytery.**<sup>46</sup>

Year	Scholars	Teachers
1910	5,263	556
1911	5,618	606
1912	5,607	643
1913	5,419	606
1914	5,481	637
1915	5,309	679
1916	5,230	637
1917	5,450	639
1918	5,686	676
1919	5,407	619

## Anglican Sunday Schools

Anglican statistics demonstrate a similar stability over the decade, rising just 5% over the ten years. Some parishes experienced dramatic increases while others saw equally significant falls. As Figure 1 shows, St. Matthew's Sunday School fell from 156 in 1910 to 94 in 1919 and the

<sup>45</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1910*, 58-61; *Ibid.*, 1920, 234-235.

<sup>46</sup> This table has been compiled from the data provided by individual Presbyterian congregations and published in the annual Proceedings of the General Assembly 1910-1919.

cathedral parish fell from 247 to 150. Figure 2 demonstrates the trend of increasing attendance at Sunday Schools at four parishes. All Saints' increased from 300 to 350. Holy Innocents Woodhaugh doubled and St. Michael's and All Angels Anderson's Bay increased from 23 to 65.<sup>47</sup> Other parishes remained essentially static, though experiencing periods of increase and contraction. Fluctuation in the St. Peter's Caversham statistics can be explained through the establishment of the new St. Kilda parish. St. Peter's Sunday School had reached a high point of 520 children in 1917, but ended the decade at 343. The difference between the two figures would in large part be explained by the formation of Holy Cross parish, as children who had been included in the St. Peter's returns would now be included in Holy Cross's statistics.<sup>48</sup>

**Table 6: Sunday School and religion in schools, Anglican Churches in Greater Dunedin.<sup>49</sup>**

Year	Sunday School attendees	Religion in schools: pupils	Religion in schools: teachers
1910	1,800	378	5
1911	1,812	741	11
1912	1,838	410	6
1913	1,876	439	7
1914	1,897	591	8
1915	1,779	379	4
1916	1,749	870	6
1917	1,865	1,019	5
1918	1,917	876	5
1919	2,067	477	4

<sup>47</sup> Church of the Province of New Zealand. Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Fifteenth Synod of the Diocese of Dunedin, New Zealand, held at Dunedin, 1910* (Dunedin: J. Wilkie and Co, Ltd, 1910), Statistical Table; Church of the Province of New Zealand. Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Eighteenth Synod of the Diocese of Dunedin, New Zealand, held at Dunedin, 1919* (Dunedin: J Wilkie and Co, Ltd, 1919), Statistical Table.

<sup>48</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings Third Session Seventeenth Synod 1917*, Statistical Table.

<sup>49</sup> This table has been compiled from the data provided by individual Anglican parishes and published in the annual Proceedings of the Synod of the Diocese of Dunedin 1910-1919.

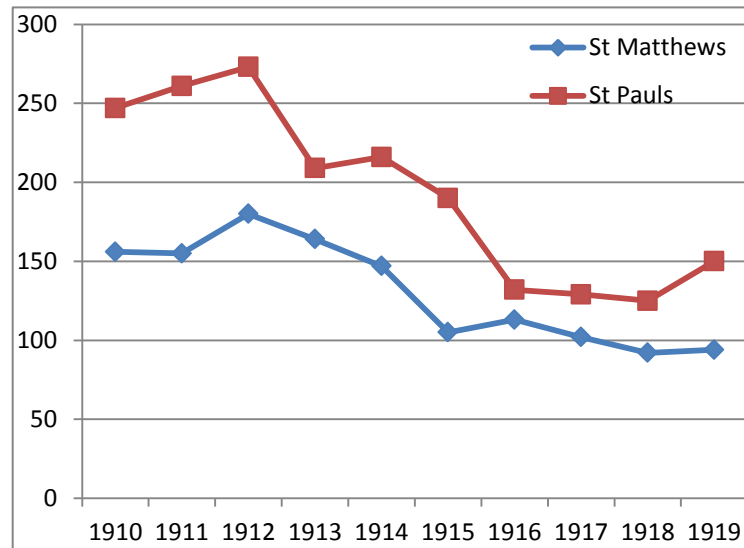


Figure 1: Examples of Anglican parishes with declining Sunday School attendance

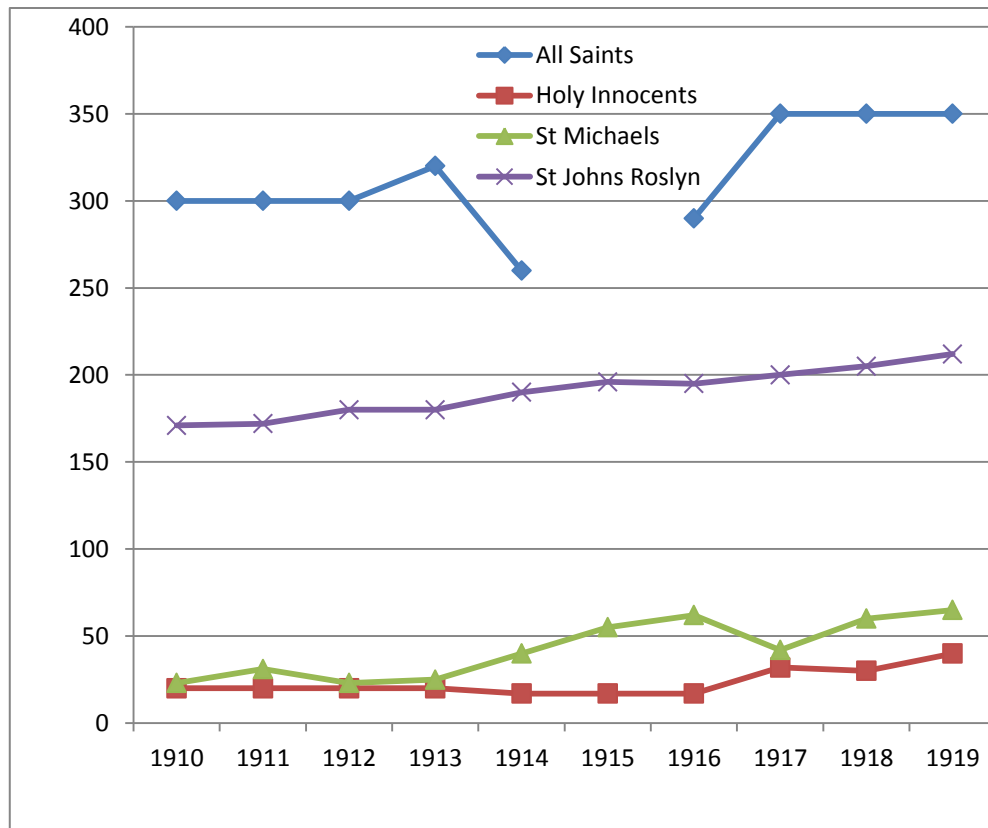


Figure 2: Examples of Anglican parishes with increasing Sunday School attendance

These statistics support the views of Stenhouse, Keen, Clarke and Troughton regarding the extent of Sunday School attendance in New Zealand. It is clear that large numbers of children were engaged in Dunedin's Sunday School system during this decade, many more than the limited numbers indicated by Morrell and Breward. Sunday School was a popular and

widespread activity for children and called for a continuing commitment from parents and Sunday School teachers. Attendance was not confined to specific geographical areas – children from all parts of Dunedin attended Sunday School. Children from both regular and irregular churchgoing families, as well as children from families who did not attend church, could be found in Sunday Schools and consequently the values that these institutions permeated widely throughout society. These values were intrinsically Christian. It provides some of the explanation as to why religion and religious interpretation featured so prominently during the years of the Great War. These were values that the vast majority of Dunedin residents would have shared and understood, regardless of the finer points of denominational interpretation.

Anglican Diocesan Sunday School statistics also provide evidence of religious instruction in the ostensibly secular state school system. The statistics are extremely fragmentary and opaque as to what exactly they represent. However, what is clear is that the denomination provided teachers to state schools to provide some form of religious teaching. Too much should not be read into the dramatic fluctuation of numbers of children being taught as many parishes did not submit regular statistics, and some submitted no statistics at all. What they do indicate is that religious instruction by parish-affiliated teachers existed within the state school system, providing another avenue whereby Christian values were taught to children.

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### **Roman Catholic Church Schools**

Church owned and administered schools were another avenue by which Christian morals and values were taught to children. Church schools in New Zealand had been a predominantly Catholic phenomenon for much of the country's early period and by the early twentieth century there was an extensive network of primary and secondary Catholic schools attached to parish churches throughout the Dominion. The Dunedin area had seven Catholic primary schools, two girls' secondary schools and one boys' secondary school.<sup>50</sup>

Catholic schools were staffed by Dominican nuns, Christian Brothers, Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of St. Joseph. The geographical spread of the primary schools meant that they were

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<sup>50</sup> The primary schools were St. Joseph's Convent School and St. Mary's School in Port Chalmers, St. Patrick's School in South Dunedin, Dominican Convent schools in Central Dunedin, Kaikorai Valley and North East Valley, and St. Mary's School in Mosgiel. The secondary schools were St. Philomena's College in South Dunedin and St. Dominic's College in Central Dunedin (both girls' schools), and the Christian Brothers' School in Central Dunedin (boys).

accessible to the majority of the city's Catholics. The secondary schools were located either close to the cathedral or in South Dunedin, where large numbers of Dunedin's Catholics lived, and Catholic parents were strongly encouraged to send their children to them.

The 1918 New Zealand Year Book lists twenty-nine Catholic schools in the Diocese of Dunedin, twenty in Otago and nine in Southland. There were 1,885 children enrolled in Otago, with an average daily attendance of 1,716. Determining the number of children in Dunedin's Catholic schools is more difficult. Statistics from publications such as school annual reports and articles in the *Tablet* provide glimpses of the situation at individual schools. Christian Brothers' School had a hall large enough for 300 people, a laboratory, library and four classrooms.<sup>51</sup> St. Dominic's College had a roll of 125 at the start of 1914.<sup>52</sup> St. Mary's School in Mosgiel had three classrooms with 'ample space' for the children who attended.<sup>53</sup> St. Patrick's school in South Dunedin became too small for its roll and a suite of new buildings was opening in 1917.<sup>54</sup> The school now had four large classrooms and a teachers' room. Boys were taught up to standard four and then sent to the Christian Brothers' school. Girls remained at St. Patrick's school until they completed standard six.<sup>55</sup> These reports suggest that the secondary schools had hundreds of pupils, while spaces in primary schools were in sufficient demand to warrant comprehensive rebuilds and expansion.

The curriculum at Catholic schools varied somewhat depending on the teaching order that ran it, but usually broadly followed the national curriculum. Religious instruction was the main difference between the Catholic schools and the state school system. It was commonplace for at least thirty minutes a day to be set aside for religious education. Hymns and the Apostles' Creed were sung or recited at various points throughout the day and children would attend Mass at the local parish church. Present in school rooms were pictures of saints, Biblical scenes, Christ and Mary, as well as statues and shrines. Literature used to help teach would be replete with religious imagery.<sup>56</sup> It is unclear how many staff were engaged in Dunedin's Catholic schools. Auckland Diocese had 249 men and women teaching in its schools and, given

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<sup>51</sup> "Christian Brothers' School, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 5/11/1914, 35; "Christian Brothers' New School, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 16/9/1915, 36;

<sup>52</sup> "St. Dominic's College, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 17/12/1914, 15.

<sup>53</sup> Stella, *Divide and Share*, 26.

<sup>54</sup> Letter, "Cavershamite" to the editor, *Times*, 19/5/1914, 6.

<sup>55</sup> "St. Patrick's School, South Dunedin. A Stirring Address," *Tablet*, 8/3/1917, 23-24.

<sup>56</sup> Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood," 44.

that that Diocese had roughly twice the number of children in its schools, this would suggest that the number for Dunedin Diocese might have been around 100.<sup>57</sup>

The commitment of the Catholic Church to its school system was made with the avowed purpose of teaching Christian morals and values. It was made because the Catholic church believed that the state school system addressed the academic and physical educational needs of children but ignored the spiritual.<sup>58</sup> The church provided an education that it believed would be of life-long value to the children, teaching them the importance of honesty, truth, justice, chastity and charity. It was hoped that an education with a strong Catholic emphasis would bind the child to the church and therefore ensure the continued growth of the denomination and the importance of the church to that person's life.<sup>59</sup>

The extent of support for the Catholic school system in Dunedin can be seen in the numbers of schools, their enrolments and in the financial support provided by the city's Catholics. Catholic schools received no funding from the state, a source of ongoing discord between the denomination and government. Consequently the cost of supporting these schools fell to the parishes and Dioceses. The exact amount that parishes and parents spent on running Catholic schools is unclear, though Brodie, Bishop of Christchurch, maintained that it cost £1 per pupil per year to maintain a child in primary school.<sup>60</sup> If this figure is accepted as indicative, it suggests that the cost to the Diocese's Catholic parents was around £2,700 each year. This would have been a considerable sum, more so given that individual Catholics tended to be poorer than members of other denominations.<sup>61</sup> The number of children in Catholic schools therefore indicates the commitment of their parents, not only to their denomination and faith but also financially to their school system and their children.

### **Protestant Church Schools**

Church schools were not just a Catholic phenomenon, though the networks of schools maintained by the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches were significantly smaller. In 1919 the Anglican Diocese maintained just one school in Dunedin, St. Hilda's Collegiate. It had been established by the Sisters of the Church, an Anglican teaching order, in 1896 and in 1899 it had

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<sup>57</sup> "School Sacrifice," *Month*, 15/2/1919, 5.

<sup>58</sup> "Catholic Education," *Tablet*, 20/1/1916, 41, 43 and 26.

<sup>59</sup> "Auckland Diocesan Catholic Teachers' Institute. Report of Proceedings (Continued)," *Tablet*, 31/5/1917, 45, 47.

<sup>60</sup> "St. Patrick's New School, South Dunedin," *Tablet*, 6/7/1916, 20.

<sup>61</sup> Olssen, "Towards a New Society," 265.

a roll of 53. Steady enrolments raised the roll to 126 in 1917. Commensurate with these increases was a building programme to house and teach the pupils, marking St. Hilda's Collegiate as the longest-lived Anglican school in the Diocese.<sup>62</sup>

The Anglican Diocese had maintained at least three other schools in Dunedin: day schools operated by St. Matthew's Church and St. Paul's Cathedral and Selwyn Collegiate School, a boys' day and boarding school. The collegiate school opened in 1906 and closed at the end of 1911 due to financial difficulties and poor uptake of places. St. Matthew's Day School had operated from 1891 to 1900 with an average roll of fifty. It reopened in 1902, closing again in 1914. During this second period it rarely had more than twelve pupils.<sup>63</sup> St. Paul's cathedral church had operated a similar institution in 1906 with twenty-five children, but it too closed.<sup>64</sup>

The Dunedin experience should not be taken as representative of the Anglican Church's efforts in establishing schools in New Zealand, nor as a lack of commitment by the Dunedin Diocese to Christian education. Between 1900 and 1920 the Anglican Church successfully established secondary schools in Auckland, Wellington, Marton, Christchurch and Timaru.<sup>65</sup> Almost all were girls' schools, complementing the already established boys' schools such as Wanganui Collegiate School (1852), Christchurch's Christ's College (1850), and the more recently established King's College in Auckland (1896).<sup>66</sup> Dunedin Diocese's failure to establish a more extensive network of schools should be interpreted as a consequence of the church's small presence in the city, the quality of the already existing secondary schools, conflicting priorities and the Diocese's lack of financial resources.

The Presbyterian Church was more successful at establishing and administering schools, with more schools being opened in more centres than the Anglican Church had managed, despite the nominal size difference between the two denominations. The second decade of the twentieth century saw a nationwide drive by the Presbyterian Church which resulted in nine schools being established throughout New Zealand.<sup>67</sup> Two of these, Columba College and

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<sup>62</sup> Evans, 126.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 123-124.

<sup>65</sup> Auckland's Diocesan School for Girls opened in 1904; Christchurch's St. Margaret's College opened in 1910 and Samuel Marsden Collegiate School opened in 1920. Morrell, 134-133.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>67</sup> These schools included St. Cuthbert's College in Auckland, Iona College in Havelock North, Scots College and Queen Margaret College in Wellington, Solway College in Masterton, St. Andrew's College in Christchurch, John McGlashan College and Columba College in Dunedin and Melrose College in Invercargill. PCNZ, *Proceedings 1919*, 177.

John McGlashan College, were in Dunedin. Both were secondary schools, catering for girls and boys respectively. The popularity of these schools was demonstrated by both the year-on-year increase in enrolments and the substantial building programmes that began to increase their capacity shortly after they opened. At its opening in 1915 Columba College had a roll of 110.<sup>68</sup> By 1918 the roll had almost doubled to 200 and the school's governors had spent £2,000 adding capacity to the school buildings.<sup>69</sup> John McGlashan experienced similar rates of growth. The school opened in 1918 with a roll of just 21. By 1920 there were 100 pupils enrolled, and in the expectation of further growth the school had already constructed additional buildings to accommodate a roll of 260.<sup>70</sup>

The growth of Presbyterian schools in Dunedin was repeated on a national basis. By 1920 there were 1,387 pupils enrolled in the Presbyterian Church's nine schools, staffed by 117 teachers.<sup>71</sup> Some of these schools had been open for only a year or two and none for more than a decade.

The Presbyterian Church's motivation for establishing these schools was similar to that of the Catholic church. It wanted to provide children with 'an early grounding of the teachings of our Church.'<sup>72</sup> There was a conscious attempt to bind children to the Presbyterian Church through educating them in a church school, a model showing marked similarities to that of the Catholic church. The lack of Presbyterian schools was described as 'criminal neglect' while the Catholic schools were part of that denomination's 'sedulous care for and training of her children and young people' which helped to ensure that that church continued to grow and prosper.<sup>73</sup> Presbyterian schools were to be the living proof of John Knox's conviction that 'religion was the chief factor in the training of our boys and girls.'<sup>74</sup> Like the Catholic school system, the Presbyterian Church sought to teach the national school curriculum but 'incorporate religious education and the fear of God.'<sup>75</sup> Children were to be educated for 'Christian citizenship,' with the Bible and religious literature featuring prominently.<sup>76</sup> Religious education was an integral part of the school curriculum and classes in that subject were held at least once a week. In 1919

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<sup>68</sup> "Columba Girls' College," *Outlook*, 10/8/1915, 14.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 22/10/1918, 21-22; "Presbyterian Girls' and Boys' Colleges," *Outlook*, 7/12/1915, 13.

<sup>70</sup> "A Visit to John McGlashan College, Dunedin," *Outlook*, 12/1/1920, 15.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> "Columba Girls' College," *Outlook*, 10/8/1915 14.

<sup>73</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 14/5/1918, 4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 23/2/1915 3.

<sup>75</sup> "Scots College, Wellington. Official Opening," *Outlook*, 28/3/1916, 6-7.

<sup>76</sup> "Ideals in Education," *Outlook*, 2/1/1917, 17.



the General Assembly heard that these ranged between thirty minutes and three hours per week, depending on the school.<sup>77</sup>

The financial cost of these schools was substantial. The initial costs of John McGlashan and Columba Colleges were primarily borne by Dunedin Presbytery through issuing bonds and collecting donations. By 1920 the total bill for John McGlashan College was £15,400 and £12,190 had been spent on Columba College.<sup>78</sup> The bonds and loans to the Presbytery and others had to be repaid through income from school fees. Presbyterian parents were therefore assenting to a Presbyterian school system twice over: once through their financial support and then again by enrolling their children. Establishing church schools represented the parents' agreement and commitment to the need for religious instruction for their children.

The Anglican Church's bid to establish a school network was motivated by ideals similar to those of the Presbyterian and Catholic churches. Church schools would combat irreligion in the community and provide a full education for the child – spiritual as well as academic and physical. This spiritual dimension was believed to be a vital part of any complete education but was lacking in the officially secular state system. Children who had been taught in an Anglican school would, it was hoped, be more likely to retain their links to the church, addressing the fear that young people were falling away from active membership in the church.<sup>79</sup>

The system of church schools played a very important part in inculcating a distinctly Christian viewpoint in the children of Dunedin and New Zealand. Thousands of children were enrolled in schools where religion and religious instruction were the *raison d'être*. It would be wrong to assume that every child who passed through the church school system left as a model Christian or one that possessed a strong faith. However, the arguments, ideals, morals and values to which they were exposed would have remained with them, to a greater or lesser extent, for the rest of their lives.

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<sup>77</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1919*, 177.

<sup>78</sup> The first buildings at John McGlashan College cost £5,000. New House, opened in 1920, cost £8,500, the kitchen £1,250 and an isolation hospital £650. Columba College cost £10,190 to purchase and convert into a school and within a year a further £2,000 had been spent on additions.

<sup>79</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, July 1916, 190; Editorial, *Envoy*, August 1918, 170.

## **Church Groups**

There were many different Organisations that operated as part of the churches. Some were particular to individual congregations and parishes while others operated across the denomination. However, what was common to all was a desire to connect members of the parish or congregation to each other, deepen their religious understanding and convictions, and provide social support and services, diversions and activities for the neighbourhood. Many organisations had an outward focus, seeking to interact with the wider community. Their motivations were complex, but included a desire to serve the community through good works, advice and help, promote the parish or congregation and to evangelise. These organisations were important vehicles in promoting and communicating Christianity to others, socialising and communicating the Christian message with men, women and children who did not necessarily attend church.

## **Adult Organisations**

The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches operated many church organisations to promote fellowship among adults connected with the congregation. The Mothers' Union was introduced in 1886 and was an important organisation for Anglican women. St. Matthew's church formed the first Dunedin branch in 1896. By 1912 branches had been established in the St. John's Roslyn, All Saints' and St. Martin's N.E.V. parishes.<sup>80</sup> The Mothers' Union sought to support new mothers, affirm and protect the institution of marriage, promote Christian faith and life in the home and support mothers who were facing adversity as they raised their children. Such ideals were explicitly outward-focused, involving women and children from outside the congregation and acting as a conduit for Christian ideals and values to flow from regular to irregular attenders and non-churchgoers.

The Anglican Brotherhood of St. Andrew began in the U.S.A. and was introduced into New Zealand by Nevill. By 1911 there were six chapters and two junior chapters active in Dunedin parishes.<sup>81</sup> It aimed to involve men in the life and mission of the church through promoting ideals of Christian service and daily prayer and its Dunedin-based chapters were heavily involved in the Bible Class movement and Dunedin's Men's Mission House, supporting

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<sup>80</sup> Evans, 198.

<sup>81</sup> Dunedin parishes with chapters of the Brotherhood were All Saints', St. Matthew's, St. Peter's Caversham, St. Paul's Cathedral, St. Mary's Mornington and St. John's Roslyn. Junior Chapters were active in St. John's Roslyn and the Cathedral parish. Evans, 199.

Vincent King's social mission.<sup>82</sup> The Brotherhood did not have a long life in Dunedin, but during its time it sought to act as a bridge between the church and the community, promoting Christianity and engaging with people who did not attend church and supporting those in need.

The Church of England Men's Society began its Dunedin work in 1910 when the first branch was formed by St. Matthew's parish in 1910. From 1910 to 1913 the organisation expanded rapidly and in 1914 there were 22 branches and 367 members in the Diocese and 2,500 members spread over 145 branches nationwide.<sup>83</sup> The C.E.M.S. was a worldwide organisation, holding annual conferences in London. Members were expected to conduct daily prayer and to support the work of the Anglican Church within their community. Overlap with the Brotherhood of St. Andrew is immediately apparent and the latter's demise was in a large part due to the expansion and popularity of the C.E.M.S. It had a strong focus on mission and outreach. Members supported King's work in the Men's Mission House and the hospital. They met and assisted sailors visiting Dunedin, organising accommodation, religious services, literature and social activities for them. Members helped in organising and leading Bible Classes, and promoted and staffed Anglican regimental institutes at Territorial camps.<sup>84</sup> Their activities helped to promote and teach Christian values, ethics and morals to those who were not necessarily attached to any particular church, or who may otherwise have had no contact with churches or church-based organisations.

There were many adult organisations attached to Presbyterian parishes. These included ladies' guilds and associations, men's clubs, the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union and the Laymen's Missionary Movement. South Dunedin, First Church, Caversham and Kaikorai had active and vibrant ladies' and men's clubs. In the immediate post-war period the Presbyterian Men's League was established. This body was modeled on the C.E.M.S. and Catholic Federation and promoted social, intellectual and spiritual involvement in the mission of the church and its congregations. Some church institutions, such as orphanages, had auxiliaries

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<sup>82</sup> Vicar's report to AGM for year ended 30/6/1908, Cathedral Chapter minutes, St. Paul's Cathedral (AG-147/081), Hocken.

<sup>83</sup> In 1910 the Diocese of Dunedin had 3 CEMS branches with 63 members. In 1911 there were 19 branches and 213 members. In 1912 it had 20 branches and 286 members and in 1913 it had 21 branches and 386 members. Evans, 199-200; Morrell, *Anglican Church*, 139.

<sup>84</sup> Report of CEMS to Diocesan Synod, Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1910*, 35-36; *Ibid.*, 1911, 34; *Ibid.*, 1912, 39; *Ibid.*, 1913, 31-32; *Ibid.*, 1914, 36.

attached to them, groups of men and women who helped to fund, promote and support the organisation to which they were attached.

Other groups were ecumenical, owing little or no allegiance to any one particular denomination. These groups included the Lord's Day Alliance, the New Zealand Alliance, Hope of Dunedin and the Women's Christian Temperance Union. They tended to be more overtly Christian and more focused towards mission, either domestic or overseas, and public advocacy. Regardless of their dedicated purpose, church-based groups provided a vehicle for communicating Christian values and ethics to the wider community and were outwardly focused.

### **Youth Organisations**

Bateman wrote that church-run youth organisations indicate the 'pervasive influence of the churches on wider society well beyond Sunday services, and the wider acceptance of cultural-Christian values.'<sup>85</sup> Her arguments could equally apply to the pre-World War One period. Almost all parishes and congregations, regardless of the denomination, organised and ran youth-focused organisations. The types of activities were many and diverse, and for the Anglican Church included the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, Girls' Friendly Societies, Girls' Clubs, Young People's Clubs and, in the immediate post-war period, Young Citizens' Leagues and Peace Scouts. The Presbyterian Church had Young Worshippers' Leagues, girls' and boys' Bible Classes aimed at juniors, intermediates and seniors, Christian Endeavour, Bands of Hope, Boys' Clubs, Boys' and Girls' Brigades, Busy Bees and the Girls' Order of the Covenant. Many parishes, especially Catholic ones, had sporting clubs associated with them, including harriers, rugby, athletics and cricket.

Each of these groups had a different purpose but all were motivated by a desire to do good works from a Christian perspective and were, once again, outwardly focused. They desired to attract and interact with more than just the young people of their particular church or congregation, and many had a significant service dimension. Scouts, Guides and Boys' and Girls' Brigades taught civic duty, along with more military skills such as "scout craft," drill and shooting for the boys and more homely skills designed to aid prospective wives and mothers, for the girls.<sup>86</sup> Many of these groups, such as Busy Bees and the girls' auxiliary of the

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<sup>85</sup> Bateman, 34-35.

<sup>86</sup> Editorial, *Envoy*, February 1924, 13.

Presbyterian Women’s Missionary Union, were engaged in supporting the Presbyterian Church’s mission overseas.<sup>87</sup> Christian Endeavour societies were formed by many denominations, but were particularly strong among the Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist churches. They were another form of youth organisation designed to support overseas mission work.<sup>88</sup> Boys’ and girls’ clubs tended to be more social organisations, while others such as the Girls’ Friendly Societies, Bible Classes and worshippers’ leagues were designed to encourage members’ spiritual growth. Socialisation was important, with galas, picnics, mid-winter socials and concerts being very popular. Large gala occasions were supplemented by smaller gatherings, often across congregations, denominations and age.<sup>89</sup> Specialist literature was often targeted at specific youth organisations. These could be one-off volumes such as *China’s Millions*, or periodicals such as the Presbyterian *Break of Day*.<sup>90</sup> Regardless of their primary focus these groups all taught service, teamwork, friendship, citizenship and Christian morals and ethics.

**Table 7: Dunedin Presbytery Bible Class enrolment statistics**

Year	Senior BC	Junior BC
1911	1,100	412
1912	1,233	497
1913	1,277	364
1914	1,243	352
1915	1,050	351
1916	730	479
1917	682	509
1918	651	596
1919	729	610
1920	674	
1921	820	
1922	808	

Bible Classes were an important component in the maintenance of the Christian faith of young people. The evangelical denominations had great faith in the movement, and much time and

<sup>87</sup> Elder, 318.

<sup>88</sup> Hugh Morrison, “‘Little vessels’ or ‘little soldiers’: New Zealand Protestant Children, Foreign Missions, Religious Pedagogy and Empire, c. 1880s-1930s,” *Paedagogica Historica* 47, 3 (June 2011): 307.

<sup>89</sup> Keen, 234-235

<sup>90</sup> Morrison, “Little Vessels,” 308.

resources were spent in introducing and developing it. This emphasis was rewarded, with Bible Classes becoming New Zealand's largest voluntary youth movement. They were designed to provide a continuation from Sunday Schools, with members progressing from Sunday School to Junior to Senior Bible Classes.<sup>91</sup>

There are no Bible Class statistics for the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin but Dunedin Presbytery returns for the years 1911 to 1922 demonstrate the large numbers of young Presbyterian men and women involved in Bible Classes. The decrease from the middle of the decade in the senior Bible Class can be explained by both the absence of leaders and the demographic of members, who tended to be aged from fifteen to their middle twenties. Male members of military age would have been likely to have either volunteered or been conscripted. The continuing appeal of Bible Classes in Dunedin, despite the war years, can be seen in the steady increase in membership as men were demobilised and in the year-on-year increase in junior members. Participation rates were high, with usually three-quarters of the nominal roll attending weekly meetings.<sup>92</sup>

The focus of these groups was biblical study, but social activities were also important, and included camps, sports and picnics, either on their own or with other groups. National Bible Class camps were also held. As Keen points out, at the core of all these activities was a desire to 'bring a spiritual dimension to the beliefs and values of the young men and women who are to occupy politically, socially, morally and religiously places of trust,' further evidence of the inculcation of Christian values within Dunedin society.<sup>93</sup>

It was not just the children of active churchgoers who attended church-affiliated youth organisations. Young people from throughout the parish's geographical boundaries would participate, regardless of their actual denominational affiliation, as would those from denominations without youth-focused organisations. Members would often attend the nearest group, rather than following denominational lines. There were many reasons for joining these organisations. Activities organised by these groups were designed to appeal to children and young adults.<sup>94</sup> Parents who were active members of a particular parish or congregation encouraged their children to participate in that parish's youth activities. The young people

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<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 114

<sup>92</sup> Keen, 119.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 114

<sup>94</sup> Barber, "Expanding Frontier," 97.

would accompany their friends or would be interested in the activities of a particular scout troop or Bible Class. Some parents would send their children because of the perceived respectability of doing so, regardless of whether they themselves attended church. Some parents were unable to attend church but believed in and approved of the messages being taught by these youth organisations.<sup>95</sup>

Regardless of why children attended these groups, participation was paramount to their continued understanding of the Christian message. Children were exposed in many different ways to Christian stories, understanding, values and morality. Morrison's point regarding the difficulty of quantifying a child's agency is well-founded.<sup>96</sup> However, regardless of whether a child became a regular churchgoer, he or she would have absorbed some of the Christian message and would consequently be accustomed to the arguments and justifications put forward by clergy and churchgoers. Much of what they were taught in childhood would have been familiar and remained with them as adults.

Non-denominational groups such as the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. also helped promote Christian values to Dunedin's children and young adults through catering to the mind, body and spirit. Sporting activities were important to fulfilling these aims and it was common for local Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. organisations to foster and promote gymnastics, athletics and team sports. Religion was central to these organisations, and sporting practices and competitions were usually preceded by prayer and short addresses aimed at inspiring, educating and instructing the participants. Educational activities revolved around Bible study, public lectures and advocating a more moral society. Extensive clubrooms provided meeting rooms, halls and gymnasia for these activities. Thousands of Dunedin children and adolescents would have participated in some form of Y.M.C.A./Y.W.C.A.-run activities during the pre-war period, exposing them to Christian values and ethics. It was another way that these values formed the "background noise" of everyday life, framing the context in which individuals viewed their lives.

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<sup>95</sup> Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood," 42.

<sup>96</sup> Morrison, "Little Vessels," 319.

## The Catholic Federation

The Catholic Federation was very different from Protestant church-affiliated organisations. Rather than having a wholly social or mission focus it combined several different goals. It was part social organisation, part community group and part political pressure group.

The Federation was founded in 1913, ostensibly as a social organisation and a vehicle for communicating the Catholic point of view to the community. However it very quickly became embroiled in politics through the Bible in State Schools debate, acquiring for itself a political focus that seems to have been unintended at the time of its founding. The Federation grew quickly and by the end of 1913 it had 15,000 members.<sup>97</sup> Membership within the Dunedin Diocese was recorded as 3,140 in 1915, and by 1918 this had grown to 4,844.<sup>98</sup> Given that there were nominally 24,500 Catholics in the Diocese this indicates that within five years around one in five had joined. The Federation was a national organisation, subdivided regionally into four diocesan branches. These were then further divided into smaller branches affiliated to their local parish. In July 1914 it had 119 parish committees, nineteen of them within the Diocese of Dunedin and five within the city.<sup>99</sup> By 1918 there were twenty-two branches in the Diocese.<sup>100</sup>

The Catholic Federation had an active role in both the Catholic and non-Catholic community. It organised and supported the Catholic Field Service Fund, the principal contributor of funds to Catholic military chaplains. It supported the denominational institutes in the military camps in New Zealand and provided Catholic literature to soldiers. It sought to refute anti-Catholic literature and distributed issues of pro-Catholic periodicals, such as Catholic Truth Society pamphlets. It publicised Catholic viewpoints on issues such as immorality, materialism and objectionable literature.<sup>101</sup> It also had a social role. The Auckland and Wellington Dioceses established employment and accommodation bureaus to help Catholics looking for employment or without lodgings.<sup>102</sup> Plans for the construction or acquisition of Catholic boarding houses were far advanced by the end of the war. Through these various roles it

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<sup>97</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 14/1/1915, 33-34.

<sup>98</sup> "Catholic Federation. Dunedin Diocesan Council," *Tablet*, 5/8/1915, 27; "New Zealand Catholic Federation," *Tablet*, 1/8/1918, 30.

<sup>99</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 14/1/1915, 33-34.

<sup>100</sup> The five parishes were Sacred Heart North East Valley, St. Joseph's Cathedral, Kaikorai, St. Patrick's South Dunedin and Immaculate Conception Mosgiel. "New Zealand Catholic Federation," *Tablet* (Dunedin), 1/8/1918, 30.

<sup>101</sup> "Catholic Federation. Dunedin Parish Committee," *Tablet*, 21/1/1915, 35.

<sup>102</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 14/1/1915, 33-34.



would certainly have helped to publicise Catholicism and Christianity to people who would not otherwise have been exposed to these values.

### **Social Service Organisations**

Social service organisations were another way whereby the churches would interact with the community, spread their message and communicate Christian values to people who were not necessarily regular churchgoers. Organisations such as the Presbyterian Social Services Association, the Anglican Men's Mission House and denominational orphanages would be seen by the majority of people, whether churchgoers or not, as serving their community, aiding vulnerable people and performing good works.

Dunedin's Presbyterian churches had long supported benevolent organisations such as Caversham's Benevolent Institution for the relief of distress, the Patients' and Prisoners' Aid Society, a women's refuge and the interdenominational Bethel Mission to Sailors.<sup>103</sup> In 1907 Dunedin formed the first Presbyterian Social Services Association, consolidating the denomination's social work into one organisation. A particular focus was providing support to young people through the provision of accommodation for orphans, giving help to families experiencing difficulties and assisting people into work. It would also take over responsibility for visiting hospitals and the benevolent institutions.<sup>104</sup> This model was later replicated across each Presbytery.

The Association's work with young people had almost immediate impact. It acquired its first orphanage in 1907 and during its first year it had thirty residents, 118 boys under its care and dealt with 174 cases. In 1908 it acquired a second building, using one for boys and the other for girls. In 1912 a third building was obtained, enabling the association to maintain a home for boys and girls under ten years of age, one for boys older than ten and still at school and one operating as a hostel for working young adults.<sup>105</sup>

Presbyterian Deaconesses provided social services to the community. From 1903 these women had been trained at Dunedin's Presbyterian Women's Training Institute, which had taken over

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<sup>103</sup> Elder, 335.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 339.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, 339-340.

from the privately run Missionary Training Home which operated from 1898-1903.<sup>106</sup> These women were affiliated to, and supported by, individual parishes and their many tasks included visiting the poor and needy, distributing clothes and coal, looking after the ill and impaired, counselling the recently bereaved and teaching Bible Classes, Sunday School and Junior Christian Endeavour groups.<sup>107</sup> Deaconesses often interacted with people who had the most tenuous of links with the local church, serving as the public face of that congregation's social mission. They were a visible and practical way of spreading Christian ideals, mores and values. It is impossible to determine their level of success, but it is clear that they were a visible Christian component in a community that may have been otherwise largely untouched by the Presbyterian Church.

The Anglican Diocese of Dunedin had an active social service arm with two emphases: the Men's Mission House and an orphanage. The former was the brainchild of Vincent King. A house in Filleul Street was acquired via public subscription in 1908 and opened on 4 February 1909.<sup>108</sup> King was already the Diocese's official visitor to Dunedin's prison, law courts, hospital and benevolent institutions, and the Men's Mission House was an extension of his work and interest in this field. The house provided meals, a bed and warm clothing. Giving to support the house was generous and it showed a surplus after its first year. The mission house clearly served a need, despite being open only three nights a week and officially catering just for men. In its first year it provided over one thousand meals, had around forty people sleeping in the house each night and had helped one hundred men and youths. In its second year people were forced to sleep on the floors due to a lack of capacity.<sup>109</sup> It acted as a contact point for families in need, who would receive help and a visit from King. It found homes for children in need, sought to mediate in domestic troubles, protected women from abusive men, took patients to hospital, provided furniture where this was necessary, helped secure pensions for the elderly and aided men and women in their search for employment.<sup>110</sup>

The Mission House acted as a visible statement to the community of the Anglican Church's mission. People who used the services it provided were exposed to the church's teachings and

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<sup>106</sup> Karyn-Maree Piercy, "Patient and Enduring Love: the Deaconess Movement, 1900-1920," in *Building God's Own Country*, eds. Stenhouse and Thomson, 199.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 205.

<sup>108</sup> Annual Report 1910, Men's Mission House, Annual reports, Newspaper reports etc, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-014/005), Hocken; Evans, 168.

<sup>109</sup> Annual Report 1911, Men's Mission House, Annual reports, Newspaper reports etc, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-014/005), Hocken.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 1916.

values. A short service was held at the house every Sunday evening and King's pastoral visits would have brought the Christian message to the community, rather than relying on the individual to come to church. It is impossible to state with any certainty the extent of church-going by the people who used the Mission House, but it is certain that this initiative did help to publicise Christian values.

The first Anglican orphanage opened in 1883 in Leith Valley, housing around ten children. By 1914 the orphanage had moved several times and was now located in Mornington and had a capacity of thirty-one children.<sup>111</sup> In 1918 a second orphanage was acquired, this one in Vauxhall. Children were now segregated – boys in Vauxhall and girls in Mornington. Children who lived in the orphanages were required to attend the local parish church and were encouraged to participate in the various children's and youth organisations associated with that church.

The Catholic church also operated orphanages in Dunedin. The Sisters of Mercy opened the St. Vincent de Paul orphanage in 1897 in South Dunedin. Initially for girls, it admitted its first boy in 1912. Capacity issues forced continual expansion of the orphanage and within two years spaces would only become available once a resident child was either adopted or became old enough to leave. By 1927 over 1,600 children had passed through the orphanage.<sup>112</sup> These boys and girls were all exposed to Christianity, Christian thought and morals during their time in the orphanage, not only through their attendance at Catholic schools and services at St. Patrick's church, but also by their daily interaction with the Sisters who staffed and ran the orphanages.

Pastoral visits were another means by which people who were either irregular or non-attenders at church services became exposed to Christianity. Not only families in need or difficulty, but the ill and parents and siblings of children in church-run youth organisations would occasionally receive visits from representatives of their local parish. Whether it was through visits from clergy, elders, parish office holders, or Catholic nuns and brothers, many families and individuals would have become aware of some aspect of Christian teaching through these visits.

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<sup>111</sup> In 1904 the children were moved to Grange St. in Leith Valley. In December 1912 they moved to Kenmure Road in Mornington, the new building housing 16 children. This was expanded significantly as the roll effectively doubled within two years. Evans, 164.

<sup>112</sup> Stella, 69-72.

## Community Missions and Evangelism

Missions to the community and community-based evangelism were a common way for individual churches and denominations to reach out to people, though the structure and format depended on the denomination, location, leadership and target audience. Missions usually consisted of one or more leaders holding meetings in public or church halls. They were usually confined to a specific geographical area and would last anywhere from several days to a few weeks.

Catholic missions were often led by representatives from itinerant missionary organisations. The Congregation for the Most Holy Redeemer led a three-week mission to South Dunedin's Catholics in March and April 1916. During that time St. Patrick's Basilica hosted three Masses and an evening devotion each weekday and five Masses on Sunday.<sup>113</sup> One week of the mission was devoted to children, the other two to adults.<sup>114</sup> Many men, women and children attended, with reports citing 'large numbers' who took communion, and a 'packed church.' The Sunday evening service had an 'immense' congregation.<sup>115</sup>

In 1910 a team of Anglican clergy and laymen travelled throughout New Zealand. They preached at parish churches, church and community halls and workplaces. In Dunedin the mission featured multiple daily church services at different locations and mission meetings in workplaces, halls and schools.<sup>116</sup> Street processions led by clergy, missionaries and choirs headed by a cross-bearer with the congregation following behind were prominent. Hymns and chants were sung by those in the processions, some of which numbered over a thousand people.<sup>117</sup> Newspaper reports focused on the daily increase in size of congregations and audiences.<sup>118</sup>

Presbyterian community missions tended to be shorter and featured fewer services than Catholic or Anglican missions. Kaikorai church hosted a ten-day mission in 1910. The meetings were well attended and seventeen people completed 'decision cards,' committing themselves to Christ and joining the church.<sup>119</sup> In 1912 Dunedin hosted the Chapman-

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<sup>113</sup> Weekday and Saturday Masses were held at 6 am, 7 am, and 9 am and Sunday Masses were held at 6:30 am, 7:30 am, 9 am, 11 am and in the evening. "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 23/3/1916, 34.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 30/3/1916, 35.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 13/4/1916, 31.

<sup>116</sup> Evans, 193-195.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>118</sup> "Church Services," *Times*, 16/11/1910, 8; "Anglican Mission," *Times*, 17/11/1910, 8.

<sup>119</sup> Annual Report for Annual Congregational Meeting 1910, Session Minute Book 1901-1920, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/2), PCANZAO.

Alexander mission, an international mission party who had already visited other parts of the English speaking world. The mission's success was measured by the many people who became members of the Presbyterian Church following his meetings.<sup>120</sup>

In March 1917 Evean Harries, a Presbyterian minister from Timaru, led a mission organised by the Roslyn congregation aimed at broadening and deepening the spiritual life of the church. Leaflets advertising the mission were dropped in letterboxes throughout the congregation's boundaries. People were invited to attend Harries' addresses 'for the glory of God and the good of the Empire,' appealing to both religion and patriotism. Harries' talks were described as 'attractive and powerful' and the response from people in the district was 'encouraging,' especially among the children. Seventy people subsequently confessed Christ to be their saviour.<sup>121</sup>

Regardless of the organising denomination, many of the people who participated in these missions would, of course, have been people who already attended church services. This was well known by those organising and participating in these missions. The Presbyterian Church's Committee on Church Life and Work in its 1912 and 1913 General Assembly reports indicated that missions helped 'ministers to rekindle their own fire' for evangelism, gave impetus to 'personal mission' and helped to inspire 'church members ... to seek the lost.'<sup>122</sup> Edgar Moreton, an Anglican priest, described the 1910 mission as a 'unique spiritual experience' for Dunedin's residents, and Fitchett, at the 1911 Dunedin diocesan synod, spoke of the mission's 'good results' and the way it demonstrated 'the catholic breadth of the Church of England' while not questioning the church's 'deep underlying unity.'<sup>123</sup>

This is not to suggest that audiences and congregations comprised only churchgoers. The large attendances at the missions were clearly greater than would normally be experienced and indicate the presence of people who were not regular churchgoers. A proportion would have been people who did not attend church or who had not been for many years. Thousands of Dunedin residents would have witnessed the public processions, recognised the clergy and people in them and heard the hymns and chants they sang. Many more would have read the reports about the missions in the press. Workplace addresses opened up a different audience

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<sup>120</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 7A.

<sup>121</sup> "At the AGM of the Congregation of Roslyn Church," *Outlook* (Dunedin), 14/8/1917, 22.

<sup>122</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 7A; *Ibid.* 1913, 56.

<sup>123</sup> Evans, 195.

from just those who attended church, however regular or irregular their attendance. These people, not only those who listened to the speakers at mission events but also those who witnessed the public displays, were exposed to Christian thought and teaching, through which they would become more familiar with Christian morals and values. Not all who were present or who witnessed the missions would have agreed with what they had heard, but the responses of people indicate that many did, as referred to above.

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### **Church Building and Planting**

Examining the physical network of parishes and church buildings is another method of assessing community exposure to the Christian message. The four decades from 1884 to 1924 represented a period of intense church planting and building. In part this reflected the opening up of new areas of Dunedin to denser settlement, made possible by extended transportation networks and greater population. The most spectacular increase was found in the Presbyterian Church, which added twenty-three major worship centres in the Dunedin Presbytery area between 1884 and 1924, fourteen of them between 1904 and 1924. The Anglican and Catholic churches added eight and twelve parishes respectively in that forty year period. The Methodist church created six worship centres, the Salvation Army seven and Church of Christ five. Some denominations contracted, such as the Baptist church, which declined by three, and the Congregational Church, which declined by two.<sup>124</sup> These congregations would, however, have been small in number and would have had minimal impact on Dunedin's overall population of churchgoers.

During this period church buildings, either new acquisitions or new constructions to replace smaller churches, were completed in St. Clair, Musselburgh, Caversham, Brockville, Opoho, Sawyers Bay, Kaikorai, Roslyn, North Dunedin and St. Kilda.<sup>125</sup> Dunedin residents were willing to invest considerable funds in constructing, reconstructing, extending and maintaining their parishes. This was a substantial and on-going commitment, often inter-generational, and hints at the assurance many Dunedin residents felt about the city's Christian future. It indicates a desire and need on the part of new settlers in these areas of Dunedin. They clearly valued their faith and their connection to the Church, whatever the denomination, or else would not

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<sup>124</sup> Croot, 28.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., 16-18.

have expended such effort, financial and otherwise, in planning and constructing new buildings. There was no geographical or denominational segregation – denominations established or expanded their presence throughout the city, regardless of the prevailing socio-economic makeup of the suburb. Calculated by the measure of church buildings, Dunedin clearly had a large number of committed church-goers, as well as a belief that this number would continue to increase.

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### **Communicating the Christian Message Without Involving the Church**

Outside of the church's formal setting there were additional means by which the Church's message was socialised and normalised, both reflecting and perpetuating community norms. One of the more noticeable was the state school system. Since 1877 New Zealand's school system had been officially secular. Government funding was withdrawn from schools affiliated to churches and ostensibly religion played no part in a child's education. Keen argues that this "secular" approach to education was what spurred churches to expand and emphasise the Sunday School movement.<sup>126</sup> This may have motivated church efforts in regard to Sunday Schools but it would be wrong to infer that religion no longer played a part in education. In fact religion still influenced many aspects of New Zealand's state education system and would do so for many decades.

The introduction of a state-run education system was a recognition of the plurality of New Zealand's religious mix. In the absence of one dominant denomination, state control and regulation was the preferred means of ensuring equal access for all to non-denominational education.<sup>127</sup> This helps to explain why education boards and schools were able to authorise religious instruction for pupils, using school buildings at the start or end of school days. Parental consent had first to be obtained but it was unusual for this to be withheld. Religious instruction was conducted by experienced clergy or lay people and exposed thousands of Dunedin children to Christianity. It was not uncommon for schools to have copies of the Ten Commandments posted on classroom walls. Most schools had a combination of prayers, hymn singing or Biblical reading as part of their assembly routine.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Keen, 2, 77.

<sup>127</sup> Watt, 9.

<sup>128</sup> Troughton, "Religion, Churches and Childhood," 43; Guy, 16; Bateman, 76.

Christian symbolism, both overt and covert, was commonplace within the school curriculum. In June 1897 *Schoolmates*, the forerunner to *The School Journal*, was first published in Dunedin and was quickly adopted by schools throughout New Zealand.<sup>129</sup> Issues contained fiction and non-fiction stories, puzzles, mathematical problems and lessons on geography. Its circulation continued to improve until it had thousands of subscribers. It ran for ten years until it was replaced by *The School Journal* in 1907. This latter was published by the Department of Education and quickly occupied a vital part at the heart of New Zealand's primary school curriculum. Many school children were exposed to the messages contained in *Schoolmates* and all were readers of *The School Journal*. Consciously or unconsciously, the messages contained in these two publications were communicated to children in New Zealand's schools.

Bateman's analysis of the *School Journal* for 1920 to 1950 concluded that it 'co-opted certain aspects of cultural Christianity and wrapped this up in an overarching imperialist narrative' and that it 'included explicitly religious content ... reflecting 'Golden Rule' Christianity popular throughout New Zealand.'<sup>130</sup> Hugh Morrison writes: 'Nowhere was the Empire more evident than in the national school primer ... the *School Journal* regularly and emphatically supported an ideology of Empire citizenship' and continues, '... [it] normally avoided explicitly religious references.'<sup>131</sup> This may be true of later volumes, but early issues frequently made explicit reference to the beneficial qualities of Christianity. Both *Schoolmates* and *School Journal* blended Christian, historical, patriotic and militaristic content during the pre-war period. This blend was present in most issues and was used to teach children everything from poetry to writing to singing. Stories and poems often featured children and parents praying before bedtime.<sup>132</sup> The crusader in the story "A Combat in the Desert" was described as a 'true champion of the cross' and the mother in "The Children" was reminded of the time 'when the glory of God was about me' as she put her children to bed.<sup>133</sup>

Christian morality and ethics were taught in stories and poems published in both magazines. Echoing the biblical story of the poor widow and the rich man, the story "Which Gave the Most?" features rich children and a poor boy who gives the two pennies he had saved to

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<sup>129</sup> "Editor's Letter to Schoolmates," *Schoolmates* (Dunedin), August 1897, 11.

<sup>130</sup> Bateman, 126, 128.

<sup>131</sup> Morrison, "Little Vessels," 316.

<sup>132</sup> "The Unfinished Prayer," *Schoolmates*, Feb 1898, 7; "Gordon Corbett's Temptation," *Schoolmates*, Nov 1897, 4.

<sup>133</sup> "A Combat in the Desert," *Schoolmates*, Feb 1906, 1-2; "The Children," *The School Journal* (Wellington), March 1908, 17-18



purchase a plant.<sup>134</sup> The poem “Little Things” advised children that ‘God loveth the cheerful giver’ whatever the size of the gift.<sup>135</sup> In another, readers are told that ‘God knows all the heroes,’ which will give them ‘strength for the strife.’<sup>136</sup> *School Journal* stressed humility in its story of the Duke of Wellington, who refused to allow the Portuguese government to mint a medal in his honour.<sup>137</sup> Religion, patriotism, militarism and martyrdom were blended in many stories and poems. A *School Journal* series described the lives of the British patron saints.<sup>138</sup> Imperial events such as the coronation of King George V in 1911 received considerable attention and were encouraged to “help the Empire” where possible.<sup>139</sup> The poem “The Union Jack” appealed to God to ‘bless the dear Old Flag and keep it flying high.’<sup>140</sup> Children were taught that through their British identity and membership of the Empire they were privileged, and that this privilege came with responsibility.<sup>141</sup> Religion and Christianity were intrinsic to this identity.

Subtle forms of propaganda were common and present throughout the community and these often blended religion, patriotism and militarism. In the 1870s, sheet music became very popular, and thousands of cards, songs, ballads and hymns were produced and distributed throughout the Empire.<sup>142</sup> The songs revolved around Britain's military adventures in the late nineteenth century and were written to appeal to the Empire's populace wherever they lived.<sup>143</sup> Books involving travel, exploration, missionaries and the military enshrined the imperial ethos and established hero worship for their subjects. Frequently depicting the heroic expansion of a fundamentally Christian Empire, these became the staple item at school and church prizegivings and as Christmas presents.<sup>144</sup> These books simultaneously reflected and reinforced the culture of the time for their readers.

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<sup>134</sup> “Which Gave the Most?” *Schoolmates*, April 1898, 16.

<sup>135</sup> “Little Things,” *Schoolmates*, Feb 1902, 9.

<sup>136</sup> “Be of Good Courage,” *Schoolmates*, Sept 1902, 14.

<sup>137</sup> “Don’t Be Too Sure,” *School Journal*, 27-29.

<sup>138</sup> “Saint Patrick,” *School Journal*, March 1908, 18-21; “St. George of England,” *School Journal*, April 1908, 33-36; “St. Andrew, the Patron Saint of Scotland,” *School Journal*, 146-148.

<sup>139</sup> Morrison, “Empire, Nation, and Religion,” 29.

<sup>140</sup> “The Union Jack” by Edward Shirley, *School Journal*, May 1908, 62.

<sup>141</sup> Morrison, “Empire, Nation, and Religion,” 29.

<sup>142</sup> John MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 30.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

Religion was also a constant part of the non-denominational press. Daily newspapers would report on events within churches and on services. Special celebratory or commemorative services would be the subject of large articles. Extensive reports were published detailing the day's proceedings during the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly, the Anglican Diocesan and General Synods and Catholic Synods. "The Sunday Circle" was a regular column in the *Otago Daily Times*' Saturday issue and the weekly *Otago Witness*, providing commentary on theological or doctrinal topics as well as Bible readings and a small section for younger readers. Editorials incorporated religious and theological themes within their discussion, regardless of the actual topic. These publication policies were not implemented in the face of widespread or even muted opposition from readers. Clearly not every subscriber read every article, but it would be impossible to miss the tenor of the constant coverage.

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It is clearly impossible to arrive at definitive figures relating to church attendance. It is, however, evident that many thousands of Dunedin residents attended church regularly and were counted as members of individual parishes and congregations. Yet to use church attendance as a sole measure of religious belief in the community is to fall wide of the mark. People also interacted with the church through many church-related social and service organisations and were thus socialised to Christian dogma.

Church schools also delivered a Christian message to thousands of children and young adults, who then took into their adult lives a grounding of Christian values and everyday practices. The state school system, although ostensibly secular, reflected the pervading Christian nature of New Zealand. Educational material reflected Christian values, and through religious instruction in the schools many thousands of children were regularly exposed to Christianity.

There was considerable exposure to aspects of Christianity in many spheres of daily life outside the schools. Christian values, arguments and world-views were disseminated in many different ways and were always present in the background of daily lives. This is not to deny that there would have been variable degrees of acceptance to Christian messages by the people, ranging from full acceptance to complete rejection. However, the key fact is that large numbers of people were exposed to the Christian message and were socialised to its world-view. This was largely replicated, to varying degrees, in many ways throughout Dunedin and New Zealand society. The Christian world-view, encompassing a set of morals, attitudes and beliefs, was

present in the background of daily lives, sometimes louder and sometimes quieter, but always there. This exposure helps explain why people were so ready to accept the input of churches into the Dominion's war effort, why dissent was so muted and why religion featured so markedly in many aspects of life and society. The vast majority had been educated to accept this state of affairs. It is this socialising and exposure of the Christian message to people with little or no formal connection with the church and its Sunday services that explains the extraordinary commonality between the views expressed inside the churches and those expressed outside.

## Chapter 2: Holy War

### “Soldiers of Christ, Arise, and Put Your Armour On”<sup>1</sup>

As the world adjusted to war in late 1914 people examined the reasons for the conflict, with churches and faith playing an important part in this debate. This led inexorably to a second debate concerning the morality of Germany and the state of that nation’s soul. How could Germany, supposedly a Christian nation, have plunged the world into war and attacked a nation that it was pledged to defend?

This questioning involved clergy and laity and was conducted in the religious and secular press, through public and church meetings, in sermons and in letters and poetry. Prominent in these debates was the long-standing idea or theory of ‘just war.’ The popular conclusion reached by the vast majority of society was that the conflict was both just and moral. Once this decision had been reached the language of sacrifice began to flow. Churches acknowledged various forms of sacrifice: by a man when he enlisted; by a soldier who died on active service; and by the women who encouraged their men to join the army. Many equated these sacrifices with Christ’s death. The belief that this was a sacrificial war - a holy war against an amoral enemy - became self-perpetuating, justifying greater and more extravagant support for the war by the churches, clergy, and church members. It was a belief held by the vast majority of church goers, be they parishioner or clergy.

Viewing the war as holy and sacred was not confined to the churches. The views expressed inside the churches were echoed and supported by people and groups outside the churches. Public events marking significant dates in the course of the war demonstrate the considerable co-operation between the churches and civil society in promoting this interpretation. It was natural for clergy to assist local and central government in these public meetings. Opposition to church co-operation and clergy participation in the public events was small and muted, indicating an overwhelming popular acceptance of this role by the Church and this interpretation of the conflict.

This widespread acceptance indicates the recognition by many people that there existed a religious dimension to, and interpretation of, the conflict. Examination also reveals that there

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<sup>1</sup> The words to ‘Soldiers of Christ, arise, and put your armour on’ were written by Charles Wesley in the 1740s. The hymn has been set to at least six different tunes.

were few differences between what was expressed by clergy, committees and members within the churches and outside them, as well as a high degree of commonality across the denominations, particularly between the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches. Differences tended to be matters of degree rather than an outright rejection, and were mirrored outside the churches, again reinforcing the fact that attitudes and opinions were similar across Dunedin, whether expressed in a church setting or outside it.

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### **A Just War**

Early church scholars codified and applied Christian theories and opinions from classical philosophers to create a Christian “just war theory.”<sup>2</sup> By the turn of the twentieth century just war theory had weathered many storms, particularly attacks from the Romantic movement, but was still pervasive in Western European countries, particularly the Anglo-sphere.

Some historians have acknowledged that New Zealand’s involvement in the war was just but have seemingly not linked that statement to just war theory and the reliance that it has on Christian thought, attitudes and principles. Pugsley, for instance, writes: ‘In 1914-1918 both Australia and New Zealand saw Imperial Germany as a threat, believed that the Empire’s cause was just ...’<sup>3</sup> McKernan acknowledges that Australian clergy ‘agree[d] that Britain’s cause is righteous and just.’<sup>4</sup> Others have listed components of just war theory without acknowledging their logical conclusion. Vance’s statements that Canadians viewed the war as ‘a defence of right versus wrong and of humanity and civilisation versus barbarism’ are clear examples of just war theory.<sup>5</sup> Wolffe argues that the ‘belief in an overwhelming moral case’ for the war helped unite Great Britain in the conflict.<sup>6</sup> A war that is moral must necessarily also be just, but this was left unsaid.

The majority of New Zealand’s clergy were not afraid to call the war just. They frequently made reference to the justice of the British cause, either in sermons or at public meetings. Anglican clergy doing so included Alfred Fitchett, Bishop Samuel Nevill, Canon Edmund

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<sup>2</sup> Roland H. Bainton, *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace. A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* (Abingdon Press: London, 1961), 39.

<sup>3</sup> Pugsley, 32.

<sup>4</sup> McKernan, 28.

<sup>5</sup> Vance, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Wolffe, 233.

Nevill;<sup>7</sup> Presbyterian clergy included William Day, John Dickie, Robert Davies and Graham Balfour;<sup>8</sup> and Catholic clergy included Cleary, Cahill and Thomas O’Shae.<sup>9</sup> The *Tablet* also labelled the war as just.<sup>10</sup> Poetry published in the *Outlook* and the *Tablet* clearly characterised the war as just, and the label was frequently invoked at public meetings. However, what exactly did this mean and, if the war was “just”, what beliefs underlay this conclusion?

Scholars have debated the exact definition of a just war for centuries, but certain precepts are constant. Oliver O’Donovan, in *The Just War Revisited*, writes that such a war must involve certain elements: an attempt at mediation prior to recourse to arms; the existence of a fundamental right without any formal institution to enforce this right; the separation of the guilty from the innocent and the avoidance of disproportionate use of force; humane treatment of surrendered combatants; and the use of fundamentally ‘just’ weapons, that is weapons that did not cause disproportionate suffering.<sup>11</sup> Roland Bainton provides a similar set of preconditions, adding that the object of the war should be the restoration of peace and the vindication of justice; that the outcome of the war should not preclude reconciliation; and that natural law should underpin decisions taken during the conflict.<sup>12</sup>

Many aspects of World War One correspond to just war theory: Britain was defending a weak Belgium against blatant aggression; Germany had made no attempt to negotiate prior to invading Belgium and France; German Chancellor von Bethman-Hollweg’s statement that ‘necessity knows no law’ flew in the face of the concept of natural law and universal morality; Germany atrocities, and especially the methods and weapons used to prosecute the war, violated the principles of proportionality inherent in any concept of just war; and German hostage-taking, forced labour and wanton destruction of villages, churches and private property violated the proscription against enslavement and was seemingly aimed entirely at non-combatants. Germany consistently violated the widely accepted “rules of war,” resulting in British opposition to Germany being seen as both moral and just.

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<sup>7</sup> “Declaration of War,” *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10; “Three Years of War,” 6/8/1917, 3; “Victory and Peace,” 21/7/1919, 6.

<sup>8</sup> “The Great War – is it Armageddon?” *Outlook*, 9/2/1915, 18; “Germany’s humiliation. A burning indictment”, *Otago Witness*, 7/4/1915, 29; “A year of war. Anniversary gatherings,” *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6; “Declaration of War,” *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10.

<sup>9</sup> “Archdiocesan News,” *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 26.

<sup>10</sup> “Stand Fast in the Faith,” *Tablet*, 25/2/1915, 11; “Auckland Notes,” *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 29.

<sup>11</sup> Oliver O’Donovan, *The Just War Revisited* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK, 2003), 23-27, 32-33, 35-37, 86.

<sup>12</sup> Bainton, 33, 37-39.

Most Catholics and Protestants would have been familiar with the general definition of a just war. This fact, together with the debates and attitudes outlined in this chapter, help to explain the broad base and longevity of New Zealand's commitment, as well as the language used and interpretations made of the conflict throughout society. The vast majority of New Zealanders broadly accepted that the war was just, and that they were therefore fighting on the side of morality and right in a war sanctioned by God.

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### **Justifying the War: Honour and Defending the Weak**

All mainstream New Zealand churches maintained that Britain was fighting for its honour. Britain was one of the six signatories to the 1829 treaty that established a permanently neutral Belgium, and each signatory was pledged to defend this settlement.<sup>13</sup> For many in New Zealand it would have been unthinkable to back out of this commitment - such a course of action would be dishonourable. This view was clearly put forward by the *Envoy's* editor, who wrote that Britain and the Empire were not at war willingly,

... not for lust of territory, not for commercial or any material gain are we at war. No new territory do we require or desire ... There is one answer and one answer only to the question 'Why are we at war?' That which is at stake is our honour and self respect. To fight for that stake is just and right, and conscientiously and confidently may we pray God to be our strength and shield.<sup>14</sup>

The *Outlook* was less grandiloquent, but held similar views: 'Great Britain is making these incredible sacrifices for the honour of the nation,' while the *Tablet* reprinted a British sermon in which 'British honour, British truth, and British freedom' were used to justify the war, traits that were 'cherished dearer than life.'<sup>15</sup>

All churches maintained that the British Empire was fighting to defend weak countries against the strong, a central tenet of just war theory. Presbyterian clergy, including Daniel Dutton, Dickie, William Dixon and Balfour all believed that strong nations had a duty to defend the weak against Germany. Their opinions were communicated through sermons and public

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<sup>13</sup> The other signatories were the Netherlands, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia.

<sup>14</sup> "Current Notes," *Church Envoy* (Dunedin), September 1914, 218. For other examples by the Editor see *Envoy*, October 1914, 250; February 1916, 41.

<sup>15</sup> "The Church and the World: War!," *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 11/8/1914, 4; "Father Bernard Vaughan and the War. A Stirring Address," Reprinted from the *Liverpool Catholic Times* in *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin), 5/11/1914, 17.

meetings.<sup>16</sup> At the 1915 Dunedin Anglican Diocesan Synod, Nevill stated that Britain's involvement was due to upholding the 'sacredness of treaties' and defending 'the cherished liberties of nations.'<sup>17</sup> Nevill's was not a lone voice. Almost all Protestant clergy made similar statements, with Dunedin's Council of Churches, at its September 1914 Annual General Meeting, passing a resolution affirming Britain's justification for entering the war. It maintained that Britain had been forced into the conflict, and that the war was being fought for justice and righteous ends.<sup>18</sup> Dixon believed that Britain was the 'champion of liberty, the tyrant's inveterate and invincible foe' and stated that this role had been given to Britain by God.<sup>19</sup> Dixon's views were shared by parishioners and congregations. Green Island's Presbyterian congregation responded with 'loud applause' when Robert Davies stated that Britain was fighting for justice and the freedom of all nations.<sup>20</sup> Defending the sanctity of treaties and Britain's pledge to uphold the neutrality of Belgium was an enduring theme when speakers, both in and outside the pulpit, justified the Empire's involvement in the war.<sup>21</sup>

### **Good versus Evil**

Many people believed in a spiritual dimension to the war, perceiving it as a contest between civilisation and barbarism, between Christianity and evil, and between the moral and the amoral. The *Envoy* frequently quoted the views of the Bishop of London, an outspoken critic of Germany and a staunch supporter of the Empire's war effort.<sup>22</sup> The same newspaper reprinted the declaration by the Anglican bishops of England and Wales that the war was 'a supreme struggle on behalf of righteousness and freedom.'<sup>23</sup> Nevill stated that the war was

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<sup>16</sup> Gray, in a sermon delivered at St. Andrew's Ravensbourne, stated that Great Britain was fighting for its honour and integrity. "The War," *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin), 11/8/1914, 2; Dutton, at a public meeting in Dunedin's Garrison Hall, said that "the most peace loving man must now hear the clear bugle call to stand in the breach." "High Feeling in Dunedin," *Times*, 7/8/1914, 8; Balfour, at the 1914 Knox Church annual congregational meeting, referred to the honour of the Empire. "Knox Church," *Times*, 14/8/1914, 7; and Dickie, in a sermon given at the Ross Chapel, Knox College, affirmed that Great Britain's honour was at stake. "The Empire's Call," *Outlook*, 1/9/1914, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Bishop's President's address, Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings*, (Dunedin: Caxton Print Co., 1915), 16.

<sup>18</sup> "Council of Churches," *Times*, 15/9/1914, 3.

<sup>19</sup> "The Religion of the Battlefield," *Outlook*, 8/9/1914, 18.

<sup>20</sup> "Green Island Presbyterian Church. Lecture by the Rev. R. E. Davies," *Otago Witness* (Dunedin), 13/10/1915, 57.

<sup>21</sup> For examples see "The War. Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 3; "Notes. 'The Wrong We are Committing,'" *Tablet*, 8/10/1914, 34; "Solemn Requiem and Mass of Intercession," *Tablet*, 21/1/1915, 26; "War," *Tablet*, 4/2/1915, 19.

<sup>22</sup> *Envoy*, "Current Notes," March 1915, 70. For examples of the Bishop of London's views see "The War and Religion," *Envoy*, February 1916, 41; "The War and Ourselves," *Envoy*, June 1917, 136.

<sup>23</sup> "The Bishops and the War," *Envoy*, August 1915, 253.



being fought 'in defence of righteousness and truth, of purity and freedom,' while, in 1918, he described the conflict as 'part of the eternal war between good and evil.'<sup>24</sup> In September 1917 the *Envoy's* editor described the decision to go to war as 'the most Christ-like thing that as a nation we ever did.'<sup>25</sup>

The Presbyterian Church believed that the war was a conflict of goodness and Christianity against evil and barbarism. Views expressed by clergy outside of Dunedin demonstrate the pervasiveness of this view of the war. Thomas Stinson, minister of Timaru Presbyterian Church, argued that the Empire was fighting 'not for aggression, nor for selfish ends but for the maintenance of principles vital for civilisation.'<sup>26</sup> James Gibb, a leading Presbyterian minister, wrote in an *Outlook* guest editorial that the war was a struggle between religion and paganism in which New Zealand was fighting on the side of civilisation and a Christian concept of life.<sup>27</sup> In the course of the conflict this view was often cited by Presbyterians as one of the reasons the war had to be prosecuted to a successful conclusion. William Scorgie maintained, 'We are fighting for the cause of peace versus war, civilisation versus barbarism.'<sup>28</sup> Balfour asserted at a public meeting following the 1916 Anzac Day parade that New Zealand's soldiers were fighting for civilisation.<sup>29</sup> Balfour returned to this topic at a public meeting in August 1917 where he again spoke on the theme of civilisation versus barbarism.<sup>30</sup>

Catholic clergy shared this view. Parallels were drawn between the actions of German soldiers in France, Belgium and Poland and the barbarians of antiquity. Clergy expressly described the conflict as one where 'militarism, despotism, and barbarism' were ranged against 'civilisation.'<sup>31</sup> However, Catholic declarations tended to be more muted than those of their Protestant counterparts, and there are fewer descriptions of war in these terms in the *Tablet* than in the *Envoy* or the *Outlook*.

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<sup>24</sup> "The Military Service Act and the Clergy," *Envoy*, December 1916, 334; "The War. Fourth Anniversary of Declaration. United Services in Dunedin," *Witness*, 7/8/1918, 36.

<sup>25</sup> *Envoy*, September 1917, 203.

<sup>26</sup> *Outlook*, 18/8/1914, 17.

<sup>27</sup> "The Church and the World," *Outlook*, 6/10/1914, 5.

<sup>28</sup> "The Topic: Britain's Purpose in the Present War," *Outlook*, 20/4/1915, 17.

<sup>29</sup> Anzac Day. Commemoration Ceremonies," *Witness*, 3/5/1916, 27.

<sup>30</sup> "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3. For other examples see "Year's Work. North East Valley, Dunedin," *Outlook*, 7/9/1915, 33; Editorial, *Outlook*, 20/6/1916, 4; Editorial, *Outlook*, 18/6/1918, 3; Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the PCNZ 1915* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1916), 19-20.

<sup>31</sup> "Sidelights on the War," *Tablet*, 7/1/1915, 23; "Return of His Grace Archbishop Redwood," *Tablet*, 1/7/1915, 36.

## God's Judgement

Many people believed in the war being God's judgement, punishment for society's increasing secularism and materialism, the world's refusal to accept God's ethical and moral standards, and that the churches had been complicit in allowing this to occur.<sup>32</sup> The *Envoy's* editor maintained that as European countries turned away from God 'the general result has been in many lands the falling away from the worship of God, and the acceptance of the lower religion of the worship of mammon ... and the cult of selfishness.'<sup>33</sup> Francis Redwood, Bishop of Wellington's Catholic Diocese, speaking at the foundation stone laying ceremony for Dunedin's new Christian Brothers' School, explicitly linked the outbreak of war with society's increasingly secular nature, especially in education.<sup>34</sup> The Pope, in an encyclical circulated throughout the Catholic world in January 1915, declared pre-war European society to be 'almost pagan' and called for society to be reformed with God at its centre.<sup>35</sup> The power that kings and emperors maintained over their subjects, and their ability to influence men and women away from God, was roundly criticised by both the Pope and Catholic clergy.<sup>36</sup> Dixon preached: 'Perhaps God has suffered this war to break out sooner rather than later that we may have the better hope of repentance and victory.'<sup>37</sup> In the *Outlook* Dixon wrote that the war had come only just in time to prevent the moral and physical decline of the Empire.<sup>38</sup> George Fenton, curate at All Saints' church, wrote a hymn containing the lines:

Forgive the past, we plead,  
The sloth of wasted days,  
Neglect of thee, of gold our greed,  
The slackness of our praise.<sup>39</sup>

The Travelling Secretary of the Young Men's Bible Class (Y.M.B.C.) wrote that European civilisation had been based on principles largely divorced from Christianity, and "Uncle Dan,"

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<sup>32</sup> "The War and the Church," *Envoy*, January 1915, 5.

<sup>33</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, April 1915, 106.

<sup>34</sup> 'Rulers of nations have abandoned the ways of God, they have followed ways which seemed to them better, more up to date, or progressive. They say that all they have to do is to provide for the material welfare and happiness of their people, and that this can be attained without the help of the supernatural. But can it? Events have shown that it cannot. These men forget that man's nature is spiritual, as well as material, and that his happiness, success, and prosperity in this world will always largely depend on how he prepares himself for happiness hereafter. You cannot separate the two without disaster ... The sad tragedy of the present war with all its unspeakable horrors should be sufficient evidence of this great truth.' "Christian Brothers' New School, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 12/11/1914, 24.

<sup>35</sup> "The Catholic World," *Tablet*, 14/1/1915, 49.

<sup>36</sup> "Brave Belgium. Dean Burke's Eulogy," *Tablet*, 3/12/1914, 25-26.

<sup>37</sup> "The Religion of the Battlefield," *Outlook*, 8/9/1914, 18.

<sup>38</sup> "Editorial", *Outlook*, 3/11/1914, 3.

<sup>39</sup> "A Hymn in Time of War," by H. O. Fenton, *Envoy*, October 1915, 335.

the *Outlook's* children's columnist, wrote that Germany had caused the war by turning its back on God.<sup>40</sup> Letters and articles printed in the *Outlook* and sermons by Presbyterian ministers indicated strong support for interpreting the war as God's judgement.<sup>41</sup> This view was very prevalent during the early part of the war, and, while its popularity did decrease, it was by no means absent from the latter half of the conflict and implicitly underpinned many intercessory services throughout the war. Indeed, it was the underlying theme of the united day of prayer held at Burns Hall in 1918. Over 7,000 people participated at various points of the day, the congregations being led by, among others, Balfour and Nevill. The latter argued that the nations of the world had forgotten God, had become materialistic and were receiving both a visitation and a punishment from God in the form of the war.<sup>42</sup>

### **Defending New Zealand and the Empire**

Most people acknowledged that there was a *realpolitik* aspect to the conflict. New Zealand and the British Empire were fighting for their national survival, a war of self-defence against Germany and consequently a war that was just. A German victory would mean 'goodbye independence, goodbye freedom, goodbye to all that is best in Christianity.'<sup>43</sup> Similar views were expressed in articles and editorials printed in the *Envoy* from time to time.<sup>44</sup> Scorgie, preaching at Mornington Presbyterian Church, likened the Great War to those against Philip II and Napoleon and believed that the Kaiser would fail just as those others had.<sup>45</sup> William Grant, preaching at Port Chalmers' Presbyterian Church, said: 'the Empire has found its soul' through resisting Germany.<sup>46</sup> At the farewell ceremony for the 6<sup>th</sup> Reinforcements, Coffey

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<sup>40</sup> "The Travelling Secretary's Letter," *Outlook*, 6/10/1914, 21; "Children's Address," *Outlook*, 19/1/1915, 11.

<sup>41</sup> Preaching at First Church's weekly war intercessory service, Saunders said that the war was God's method of chastising the world. "Intercessory Service," *Witness*, 1/9/1915, 55. "RD" wrote that the world had become too materialistic and that the war was an opportunity for people to be drawn back to God. "RD," letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 28/11/1916, 10. For other examples, see Editorial, *Outlook*, 2/3/1915, 4; James Gibb, "Intercession Day in Wellington," *Outlook*, 24/8/1915, 4; "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3; Editorial, *Outlook*, 29/1/1918, 3.

<sup>42</sup> "The War Crisis. Call to United Prayer. Widespread Public Response," *Witness*, 24/4/1918, 48. The more than 7,000 people who participated represented around 12% of Dunedin's population at that time.

<sup>43</sup> Editorial, *Envoy*, March 1915, 70.

<sup>44</sup> For examples, see "Excuses and Comments," *Envoy*, January 1915, 2; "Synod Notes," July 1915, 217; "Current Notes," May 1918, 98.

<sup>45</sup> 'Now William II has copied Napoleon in his attempt to invade Great Britain, but has been baffled. Hence the German hatred of Great Britain ... it is jealousy of Great Britain's power and possessions, her colonies and continents, and commerce. Belgium was wanted as a base for the invasion of Great Britain. France was wanted as a means to get men, money and food.' "The Topic: Britain's Purpose in the Present War," *Outlook*, 20/4/1915, 17.

<sup>46</sup> "Christmas 1916," *Outlook* 2/1/1917, 8.

declared that the men were going forward ‘to defend our hearts and our homes.’<sup>47</sup> In 1918, speaking at the breakup of the Christian brothers’ School, he returned to this theme, saying that the old boys who had died had been fighting ‘for the cause of Empire.’<sup>48</sup>

These beliefs were shared by many Anglicans, Presbyterians and Catholics. Presbyterian congregational resolutions described those who had died in the war as having died ‘in the struggle for the freedom of the Empire from foreign domination.’<sup>49</sup> Lieutenant Edward Roberts, in a letter published by the *Envoy*, argued that New Zealand’s existence as a separate nation was at stake.<sup>50</sup> The Anglican Diocesan Secretary expressed the sympathy of the Synod at the loss of ‘your son [Arthur Spedding], who has laid down his life in the defence of the Empire.’<sup>51</sup> Robert Woodthorpe, speaking at the St. Martin’s N.E.V. annual meeting of parishioners, claimed that the nation was fighting for its liberty against a foe that would enslave it. The Anglican diocesan synod recorded soldiers as having died ‘in defence of the Empire.’<sup>52</sup> Nevill believed that the Empire was threatened by Germany and its allies and must be defended.<sup>53</sup> Letters of condolence from the Anglican Diocesan Secretary to the parents of men who had died on active service regularly contained some variation on the words that the deceased had ‘laid down his life for the Empire.’<sup>54</sup> “Dame Lavender,” writer of the *Envoy*’s children’s section, wrote that New Zealanders needed to continue to fight in order not to become slaves under the German Emperor.<sup>55</sup> Appeals to New Zealand’s Catholics to equip Trentham’s Catholic institute were justified as providing diversions for ‘those in training for the defence of the Empire.’<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> “The Sixth Reinforcements. Off to Trentham,” *Tablet*, 22/4/1915, 23.

<sup>48</sup> “Annual report of the Christian Brothers’ School, Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 17/1/1918, Supplement, 3.

<sup>49</sup> Minutes 6/2/1921, Deacons’ Court Minutes, Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church (BF 3/7), PCANZAO; “Year’s Work. North East Valley, Dunedin,” *Outlook*, 7/9/1915, 33.

<sup>50</sup> Edward Roberts, letter, to unknown recipient, 29/4/1915: ‘It is nice to know you are all proud of me, but really all able bodied men can’t do much less than enlist these days. In fact it is a privilege to be alive these times. When one realises that our existence as a separate nation is at stake, and tries to imagine what things would be like should we not eventually come out victorious, it is impossible to do otherwise than enlist. Life will not be worth living otherwise.’ *Envoy*, July 1915, 225.

<sup>51</sup> Diocesan Secretary to D. M. Spedding, Dunedin, 12/6/1915, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/014), Hocken Collections, University of Otago.

<sup>52</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1915*, 23; *Ibid.* 1918, 22.

<sup>53</sup> President’s address to Synod, *Envoy*, July 1915, 217.

<sup>54</sup> For further examples, see Letter, Diocesan Secretary to Archdeacon Richards, Bristol GB, 12/6/1915, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/014), Hocken; Letter, Diocesan Secretary to Rev H. Stocker, Christchurch, 16/6/1917, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/015), Hocken.

<sup>55</sup> “Children’s Corner,” *Envoy*, May 1918, 109.

<sup>56</sup> Girling-Butcher, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 18/3/1915, 31; “Archdiocesan Notes,” *Tablet*, 19/8/1915, 26.

## Outside the Churches

The belief that the Empire was under threat had considerable support from almost all New Zealanders, and was widely expressed in the non-denominational media and in settings and contexts not directly linked to the churches. Successive governments had prepared for the possibility of war and New Zealanders accepted that Germany posed a threat to New Zealand and the Empire. Pugsley wrote that New Zealand saw Germany as a threat and the war as one that had to be won.<sup>57</sup> In similar vein, Gary Sheffield wrote that defending New Zealand and the Empire was the dominant view of the Great War generation, a view shared by both Olssen and Baker.<sup>58</sup> Even Eldred-Grigg, who argued that ‘no great power wished to conquer New Zealand,’ admitted that New Zealanders from all classes and walks of life were united in their belief that the Empire was under threat and needed defending.<sup>59</sup>

For centuries it had been one of Britain’s guiding principles to oppose any attempt by one country to dominate continental Europe.<sup>60</sup> A German victory would have resulted in Britain being faced by a hostile Europe under German hegemony.<sup>61</sup> Germany’s rise in economic and military power during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries threatened Britain’s pre-eminence within world affairs. Germany’s invasion of Belgium had exposed it as a very real and immediate threat to Britain’s physical and economic security, and, by extension, to New Zealand and the rest of the Empire. Arguments that the Dominions could separately stand aloof from the conflict while other parts of the Empire were involved were rejected.<sup>62</sup>

These views were promoted within the press and clearly had considerable support. New Zealanders at Gallipoli were fighting ‘for their birthright and their Empire ... shedding their blood for the honour and the safety of the Empire.’<sup>63</sup> In its Empire Day 1916 editorial the *Times* editor wrote that ‘the Empire is fighting for its existence.’<sup>64</sup> “Practical Patriot” wrote that his son, an August 1914 volunteer, was fighting in ‘defence of our Empire’ and “Public

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<sup>57</sup> Pugsley, *The Anzac Experience*, 32.

<sup>58</sup> Gary Sheffield, “Great Britain and the Empire at War 1914-18: Reflections on a Forgotten Victory,” in Crawford and MacGibbon, 38-39; Erik Olssen, “Waging War: the Home Front 1914-1918,” in *The People and the Land: Te Tangata me Te Whenua; An Illustrated History of New Zealand 1820-1920*, eds. Judith Binney, Judith Bassett, Erik Olssen, (Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1990), 299; Baker, 20.

<sup>59</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 69-70.

<sup>60</sup> Paul M. Kennedy, *Rise and Fall of British Naval Mastery* (New York: Prometheus, 1983), 236.

<sup>61</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 6/8/1914, 6.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/8/1914, 4.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 14/6/1915, 4.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 24/5/1916, 4.

Opinion” wrote that the war was determining ‘the destinies of our Empire.’<sup>65</sup> Others asserted that the war was frustrating German designs on the Pacific, and articles within the *Times* asserted that Britain, Australia and New Zealand would impose a ‘Monroe Doctrine’ on the Pacific in the post-war period.<sup>66</sup>

Most New Zealanders viewed Germany as the aggressor. The decision to invade Belgium and Luxembourg provided “proof” of Germany’s lack of values, its overly militarist culture and its lack of moral guidance. Germany’s scoffing at Britain’s decision to fight in accordance with its treaty obligation was seen as revealing the failure of German values.<sup>67</sup> The *Otago Daily Times* columnist “Civis” asserted that ‘this war is Germany’s war.’<sup>68</sup> Early *Times* editorials attacked militarism, one describing it as ‘an organisation ... of irrationality and crime.’<sup>69</sup>

Belief in Germany’s culpability lasted the duration of the war. In October 1917 the editor wrote that the German people ‘had come to believe that their nation might become a much greater and much more prosperous nation as the result of war’ and discounted arguments by von Player, a German Foreign Office official, that Germany was the innocent party.<sup>70</sup> Thousands were drawn to public meetings at which speakers made constant assertions of Germany’s guilt, always to loud acclaim. Fitchett, at the 1916 Declaration Day public meeting, declaimed that for Germany, moral law had ceased to exist and had been replaced by the law of the jungle.<sup>71</sup> Clarence Eaton, speaking at the 1915 Trafalgar Day patriotic concert, said: ‘The Germans do not know liberty as we know it, and they seek to impose upon us their medievalism and take away our liberty.’<sup>72</sup>

Britain’s obligation of honour to fight was widely believed by New Zealanders. The *Times* frequently referred to it, the editor maintaining: ‘The Allies are fortified by the consciousness that they are fighting for the principles of freedom and of national honour and against the monster of oppression by militarism.’<sup>73</sup> In late 1916 the editor wrote that Germany’s plan had been to ‘isolate and disgrace Britain’ through forcing Britain to ‘condone the violation of

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<sup>65</sup> “Practical Patriot,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 24/8/1914, 2; “Public Opinion,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 16/2/1916, 6.

<sup>66</sup> E. R. Nevill, letter to the editor, *Otago Daily Times* (Dunedin), 21/7/1917, 10.

<sup>67</sup> Peter Lineham, “First World War Religion,” in Crawford and McGibbon, 480.

<sup>68</sup> *Times*, “Passing Notes,” 8/4/1914, 6.

<sup>69</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 7/11/1914, 6.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 6/10/1917, 6; 16/9/1918, 4.

<sup>71</sup> “Declaration of War,” *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10.

<sup>72</sup> “Trafalgar Day. Annual Demonstration in Dunedin,” *Witness*, 27/10/1915, 9.

<sup>73</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 15/1/1915, 4. For other examples see Editorial, *Times*, 20/12/1916, 5; 2/6/1917, 6

Belgium, though [Britain was] under a treaty to uphold it [Belgium].<sup>74</sup> In 1917 “Civis” wrote that Britain had gone to war ‘at the bidding of honour ... for a scrap of paper.’<sup>75</sup> It was used to justify Britain’s involvement at the 1916 Declaration Day ceremony to loud acclaim from the crowd.<sup>76</sup> Correspondence on the issue indicates support from the wider public. “Practical Patriot” wrote that volunteers were upholding ‘the honour of the Dominion’ and “Be Fair” wrote that his son was ‘leaving New Zealand to risk his life for the honour of England and the Empire.’<sup>77</sup>

There was considerable support within the non-denominational press for the war being viewed as a contest between the forces of civilisation and the forces of barbarism. It was a fight for the continuation of the world which New Zealanders knew and accepted, epitomised by a belief in the supremacy of the British Empire. Defeat would take the world backwards from its journey towards progress, prosperity, civilisation, and development.<sup>78</sup> This view was asserted by the *Times* editor from the very start of the conflict when he wrote: ‘A nation that is fighting for its existence or for the cause of the weak against the oppressor may be said to fight for humanity and civilisation.’<sup>79</sup> In January 1915 he wrote:

If the present war results in the firmer acceptance of the sanctity of treaties, the complete destruction of the German doctrine of necessity justifying any and every breach of the laws of war, guarantees the safety of small States, and provides means for a more general acceptance in international disputes to the law of nations, applied by an international body in lieu of the arbitrament [sic] of the sword, it will not have been in vain, and it will form a notable epoch in the development of the law of nations and the civilisation of the world.<sup>80</sup>

Germany’s methods of waging war confirmed the views held by the vast majority in New Zealand and the rest of the Empire of the war being one of civilisation versus barbarism. On Empire Day 1916 the editor celebrated the ‘sterling worth and high success’ of ‘British ideals,’ arguing that Germany could only have a future if it adopted these ideals.<sup>81</sup> In late 1918 the editor once again argued that an Allied victory would be a victory for ‘freedom and human civilisation.’<sup>82</sup> It was not just the *Times* that asserted this. *Truth* advocated: ‘This war is not

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<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 20/12/1916, 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Times*, “Passing Notes,” 2/6/1917, 6.

<sup>76</sup> “Declaration of War,” *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10.

<sup>77</sup> “Practical Patriot,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 24/8/1914, 2; “Be Fair,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 5/9/1914, 11.

<sup>78</sup> Mein Smith, 126.

<sup>79</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 26/9/1914, 6.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, 2/1/1915, 6.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/3/1916, 8; 24/5/1916, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Editorial, *Witness*, 7/8/1918, 36.

evidence of the failure of Christianity, but of the vindication by the Allies of Christianity, outraged by the forces of the Hun.<sup>83</sup> Correspondents too supported this view. “EFK” wrote: ‘Men have not died like slaughtered cattle to become merely the prey of worms, but have died that Right might triumph and enthroned evil be banished from the earth.’<sup>84</sup> Despite the marked commonality between the views expressed inside and outside of a church setting, there were some differences. No articles or editorials in the *Times* advocated or discussed the war being God’s judgement of the world, and only a few letters were published in which this cause was advanced.<sup>85</sup> It may be that the *Times* editor thought that arguing that the war was a judgement from God was a step too far, though clearly many people believed this to be a valid cause of the conflict. Other newspapers, such as *Truth*, the *Maoriland Worker* and the *Evening Star* similarly made no mention of God having caused the war. The *Times* made only oblique references to materialism, the editor once referring to the fact that ‘schoolboys’ and ‘youth’ would have to adjust to a more ‘strenuous’ post-war life than was present in ‘the lotus-eating years prior to 1914.’<sup>86</sup>

Thus there was considerable commonality in the reasons advanced for the war within and outside of a church setting. Large sections of society, including the influential press, believed the conflict to be just. The arguments and evidence put forward adhered to just war theory, and this adherence would have been apparent and understood by the bulk of New Zealanders. Germany’s invasion of neutral Belgium had branded it the aggressor. Britain’s involvement was in defence of the weak and the small, in defence of its honour, and in defence of neutral rights. Germany had been the first to attack, while the British Government had worked for a peaceful end until war became inevitable.

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### **German Tactics, Terror and Frightfulness**

Germany’s methods of prosecuting the war were widely condemned in the media, further proof of the widespread belief in and acceptance of the idea of a just war theory among New Zealanders. It was understood to be inherently just to oppose an enemy who used such

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<sup>83</sup> Editorial, *New Zealand Truth* (Wellington), 8/7/1916, 1.

<sup>84</sup> “EFK,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 20/3/1918, 8.

<sup>85</sup> “One Who Was at the Meeting,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 6/3/1915, 11; “A Layman,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 3/10/1917, 6.

<sup>86</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 12/5/1917, 6.



disproportionate tactics, who flagrantly violated the rules of warfare, and who persecuted the guilty and innocent alike. Just war theory helps explain the reaction of many New Zealanders, both inside and outside the church, and including the media, to Germany's tactics. German actions may have been a powerful propaganda tool for Britain, but they also helped maintain New Zealand's commitment to the war. Naval bombardment of undefended towns, the use of poisonous gas, unrestricted submarine warfare and indiscriminate aerial bombing were seen as abhorrent by almost all New Zealanders. German submariners were equated to the devil, and the sinking of R.M.S. *Lusitania* in 1915 was particularly condemned.<sup>87</sup> The *Tablet* described the deaths of merchant sailors killed when their ships were sunk by submarines as 'murder' and 'wanton and useless taking of human life.'<sup>88</sup> German submariners themselves were 'treacherous, cowardly Hun pirates.'<sup>89</sup> The *Envoy* discussing the Battle of Jutland recorded that the Germans 'have played something like a man's part at last. They have encountered something greater than the *Lusitania*,' that is, an enemy who could fight back.<sup>90</sup> Germany was the first combatant to use poisonous gas in battle, which was described as a 'horror.'<sup>91</sup>

German policy in occupied France and Belgium was predicated on controlling civilians through fear of reprisals, a policy mandated by the German army's supreme command and described in that army's manual as 'Schrecklichkeit,' referred to in English as 'frightfulness.'<sup>92</sup> 'Frightfulness' furnished the Allies with an immediate propaganda coup, and churches in Dunedin joined in worldwide condemnation of Germany and German tactics. Articles describing Germany's mistreatment of civilians and their property were common in the *Envoy*.<sup>93</sup> The 1914 Presbyterian General Assembly condemned Germany's 'frightfulness' and passed a resolution of sympathy with people living under German occupation.<sup>94</sup> "Dame

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<sup>87</sup> "Children's Corner," *Envoy*, March 1917, 63; *The Outlook's* editor wrote that the sinking was the "most dastardly deed" done by Germany, and was "quite in keeping with the Belgian atrocities, the destruction of Louvain and Rheims, the sinking of trawlers, merchantmen, and hospital ships, the jeering at sinking crews, the use of asphyxiating gases and the hundred and one diabolical methods followed by the armies and navy of the Kaiser." Editorial, *Outlook*, 11/5/1915, 4.

<sup>88</sup> Editorial, "The War against British Commerce," *Tablet*, 15/4/1915, 33-34; "Return of His Grace Archbishop Redwood," *Tablet*, 1/7/1915, 36.

<sup>89</sup> Lieutenant Bevis, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 20/7/1916, 13.

<sup>90</sup> "Skager Rack," *Envoy*, June 1916, Supplement, 4.

<sup>91</sup> "English Letter," *Envoy*, July 1915, 221.

<sup>92</sup> The manual mandated that taking and executing hostages were legitimate tactics in controlling enemy populations, as was setting fire to towns and villages. Collective punishments inflicted on settlements and regions were also permitted.

<sup>93</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, June 1917, 127, 200; "Four Years in Lille: British Chaplain's Experiences," *Envoy*, March 1919, 55.

<sup>94</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1914*, 37-38.

Lavender,” referring to areas in Belgium and France through which the German Army had passed, wrote: ‘Lately I have seen some photos of places I know well. What a change since the German army began fighting there. Whole towns destroyed, beautiful churches in ruins, houses burnt, crops ruined, and, worst of all, so many fathers and mothers killed.’<sup>95</sup> The destruction in Russian Poland and the deprivation suffered by Poles, particularly Jewish Poles, were ‘unspeakable atrocities’ and ‘worse than Louvain.’<sup>96</sup>

Germany’s conscription of tens of thousands of civilians from occupied France and Belgium and their transportation to Germany, where they were forced to work in industry or agriculture, led to accusations of enslavement.<sup>97</sup> The *Outlook* published serialised articles by Emile Cammaerts, an American who claimed to have witnessed the deportations.<sup>98</sup> Articles in the *Tablet* reported that 350,000 men and women had been taken from Belgium and France. Cardinal Desiré-Joseph Mercier provided several reports of the German raids, and protests from senior Catholic clergy in occupied areas were reprinted in the *Tablet*.<sup>99</sup> After the war, the *Envoy* printed an article about a British Chaplain who had lived in Lille during the war and who described

... pitiful scenes at the evacuations; in many cases the unfortunate people were dragged from their beds in the night and hurried away to take the place of enemy labourers. This eviction only ceased when the protests of the Mayor and the Bishop among others became too strong for the Germans to disregard.<sup>100</sup>

Atrocity stories also circulated regarding the treatment of prisoners by German soldiers. Stories in which German soldiers were alleged to have crucified Allied soldiers or mutilated Belgian and French women were widely believed, as were tales recounting alleged German barbarity towards British soldiers who surrendered. The *Envoy* ran a series of stories detailing the abuse of prisoners by German forces in German East Africa.<sup>101</sup> It printed a letter from an unnamed soldier detailing Germany’s atrocities against the Herero in German South West Africa and

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<sup>95</sup> “Children’s Corner,” *Envoy*, July 1915, 231.

<sup>96</sup> The Belgian town of Louvain was captured by German soldiers in August 1914 and around 300 civilians, including the town’s burgomaster and all police, were shot. The town’s library was deliberately destroyed by German forces, leading to the loss of 230,000 volumes, including thousands of medieval manuscripts. “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, June 1917, 127.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, Oct 1916, 274.

<sup>98</sup> Emile Cammaerts, “The Topic: The Slave Raids in Belgium,” *Outlook*, 23/1/1917, 16-17.

<sup>99</sup> “The Catholic World,” *Tablet*, 5/10/1916, 49; Editorial, “Cardinal Mercier and Belgium’s Trial,” *Tablet*, 18/1/1917, 33-34.

<sup>100</sup> “Four Years in Lille: British Chaplain’s Experiences,” *Envoy*, March 1919, 55.

<sup>101</sup> “Mission Notes,” *Envoy*, April 1917, 87.

condemning German cruelty.<sup>102</sup> Harry Burton corroborated many atrocity stories in an interview with the *Times*, maintaining that the atrocity stories were substantively correct, though some had been exaggerated.<sup>103</sup> Presbyterian minister Davies returned to New Zealand from Britain and was interviewed in February 1915. He maintained that the atrocity stories were true, basing his views on ‘unimpeachable eyewitness and testimonies’:

It would be out of the question to even hint at the horrible nature of the perpetrations, but the authority seemed unimpeachable. Neither age nor sex was spared. One story, related from a letter at first hand, was particularly distressful, and had proved so potent in the case of the recipient of the letter that he had adopted the sufferers and was making them his sole heirs.<sup>104</sup>

It was not just clergy who believed the atrocity stories. When Carl Ruben, a St. Clair Presbyterian Church member of German extraction, complained about a patriotic sermon delivered by that church’s minister in November 1914, the church’s Session considered the complaint and ruled that the sermon was ‘entirely directed against the barbarous military spirit which animates present-day Germany and against the abominable doctrines of modern German leaders,’ dismissing Ruben’s complaint. Additionally, the Session expressed its sympathy with the minister and its regret that he had been troubled by the complaint.<sup>105</sup>

Cleary, Bishop of Auckland’s Catholic Diocese, added his authoritative voice to the atrocity stories. In 1917, fresh from service as a military chaplain overseas, he wrote *Prussian Militarism at Work*.<sup>106</sup> The book was based on his experiences, observations, and conversations with civilians in France and Belgium, and concisely outlined and provided evidence of many of the German atrocities. It addressed raids and deportation of civilians, hostage-taking, mass executions of civilians, pillaging, and the attitude of the German General Staff towards these policies.<sup>107</sup> The book is, in microcosm, an argument for New Zealand’s involvement in a fundamentally just war. Cleary maintained that atrocities were real, writing that the German army had deliberately turned its back on ‘Christian and humanitarian restrictions and conventions,’ and in so doing had violated ‘a number of acknowledged moral standards and sacred conventions which make for restraint, chivalry and Christian feeling in the conduct of war.’ German rule was a ‘system of organised terrorisation of the civilian population of an

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<sup>102</sup> “Extract from Soldier’s Letter,” *Envoy*, August 1915, 253.

<sup>103</sup> Burton had been holidaying in Great Britain when war broke out, and returned to New Zealand in December 1914. “Returned Churchman: Impressions of England,” *Witness*, 30/12/1914, 31.

<sup>104</sup> “The Rev. R. E. Davies. Returned from the Old Country,” *Witness*, 17/2/1915, 73.

<sup>105</sup> Minutes 1908-26, Session, St. Clair Presbyterian Church (BB6/9 4PZ), PCANZAO.

<sup>106</sup> Henry Cleary, *Prussian Militarism at Work*, London: Barclay & Fry, 1917.

<sup>107</sup> For examples see Cleary, 7-8, 10, 13, 20-21, 28.

invaded country' and Belgian and French civilians had paid the price.<sup>108</sup> The book was widely distributed around New Zealand, including in Dunedin, as well as being quoted in non-Catholic literature such as the *Outlook*.

Atrocity stories were widely disseminated and were believed by most Dunedin residents. It was commonplace to refer to Germans as Huns, linking them to the warlike Asiatic nomadic tribe and barbaric fourth century Germans.<sup>109</sup> Germans ceased to be seen as normal human beings and instead became dehumanised monsters. Very few questioned these stories. Those who did were men and women already at the fringes of society – radical labour leaders, pacifists and religious objectors.<sup>110</sup> Their presence on the fringes meant that their views were already marginalised and few listened to them.

The non-denominational press widely reported German atrocities. It described Edith Cavell's execution as 'cold blooded military murder,' and the killers as 'devils' who had plunged to the 'depths of Satan.'<sup>111</sup> It retold a story of a Belgian town where German soldiers took and killed female and child hostages, then machine-gunned the hostages' husbands, fathers and brothers after giving promises of safety.<sup>112</sup> Raids where civilians were rounded up and deported to Germany to work as industrial and agricultural labourers were described as 'third in crime only to the killing of Cavell and Fryatt.'<sup>113</sup> Submariners were 'pirates,' 'outside the pale of civilisation,' 'callous and inhuman,' and 'cold-blooded and dastardly.'<sup>114</sup>

Christian imagery was readily used by the press to condemn Germany. German military tactics were 'the works of the devil' and the password to hell was 'sprechen Sie Deutsch.'<sup>115</sup> In an article entitled 'Arch Enemies: The Word, the Flesh, and the – Kaiser,' "The Critic," a regular column in *Truth*, labelled the Kaiser as the enemy of Christianity.<sup>116</sup> *Truth* published a cartoon in which the Kaiser was welcomed into hell by Ananias, Judas, and Herod. The captions read 'I

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<sup>108</sup> Cleary, 4.

<sup>109</sup> Gwen Parsons, "Debating the War: The Discourses of War in Christchurch," in Crawford and McGibbon, 556-557.

<sup>110</sup> Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold, Bridget Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women: Ko Kui Ma Te Kaupapa* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books Ltd, 1992), 66; Baker, 20.

<sup>111</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 19/8/1916, 4.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 17/2/1917, 4.

<sup>113</sup> Fryatt was the captain of a merchant ship which rammed and sank a German submarine, for which he was honoured in Great Britain. Later, he was captured by the Germans, tried for piracy as a civilian in arms and executed. "Passing Notes," *Times*, 19/8/1916, 4.

<sup>114</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 10/3/1915, 4; 21/8/1915, 8; 24/1/1917, 4; 7/8/1918, 4.

<sup>115</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 28/9/1918, 4.

<sup>116</sup> "Arch Enemies: The Word, the Flesh and the – Kaiser," *Truth*, 5/6/1915, 1.

was reckoned the world's champion liar till you blew in' for Ananias, 'My supreme act of treachery pales into insignificance beside your actions' for Judas, and 'As a baby killer I was considered hot stuff, but you're hotter' for Herod.<sup>117</sup> The message was easily understood by the readers – the Kaiser was the worst liar, the worst traitor, and the greatest perpetrator of atrocities the world had known, outdoing even those who had ranged themselves with Satan against God and had become a recognised byword for evil.

Outside the press, public organisations and civic bodies believed and reported the atrocity stories. Dunedin's Mayor described unrestricted submarine warfare as a 'hellish practice.' Further afield, the New Zealand Patriotic Society's Wellington branch protested the 'latest act of barbarism and murder committed by Germany.' Christchurch residents petitioned the Government to outlaw any trading with former enemy states after the war, and Palmerston North patriots called for the internment of aliens who did not swear allegiance to the King.<sup>118</sup> Clearly belief in atrocity stories had no geographical boundaries.

It has been suggested that atrocity stories became widely discredited and disbelieved as the war continued. Lineham has written that accusations of amorality reached their height in the middle of 1916, and from there became increasingly disbelieved by a cynical public that was no longer content merely to absorb hyperbole.<sup>119</sup> There seems to be little evidence for his assertion. Certainly, some letters questioning reports of German atrocities were published in the *Times*. "Justitia" argued that all stories that had not been 'properly attested by unimpeachable authority' should be discounted.<sup>120</sup> A letter from "Another Woman" argued that only 'a few' Germans had committed atrocities, but drew immediate rebukes from correspondents.<sup>121</sup> These letters, however, date from the start of the war, and few questioning German atrocities were published later in the war. It is possible that newspapers actively censored correspondence questioning atrocity stories, but this seems unlikely in regard to atrocity stories when it is remembered that the newspapers published correspondence on other contentious issues, such as sectarianism, prohibition and conscription.

Kelly engaged in a stoush with the *Times* over the veracity of German atrocities, arguing that stories concerning the mutilation of children were 'devoid of proof on enquiry' and describing

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<sup>117</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 15/5/1915, 7.

<sup>118</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 167.

<sup>119</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion" in Crawford and McGibbon, 483.

<sup>120</sup> "Justitia," letter to the editor, *Times*, 21/11/1914, 4.

<sup>121</sup> "Another Woman," letter to the editor, *Times*, 12/9/1914, 10.

allegations that Germany was using corpses for their by-product as a ‘fable.’<sup>122</sup> No further atrocity stories appeared in the *Tablet* from that point on.

Kelly’s views, and by extension the *Tablet’s*, should not be taken as evidence of widespread disbelief in atrocity stories by Catholics. Cleary believed in the authenticity of many of the atrocity stories which formed the basis of *Prussian Militarism at Work*, published after Kelly’s appointment as editor.<sup>123</sup> In 1918 the *Month* documented German atrocities, repeating Cleary’s 1917 descriptions of German general staff’s ‘terrorisation towards civilian populations in occupied territories,’ and violations of moral standards and international conventions.<sup>124</sup> Other articles in the *Month* referred to Germany’s use of poisonous gas and its unrestricted submarine campaign.<sup>125</sup> Cleary’s decision to publish German atrocity stories in *The Month* when the *Tablet* had all but given up publishing this genre of story means it would be incorrect to state that Catholics had largely lost faith in the accuracy of these stories. The fact that the *Times* felt compelled to attack Kelly indicates that that newspaper, and by extension many of its readers, believed the stories. Those arguing against the atrocity stories seem to have been few in number and to have made little impact. Evidence from the press, both secular and religious, as well as from parishes and individuals outside and within the church, suggests that the atrocity stories were widely believed for the duration of the conflict. Continued references within the *Envoy* and the *Outlook* to German atrocities throughout the war suggest that their editors and their readers continued to believe in the veracity of the stories.

While scholarship has tended towards the conclusion that some atrocity stories were either fabrications or exaggerated accounts of incidents, there is little doubt that there were many that were true or contained enough truth to be plausible.<sup>126</sup> Additional support for this view comes from Holger Herwig, who provides numerous cases of German atrocities during the initial invasion of Belgium.<sup>127</sup> Max Hastings similarly details German atrocities, describing them as ‘German policy ... unmatched in scale in Western Europe during that era.’<sup>128</sup> The German Army did use collective punishment, hostage-taking, execution, civilians as human shields,

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<sup>122</sup> “The Otago Daily Times and the New Zealand Tablet,” *Tablet*, 21/2/1918, 38.

<sup>123</sup> Cleary.

<sup>124</sup> “The Old Odin and the New,” *Month* (Auckland), 15/6/1918, 7.

<sup>125</sup> “Submarines and Poison Gas,” *Month*, 14/12/1918, 4.

<sup>126</sup> Gordon Corrigan, *Mud, Blood and Poppycock* (London: Cassell, 2003), 181-184.

<sup>127</sup> These included the deliberate firing of Louvain, the expulsion of 10,000 citizens from the city and deportation of 40,000 townspeople to Germany, and the murder of between 640 and 674 citizens of Dinant. Holger Herwig, *The Marne, 1914* (New York: Random House, 2009), 126-127, 167-168.

<sup>128</sup> Max Hastings, *Catastrophe: Europe Goes to War* (London: William Collins, 2013), 194.

forced loans, deliberate destruction of towns, and civilian conscription and transportation as official policy in occupied Belgium and France. Its management of prisoner of war camps was woeful during the early stages of the war, resulting in starvation and outbreaks of disease. Its use of naval bombardment, indiscriminate aerial bombing, poisonous gas and unrestricted submarine warfare was contrary to the accepted norms of conflict. These events lent authenticity to the atrocity stories, as well as reinforcing the view that New Zealand was fighting a just war. With the notable exception of the *Tablet* under Kelly's editorship, there was little difference between the views expressed by the church media, clergy and parishioners and those of the non-denominational press and its correspondents.

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Historians from outside New Zealand are seemingly more open to examining and acknowledging the many reasons that motivated Britons, Canadians and Australians to support the war. John Wolffe acknowledges such issues as the nation's honour and the moral case of defending the weak as powerful forces that helped to unite Britain behind the war effort.<sup>129</sup> Alan Wilkinson wrote that many British Christians saw the war as a judgement sent by God, views that many evangelical Anglicans and non-conformists shared.<sup>130</sup> Michael McKernan argued that these views were shared by many Australians.<sup>131</sup> Jonathan Vance, considering the war from a Canadian perspective, states that many believed the war to be one of 'right versus wrong' and of 'humanity and civilisation versus barbarism,' a view echoed by John Moses in his work on Anzac Day and Australia.<sup>132</sup>

What is important to note here is that these views are largely lacking in modern New Zealand historiography. Lineham is one of the few to have touched on them.<sup>133</sup> He discusses the role played by issues such as civilisation versus barbarism, God's judgement on the world, and Britain's role in defending the weaker countries. Mein Smith is another, arguing that the war 'represented a fight for the world as they knew it; a struggle of the British Empire, and thus of

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<sup>129</sup> Wolffe, 233-234.

<sup>130</sup> Wilkinson, 29; Wolffe, 233.

<sup>131</sup> McKernan, 25.

<sup>132</sup> Vance, 27; John Moses, "Anglicanism and Anzac Observance: The Essential Contribution of Canon David John Garland," *Pacifica* 19, 58 (2006): 58-77, 60.

<sup>133</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion."

civilisation' and refers to recruiters portraying the war as one of 'right, of justice, and of liberty.'<sup>134</sup>

Most New Zealand historians focus on the defence of the empire as the motivator for participation in the war. Pugsley and Olssen illustrate this interpretation.<sup>135</sup> King's view was that New Zealand's leaders were motivated by a desire to maintain trade networks and to defend the source of New Zealand's physical and economic security.<sup>136</sup> Richard Kay discusses these motivators extensively and draws attention to the lack of comment on this issue on the part of other historians such as Sinclair and Jock Phillips. Even Laurie Barber's work on James Gibb, while recognising that Gibb believed the Allies to be fighting for 'God and Christianity,' focussed on Gibb's patriotism and jingoism rather than examining Gibb's belief that God favoured the British cause.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless the evidence suggests that New Zealanders were motivated by more than just imperial security in justifying their participation in the war. The defence of the nation, the empire and trade networks were in the minds of many New Zealanders, but the moral case for war, and its perceived justness, were every bit as prominent in the minds of New Zealanders and are further evidence of the pervasiveness of the idea of "just war" within New Zealand.

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### **Holy War and the Presbyterian Church**

Many Presbyterians viewed the conflict as a holy war from the beginning. Alexander Gray, speaking at the Ravensbourne Presbyterian Church's Sunday service in August 1914, preached that the war was a metaphor for 'Christ marching to His coronation.'<sup>138</sup> The *Outlook's* editor called for God to 'send us in ever increasing numbers patriots that will offer to their country lives made pure and kept pure by the grace of Christ, hearts strong as seeing Him who is invisible.'<sup>139</sup> Again, these views were expressed outside of Dunedin. Day, preaching at Whangarei Presbyterian Church, declared the war to be 'righteous' and 'a holy crusade.'<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>134</sup> Mein Smith, 126.

<sup>135</sup> Pugsley, 32; Olssen, "Waging War, 299.

<sup>136</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Auckland: Penguin, 2003), 295.

<sup>137</sup> Laurie Barber, "The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935" (PhD thesis, Massey University, 1975), 194, 196, 197-198.

<sup>138</sup> "The War," *Times*, 11/8/1914, 2.

<sup>139</sup> *Outlook*, 18/8/1914, 5.

<sup>140</sup> "The Great War: Is it Armageddon?" *Outlook*, 9/2/1915, 18.



Descriptions of the war in such terms did not fall away as the conflict continued. Dickie, speaking at an intercession service at First Church in April 1915, linked victory in war to the coming Kingdom of God, preaching:

Surely we can pray to the God of Righteousness for victory over such a foe [Germany], just as we can pray that the viper may be trampled underfoot, or the pestilence stayed. What can we pray for, if we cannot pray that God will vindicate His righteousness, and come to the help of those who are fighting against the hordes of lawlessness, and savage brutality? Surely the Kingdom of God, for the sake of which all things exist, is first righteousness, and then peace. Is not prayer for victory simply an extension and practical application of the second petition of the Lord's Prayer itself – Thy Kingdom come?<sup>141</sup>

Many Presbyterians shared Dickie's views. James Crawford, a member of First Church whose son had been killed on active service, wrote 'Our loss indeed is great, but we rejoice that our boys have been counted worthy to suffer unto Death for what we believe is the overthrow of darkness and the extension of Christ's Kingdom throughout the world.'<sup>142</sup>

Presbyterians denied Germany's Christianity. J. Lawson Robinson, speaking in Dunedin's First Church, denied that Germany was a Christian country, arguing that it had given itself over to the 'religion of hate' and that Germany now worshipped 'at the shrine of their present and potential greatness.'<sup>143</sup> Dixon wrote that Germany's new creed was 'Blessed are the war makers, for they shall be called, if not the children of Jehovah, then the children of Odin.'<sup>144</sup>

### **Holy War and the Anglican Church**

In August 1915 the *Envoy* described the war as a crusade against evil, writing that the three branches of Christianity, British Protestantism, French Catholicism, and Russian Orthodoxy, were ranged against German Atheism and Turkish Islam. The war was a battle between good and evil, and between Christianity and the anti-Christ.<sup>145</sup> The *Envoy* demonised Germany while sanctifying Allied soldiers and their cause. In December 1916, Fitchett wrote: '[There] is something in the Christian religion which makes us wish to go fight Germans. There is nothing in that religion to prevent us.'<sup>146</sup> Germany's invasion of Belgium, France, Luxembourg and

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<sup>141</sup> "Germany's Humiliation. A Burning Indictment," *Witness*, 7/4/1915, 29.

<sup>142</sup> James Crawford, letter to Adams, 29/3/1917, Session correspondence (inwards) 1916-20, First Church of Otago (AI 1/5 99/90/67), PCANZAO.

<sup>143</sup> J. Lawson Robinson, "Playing the Man," *Outlook*, 27/7/1915, 18.

<sup>144</sup> "The Church and the World," *Outlook*, 10/11/1914, 4.

<sup>145</sup> *Envoy*, "Current Notes," August 1915, 246.

<sup>146</sup> "The Church Envoy," *Envoy*, December 1916, 329.

Russia was described as a ‘revolt against Christianity.’<sup>147</sup> Germany was the ‘European Baal,’ possessing a ‘brutish soul.’ Lutheranism was a ‘religion without morals’ and Germany a country that could ‘never accept the discipline of Christianity.’<sup>148</sup> Articles within the *Envoy* characterised Germans as worshipping a God that gloried in destruction and atrocity, and assented that German values were incompatible with those of Christ.<sup>149</sup>

### **Holy War and the Roman Catholic Church**

Catholics joined with Protestants in viewing the war as both holy and sacred. The *Tablet* published romantic poetry explicitly linking the British cause to God. Irish soldiers were described as fighting for ‘God and right,’ and other verses called on God to ensure that “Thy Cross shall triumph o’er the tyrant’s word.”<sup>150</sup> In February 1915 the column “Stand fast in the faith” discussed the war’s righteousness and justness. It accepted that war was ‘uncongenial to Christian feeling’ and that ‘Christian teaching will tend to the avoidance of war’ but concluded that that conflict was just.<sup>151</sup> The *Tablet* returned to this theme the following month, arguing that a ‘mere war of conquest ... is obviously unjust,’ an ‘offense against humanity’ and something that required ‘the censure both of God and man.’<sup>152</sup> This war, however, was different, as Britain was fighting to defend Belgium. The prevailing belief in a just war is clearly evident, as it was in a later editorial simply entitled “A Just War.”<sup>153</sup>

Describing the war as a crusade, just, and holy did not end with the first flush of war fever. Harold Gallagher, a Dunedin poet, described the conflict as ‘just’ and one fought so that ‘right may conquer and injustice fall.’<sup>154</sup> Chaplain Patrick Dore, writing from Egypt in September 1915 in a letter published by the *Tablet*, said that the soldiers ‘were strong through the grace of God.’<sup>155</sup> In late 1916 the *Tablet* published the story of a group of Irish soldiers coming across a church that had been destroyed by German artillery and fortified by German infantry. The Irish held Mass in the ruins and ‘offered their lives to God’ as atonement for Germany’s

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<sup>147</sup> “The War and Christianity,” *Envoy*, April 1915, 128.

<sup>148</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, September 1915, 278.

<sup>149</sup> “Communicated Articles: Russia,” *Envoy*, July 1917, 164, and Editorial, *Envoy*, January 1918, 1.

<sup>150</sup> “The Sons of the Fighting Race” by “MH,” *Tablet*, 26/11/1914, 41; “A Christmas Prayer,” by Harold Gallagher of Dunedin, *Tablet*, 17/12/1914, 43.

<sup>151</sup> “Stand Fast in the Faith: Is War Lawful?” *Tablet*, 25/2/1915, 11.

<sup>152</sup> “Stand Fast in the Faith: When War is Lawful,” *Tablet*, 11/3/1915, 9.

<sup>153</sup> “A Just War,” *Tablet*, 20/8/1914, 33-34.

<sup>154</sup> “Sacrifice” by Harold Gallagher, *Tablet*, 23/9/1915, 19.

<sup>155</sup> P. Dore, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 23/9/1915, 39.

sacrilege. Perhaps most notably, in November 1917 Cleary blessed both ‘the sword and banner of the army going to fight in a righteous cause and in a righteous manner.’<sup>156</sup>

### **The Kaiser**

Wilhelm II was frequently the target of ire, becoming the epitome and personification of evil and the absolute opposite of the sanctified and Christ-like Allies. As King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany he had inherited Prussia’s promise to uphold Belgium’s neutrality; Germany’s invasion of Belgium was equated to Judas’s betrayal of Christ. Others viewed the Kaiser as a man who had once been Christian, but had turned his back on faith, much as Judas had done.<sup>157</sup> The *Outlook* took a more nuanced view of the Kaiser’s role, arguing that he was being used as a scapegoat, and that ‘the more thoughtful section of the community’ realised this.<sup>158</sup> In later issues the editor criticised the Kaiser for ‘sacrificing the lives of his subjects’ and, once the war had concluded, supported calls for Germany to be a republic.<sup>159</sup> This more measured view was not, however, shared by all Presbyterians – J. Ure described the Kaiser as ‘his Satanic Majesty’s vice-regent.’<sup>160</sup>

Catholics from throughout New Zealand heaped bile upon Wilhelm, but seemingly only for a short period. The preacher at a Christchurch cathedral Mass condemned the Kaiser for ‘blasphemously claiming the Almighty as his ally.’<sup>161</sup> Coffey, in September 1914, blamed the outbreak of war on ‘the Kaiser’s machinations’ and ‘his ceaseless scheming to bring about the domination of Germany and Austria in Europe.’<sup>162</sup> Gallagher, in the poem *War*, called the Kaiser an ‘accursed tyrant, whose war lust wrecks a kingdom in a day’ and ‘whose name is sullied by a trust betrayed.’<sup>163</sup> By late 1915 personal attacks on the Kaiser seem to have disappeared from the Catholic press and sermons. Indeed, in April 1918 Kelly agreed with the

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<sup>156</sup> “Irish Guards’ Act of Reparation,” *Tablet*, 19/10/1916, 18-19; Rory Sweetman, “New Zealand Catholicism, War, Politics and the Irish Issue 1912-1922,” PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1990, 107.

<sup>157</sup> *The Wayside Calvary*: ‘Ah, turn your eyes away / He reads your heart, pass on, and having done your work abhorred / Join hands with Judas in his place apart / You, who betrayed your Lord.’ *Envoy*, December 1915, 379; “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, June 1915, 178. See also “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, December 1914, 318, 321; “The German Spirit,” *Envoy*, March 1915, 83.

<sup>158</sup> “The Church and the War: a Chronicle and a Comment,” in *Outlook*, 6/6/1916, 5.

<sup>159</sup> “How to Win the War: Follow Kitchener’s Lead,” *Outlook*, 1/8/1916, 4; “The Punishment of the Kaiser,” *Outlook*, 26/11/1918, 22.

<sup>160</sup> J. Ure, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 7/11/1916, 29-30.

<sup>161</sup> “Solemn Requiem and Mass of Intercession,” *Tablet*, 21/1/1915, 26.

<sup>162</sup> “Current Topics. The Kaiser’s Dream,” *Tablet*, 3/9/1914, 22.

<sup>163</sup> “War,” by Harold Gallagher, *Tablet*, 4/2/1915, 19.

British pacifist Lord Morley's opinion that 'the Kaiser was a man of peace, actually a force for the preservation of peace in Europe.'<sup>164</sup> The extent to which this view was shared by New Zealand's Catholics is unclear, but given the extreme dislike of the Kaiser held by most New Zealanders, it is unlikely that many people would have agreed with Kelly, though a constituency must have existed.

Already mentioned above is the *Truth* cartoon attacking the Kaiser. This was not the only instance when the non-denominational press attacked the Kaiser. *Truth* published a poem labelling the war and its destruction 'the Kaiser's mark' and had as its subject the Kaiser in an ark, unable to find a refuge in a war-torn world.<sup>165</sup> "Civis" described the Kaiser as 'great in nothing but his crimes' and the man ultimately responsible for 'the crimes of the war, the piracies, rapes, assassinations, that put Germany outside the human pale.'<sup>166</sup> "Civis" labelled the 'Kaiser's Lord God' as 'the Devil' and admitted to feelings of 'God damn the Kaiser!' when he witnessed the departure of a reinforcement from Dunedin.<sup>167</sup> The *Times* editor described Wilhelm's claims that God was his ally as 'nauseating,' and in a later editorial said it was 'blasphemy' for the Kaiser to claim God's support. Wilhelm had 'plunged the world into a terrible war' costing millions of lives, and to 'attribute a campaign of such dire atrocity to the God whom Christians everywhere delight to worship implies a perverted imagination which no theology can explain or excuse.'<sup>168</sup>

These characterisations of the Kaiser are important for more than just that they closely mirror those found in the denominational newspapers and within the church. They explicitly refer back to biblical and sacred themes, suggesting that the only way of describing the Kaiser was through the use of distinctly sacred imagery. Wilhelm could only be adequately described by using him as the opposite of God, by showing him as the ally of the Devil. It also indicates that these metaphors and their associated religious imagery were readily recognisable to and easily understood by the reading public.

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<sup>164</sup> *Tablet*, "Notes," 4/4/1918, 26.

<sup>165</sup> "The Dove of Peace," *New Zealand Truth* (Wellington), 23/12/1916, 1.

<sup>166</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 4.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/2/1917, 4; 6/10/1917, 4.

<sup>168</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 6/3/1915, 6; *Ibid.* 11/3/1915, 4.

## Outside the Press

Viewing the conflict as a holy war was common within parishes and at public meetings. Declaration Day services, observed each year on August 4, and Anzac Day services often featured speeches and addresses from clergy who used the language of crusading and holy war. Preaching at All Saints' Church's Kitchener memorial service, Charles Allen claimed that God had helped defeat Germany at the Battle of the Marne, and that the volunteers of Kitchener's Army were the soldiers of Christ.<sup>169</sup> Nevill, speaking at the 1916 General Synod, described Britain and France as being 'united in a holy cause' and linked this back to the medieval crusaders who had 'sprang forth from England and France' in a 'holy alliance.'<sup>170</sup> Chaplain Charles Bush-King described New Zealand's soldiers at Gallipoli as doing their duty to God, King, and country.<sup>171</sup> Presbyterian clergy and laity were largely united in viewing the war as holy. The *Outlook* reprinted sermons from parishes throughout the country describing the war as being blessed by God. The First Church Session passed a resolution expressing hope that the families of the fallen found 'sanctifying grace' in their distress.<sup>172</sup> The Life and Work Committee believed that victory in the war would serve to bring about the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>173</sup>

## Casualties

The language of sacred and holy conflict was commonplace when discussing casualties. The Anglican Church described soldiers who died on active service as having fought for righteousness, while Anglican clergy reassured the families of the dead that the soldier had gone directly to heaven.<sup>174</sup> Dunedin's Diocesan Synod unanimously passed a resolution of sympathy for the families of deceased soldiers, expressing the hope that they would find some

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<sup>169</sup> The Battle of the Marne had been fought in September 1914 in northern France and involved the French Army, the British Expeditionary Force and the German Army. At its conclusion the German invading armies were forced to end their advance and retreat, taking up positions on the Aisne river. "Local Sorrow and Regret," *Times*, 12/6/1916, 3.

<sup>170</sup> "Primate's Address to the General Synod. General Synod Supplement," *Envoy*, June 1916, 4.

<sup>171</sup> *Witness*, 25/8/1915, 29.

<sup>172</sup> Minutes 17/5/1915, Session Minute Book 1902-27, First Church of Otago (AI 6/1 99/90/61), PCANZAO.

<sup>173</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1915*, 119.

<sup>174</sup> The Vicar of St. John's Waikouaiti described New Zealand's dead from the Dardanelles campaign as having 'sealed with their lives the principles of righteousness.' Vicar's report for year ended 31/3/1916 to Annual meeting of Parishioners, Vestry and Church Committee minute book, St. John's Waikouaiti (MS-1869/018), Hocken; The Vicar's annual report for St. Martin's North East Valley described those soldiers who had died as having passed into paradise. Annual Report 1918, Balance sheets and annual reports, St. Martin's, North East Valley (MS-2210/031), Hocken.

solace ‘through the knowledge that they have given up their lives for their King, the Empire, and the cause of Righteousness.’<sup>175</sup> Preservation of wayside crosses and shrines on the battlefield reinforced belief that God favoured the Allied cause.<sup>176</sup> The high casualties of the Dardanelles campaign caused Edwin Watt, writing an *Outlook* guest editorial, to reflect that those who had died had been ‘called up higher.’<sup>177</sup> Poetry published in the *Outlook* made this link explicit. *The Roll of Honour* told of the mother who prays ‘Thy will be done’ when she sees her wounded son, and in *The Pearly Gates* the mother comes to the realisation that her dead son waits for her in heaven.<sup>178</sup> *They Are Not Dead!* clearly communicates that fallen soldiers had not come to the end of their lives, but lived on in heaven. Catholics too mirrored this belief. Gallagher wrote of dead soldiers receiving ‘the crown of glory,’ having fought for ‘Cause and Country.’<sup>179</sup> Catholic soldiers were repeatedly praised for having confessed prior to going into action, and therefore being ‘at peace with God’ and having a ‘clear conscience’ and a soul ‘free from the stain of guilt and sin.’<sup>180</sup> Lieutenant Joseph Atwell had volunteered in 1916, having previously served in the Caversham cadet forces. His obituary in the *Tablet* was accompanied by the lines ‘He willingly made the great sacrifice, which has been accepted.’<sup>181</sup>

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### **Germany’s Alliance with the Ottoman Empire**

Ottoman Turkey’s entry into the war, its alliance with Germany, and the Sultan’s proclamation of jihad further reinforced the public’s perception of World War One as a crusade. It evoked historic memories of the crusades in Palestine and Islamic expansion into Europe. Ending Ottoman rule in the Holy Land became a British war-aim and the eventual partition of the Ottoman Empire between Britain, France, Italy and Russia was welcomed, as was the prospect of completing the “expulsion of the Turk” from Europe.

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<sup>175</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1917*, 22.

<sup>176</sup> ‘I wish I had the power to adequately describe the desolation of this country we have won from the Germans. There is one strange feature amidst all this ruin that impresses the most callous. Almost without exception in every village there stands a crucifix ... Almost without exception some figure of Christ is left in every village.’ “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, September 1917, 200.

<sup>177</sup> “The Topic: Women and the War,” *Outlook*, 17/8/1915, 23.

<sup>178</sup> “The Roll of Honour” by “AW,” *Outlook*, 3/8/1915, 26; “The Pearly Gates,” *Outlook*, 6/2/1917, 11.

<sup>179</sup> “Pro Patria,” *Tablet*, 17/6/1915, 27.

<sup>180</sup> “The War,” *Tablet*, 17/6/1915, 34.

<sup>181</sup> “Roll of Honour,” *Tablet*, 19/10/1916, 41.

Nevill had long believed that Turkey in particular, and Islam in general, was a waning force. Muslims were destined to be governed by Christian powers and would inevitably convert to Christianity.<sup>182</sup> Nevill was not alone in holding these views and the outbreak of war between Ottoman Turkey and Britain further publicised them. In August 1915 the *Envoy's* editor wrote:

We may nevertheless hope for the expulsion of the Crescent from Europe, and rightly desire that the Holy Eucharist, the constant memorial of the cross, may be once again celebrated in Constantinople, in the church of St. Sophia, so long put to unchristian uses.<sup>183</sup>

The establishment of Anglican Dioceses across the Middle East was welcomed.<sup>184</sup> Britain's annexation of Egypt in December 1914 was widely applauded. A letter from Bush-King describing the events leading up to the annexation and the show of force by Imperial soldiers in Cairo was published in the *Envoy*.<sup>185</sup> The capture of Jerusalem was praised: 'By the time these notes appear we hope that the Crescent – the banner of the Mahometanism – is displaced forever from the Holy City, and that in its place floats the union jack with its triple cross.' Services of thanksgiving were held in Dunedin's St. Paul's cathedral, and Fitchett called for Palestine's incorporation into the Empire, a viewpoint widely supported by New Zealand's Christian denominations.<sup>186</sup> The Presbyterian Church favoured the incorporation of the Middle East, and particularly Jerusalem, into the British Empire. The Rector of Port Chalmers District High School called the Presbyterian minister to the school to conduct an impromptu service of thanksgiving for 'the deliverance of the holiest city in Christendom from the infidel' when Jerusalem was captured by the Egyptian Expeditionary Force.<sup>187</sup> The *Outlook's* editor

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<sup>182</sup> 'It seemed to me that the overthrow of Mohammedanism, as a political power, could not be very far off. My observations on that occasion, however, were founded upon Scriptural grounds alone ... One more infatuated mandate to massacre, and humanity would welcome the sight of the Russian Eagle on the heights of Pera, and of the Cross instead of the Crescent on the Mosque of Omar. "The lot is in the lap and the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord." We can only see as yet darkly, but since I spoke to you last year events have mightily advanced in the direction of the deliverance of Jerusalem at the appointed time.' Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1896*, 21-22. Also, "This would cause us to look forward to the next year, as that of the liberation of Jerusalem," Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1895* 20-21.

<sup>183</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, August 1915, 246.

<sup>184</sup> "Mission Notes," *Envoy*, February 1918, 29.

<sup>185</sup> 'December 18 was a great day in the history of Egypt, being the day of the proclamation of the British protectorate. Dec 23 was an important day for the NZ troops as we paraded through Cairo, fully armed for any emergency. Our march past took 2 hours to pass a given point. We afterwards learnt that our march has done a great deal in subduing any thoughts of uprising in support of the ex-Khedive or of Turkish rule.' "S. Matthew's, Dunedin," *Envoy*, May 1915, 162.

<sup>186</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, December 1917, 272; "The Cathedral," *Envoy*, September 1919, 201; "Turkey's Surrender," *Times*, 2/11/1918, 10.

<sup>187</sup> "Time and Tide," *Outlook*, 18/12/1917, 5. The Egyptian Expeditionary Force was the name given to the British imperial army advancing from Egypt through Sinai and Palestine commanded by General Edmund Allenby. It contained units from the constituent parts of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies and India.

praised the ‘profound respect’ shown by the imperial armies for the Muslim holy places, and rejoiced in Jerusalem’s ‘liberation’ from Turkey.<sup>188</sup>

Many Catholics seem to have had similar views. Chaplain McDonald, attached to the mounted rifles brigade had a letter published in the *Tablet* where he wrote ‘it will be a glorious thing perchance to wrest from Moslem hands the Sacred Places as the best fighting blood of France and England did in the chivalrous days of the Crusades.’<sup>189</sup> The *Tablet* reprinted a letter from Trooper McGarvey to his wife discussing the economic potential of Palestine and how it would add to the imperial economy once incorporated into the British Empire.<sup>190</sup>

The Gallipoli landings sparked many descriptions of the conflict as both a crusade and a holy war. Characteristic of this was an editorial in the *Outlook* which stated: ‘Once again the age-long feud, the Cross against the Crescent, is being waged, and our New Zealand lads are privileged to be in the forefront of the battle, under the sign of the Cross.’<sup>191</sup> Dunedin’s First Church Session passed a resolution congratulating the New Zealand soldiers on their exploits in the landings and commending the wounded and grieving to God.<sup>192</sup> James Aitken, minister of Mosgiel Presbyterian Church, wrote that New Zealand ‘must neither hesitate nor count the cost in this holy war until we have vindicated once and for all Christian truth and Christian liberty, Christian sentiment and principle.’<sup>193</sup> Robinson, preaching at Dunedin’s First Church in July 1915, expressly called the congregation to a crusade against Islam.<sup>194</sup> The *Envoy* favoured both the conversion of European Turks to Christianity and ‘the expulsion of the Crescent from Europe,’ allowing Christian services to resume in Constantinople’s St. Sophia cathedral.<sup>195</sup>

## **The Armenians**

Turkey’s treatment of the Armenians supported an interpretation of the war as holy and just. Armenians were Christian inhabitants of the Caucasus region and their mistreatment by Turkey

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<sup>188</sup> Editorial, “The Fall of Jerusalem: The Spiritual and Historical Significance,” *Outlook*, 18/12/1917, 4.

<sup>189</sup> Letter from Rev. Fr. A. McDonald, reprinted in the *Tablet*, *Tablet*, 29/3/1917, 19.

<sup>190</sup> Letter, A. McGarvey to wife, reprinted in *Tablet*, 14/6/1917, 42.

<sup>191</sup> “Editorial,” *Outlook*, 11/5/1915, 3.

<sup>192</sup> Minutes 17/5/1915, Session Minute Book 1902-27, First Church of Otago (AI 6/1 99/90/61), PCANZAO.

<sup>193</sup> “Thoughts on the War. The Christian Briton’s Attitude,” *Outlook*, 15/6/1915 19.

<sup>194</sup> J. Lawson Robinson, “Playing the Man,” *Outlook*, 27/7/1915, 19.

<sup>195</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, August 1915, 246. See also [Untitled], *Envoy*, November 1915, 349 and “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, June 1917, 127.



evoked memories of historical Christian persecution at the hands of Muslims. From 1915, Armenians were deported from their traditional homeland to different locations within the Ottoman Empire. The *Envoy* published news of the Armenian atrocities, including extracts from a British Government report claiming over 800,000 Armenians deaths, Armenian children being sold into slavery and forcibly converted to Islam, women in constant fear of rape, and between 75% and 80% of the Armenian nation having been destroyed.<sup>196</sup> Articles in later issues expanded on this report and used the language of religious war to describe Turkey's actions. Turkey had planned the extermination 'for some considerable amount of time.' The *Envoy* reported that 'the caravan route is littered with corpses and women are going mad in the sun.'<sup>197</sup> "Dame Lavender" wrote: 'We must all feel very sorry for the poor Armenians, such a large part of whom have been cruelly put to death by the Turks.'<sup>198</sup> Turkey was described as 'the most cruel and vindictive' of all the Central Powers, 'pitiless' against Christians.<sup>199</sup>

The *Outlook* dedicated two editorials to the Armenian massacres. The editor sympathised with the 'luckless Armenians' who had been 'massacred by the thousands and tortured with every diabolical ingenuity which the mind of the Turk could devise or suggest.'<sup>200</sup> Statistics from missionaries and church workers in Turkey were published documenting the killings, concluding that 'this horrible state of things is so much in accord with German Frightfulness that German rule in these regions would be but a repetition of former Turkish atrocities.'<sup>201</sup> At the conclusion of the war, the *Outlook* endorsed the establishment of an independent Armenia in order to protect Armenians from similar massacres.<sup>202</sup>

In late 1915 the Catholic press began publishing stories alleging that Turkey was depopulating Armenia through massacres, expulsions, and deliberate neglect.<sup>203</sup> Germany was openly accused of abandoning the Armenians and refusing to act to prevent these massacres. Even the Kaiser was associated with the atrocity.<sup>204</sup> Further credence was given to the massacres when information alleging atrocities against Catholics and their institutions was published.

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<sup>196</sup> "Mission Notes," *Envoy*, February 1916, 39.

<sup>197</sup> *Ibid.*, April 1916, 105-106.

<sup>198</sup> "Children's Corner," *Envoy*, May 1917, 111.

<sup>199</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, December 1918, 242.

<sup>200</sup> "The Cruelty of Christmas – a Wartime Meditation," *Outlook*, 21/12/1915, 3.

<sup>201</sup> "The Church and the War: a Chronicle and a Comment," *Outlook*, 29/2/1916, 4.

<sup>202</sup> "The Topic: The Tragedy of Armenia," *Outlook*, 27/10/1919, 16-17

<sup>203</sup> "General. Armenian Christians Massacred," *Tablet*, 28/10/1915, 55; "Sidelights on the War. The Slaughter of the Armenians," *Tablet*, 25/11/1915, 17.

<sup>204</sup> "Sidelights on the War. The Slaughter of the Armenians," *Tablet*, 25/11/1915, 17; "Notes. The Fate of Armenia," *Tablet*, 3/2/1916, 34.

Accusations of nuns being murdered, bishops interned, Catholics persecuted, and converts killed appeared in the *Tablet* frequently. Much was made of the Pope's role in exposing the atrocities and his attempts to alleviate the Armenians' plight.<sup>205</sup>

Germany's alliance with Turkey provided further confirmation that Germany had ranged itself with the enemies of Christianity. Turkey's historical role as the enemy of Christendom, its past subjugation of Christian nations, its proclamation of jihad, its ill-treatment of Allied prisoners, and, above all, the Armenian atrocities all served to highlight Turkey's continual disregard for "civilised behaviour." Germany, a "civilised" and "Christian" nation, should never have allied itself with Turkey and should have used its influence over Turkey to intervene and protect Christians suffering under Turkish rule. The fact that Germany did not do so was further proof of that country's amoral character.

The non-denominational press expressed similar levels of outrage regarding the Armenian atrocities. The Sultan was accused of trying to exterminate the Armenians, and lurid stories were printed of Armenians being mistreated, killed, conscripted into labour battalions, and raped.<sup>206</sup> Turkish policy was equated to that of Germany in Belgium. The *Times* accused Germany of having 'filled her cup of iniquity ... right to the brim by neglecting to restrain her allies.'<sup>207</sup> "Civis" looked forward to the end of Turkey-in-Europe, writing that it was time 'that the bag and baggage exodus' was put into operation and that the 'sands of the hourglass' were running out.<sup>208</sup> The similarities between these views and those in the denominational press are striking, indicating a considerable commonality of opinion. Again, New Zealanders were of one accord over Turkey and Turkish atrocities.

There is still controversy over whether the Armenian deportations were an attempt at relocating the population or whether they provided an opportunity for the Ottoman authorities to implement a policy of extermination. Michael Reynolds argues that the deportations should not be viewed in isolation. Enforced population exchanges had been used in the Balkans for several decades to create ethnically homogenous districts and to clear ethnic minorities from

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<sup>205</sup> For examples see "General. Armenian Christians Massacred," *Tablet*, 28/10/1915, 55; "Sidelights on the War. Armenian Martyrs," *Tablet*, 11/5/1916, 9; "Sidelights on the War. Turks and Armenians," *Tablet* 30/11/1916, 17, 19; "Rome Letter," *Tablet*, 30/12/1915, 15.

<sup>206</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 20/11/1915, 6.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*, 29/12/1915, 4.

<sup>208</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 26/10/1918, 4.

sensitive military or border areas.<sup>209</sup> In the Turkish context, Armenians were Christian and had crossed the border to join Russian-Armenian volunteer regiments, doubly confirming their status as enemies.<sup>210</sup> What separates the Armenian deportations is the scale – nothing of this size had been effected in modern times.

Turkish statistics indicate that around one million people were affected, with around 300,000 dying during the relocations, 250,000 fleeing to Russia and the remainder arriving at their destinations. Thorough investigation by historians has estimated that a more likely figure was 664,000 dead, though some put it as high as one million.<sup>211</sup> Wartime reports of the massacres may therefore have been exaggerated, though not by much, and it is possible that they may have been accurate, given the debate among historians. The deportations elicited considerable sympathy among the Allies, who were revolted by the scale of suffering and death. Questions remain as to whether the deaths were due to logistical collapse or were the victims of orders to kill as many as possible *en route*. The destination, Deyr ul-Zor, a barren and inhospitable desert province, suggests that Turkish authorities wanted as few Armenians as possible within the boundary of their empire, and for those who endured the migration to be preoccupied entirely with survival.<sup>212</sup>

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### **Declaration Day**

From 1915, August 4 was observed as Declaration Day, marking the anniversary of the start of the war. Most of Dunedin's Anglican and Presbyterian churches held between one and four services that day.<sup>213</sup> Declaration Day services held at All Saints', St. Matthew's and St. Paul's Cathedral were typical examples of Anglican services and the oratory on these occasions. At the 1915 St. Matthew's service, the vicar linked Christ's crucifixion and self-sacrifice to that of the soldiers on the battlefield.<sup>214</sup> At the 1917 St. Paul's Cathedral service Nevill justified the

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<sup>209</sup> Michael Reynolds, *Shattering Empires, The Clash and Collapse of the Ottoman and Russian Empires 1908-1918* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 148.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, 155.

<sup>212</sup> *Ibid.*, 154.

<sup>213</sup> For example, in 1915 St. Matthew's held services at 7:45 am, 10:30 am, and 7:30 pm. Register of services, St. Mathew's Dunedin (AG-061/007), Hocken. In 1917, St. Paul's Cathedral had services at 8 am, 11 am, and 3 pm, and in 1918 it held services at 8 am, 10 am, 11 am, and 6:30 pm. "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3 and "Sunday Services: St. Paul's Cathedral," *Times*, 3/8/1918, 9.

<sup>214</sup> "A Year of War," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6.

war as God's punishment of Germany.<sup>215</sup> At the All Saints' 1917 service Edmund Nevill scorned pacifists, arguing that they had contributed to the outbreak of war through making the Empire appear soft and weak, lulling Germany into a false sense of its strength.<sup>216</sup> At the 1918 service Fitchett preached on Christ's return, basing his sermon on the Biblical passage 'I have not come to bring peace, but a sword,' arguing that God favoured the Allies and attacking those who maintained a pacifist interpretation of Christ.<sup>217</sup> Similar views were put forward by clergy at services held throughout the war at Dunedin's Anglican parish churches such as Holy Cross, Holy Trinity, St. Matthew's, and St. Michael's and All Angels.<sup>218</sup> All stressed the justice of the British cause, the righteousness of the war and the continued belief that God was supporting the Allies.

These services were generally popular and congregations tended to be much larger than usual. St. Matthew's had a normal capacity of 750, which was easily exceeded in 1915 when the side chapels were pressed into use.<sup>219</sup> Holy Cross St. Kilda seated 200 people, yet 320 attended its 1918 8 a.m. service, far exceeding the average service attendance of 87.<sup>220</sup> Evensong at that church was 'crowded to the doors.'<sup>221</sup>

Presbyterians incorporated Declaration Day into their liturgical year and the church encouraged participation by clergy and congregations and endorsed efforts by civic authorities to formalise Declaration Day.<sup>222</sup> Services were held at almost all of Dunedin's Presbyterian churches and press reports indicate that they were very well patronised. First Church's 1918

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<sup>215</sup> "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3.

<sup>216</sup> Edmund Nevill 'spoke on the self-indulgence of the years before the war; the underlying ideas fostered by faddists and pacifists, that the millennium had come because trade was good, and everybody had a fowl in the pot. This was the dread Germany fostered on purpose; it was part of her scheme for bringing about destruction. We were paying the price for our own folly as an Empire in the blood of our children. It was the strait and narrow way; but it alone, the way of sacrifice, was the way of life, the way to victory. That was the price we paid, and without shedding of blood there was no remission of sins, either personal or national.' "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3.

<sup>217</sup> "Sunday Services: All Saints' Church," *Times*, 3/8/1918, 9.

<sup>218</sup> For other examples, see "The War," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3; Register of Services, Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers (MS-1084/025), Hocken; Register of Services, St. Mary's Mornington (MS-1495/025), Hocken; Service Register, St. Michael's and All Angels, Andersons Bay (MS-1815/012), Hocken.

<sup>219</sup> "A Year of War," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6.

<sup>220</sup> During 1918, 14,549 attendances were recorded at a total of 167 services at Holy Cross St. Kilda, for an average of 87 people per service. Register of Services, Holy Cross St. Kilda (AG-805/017) Hocken.

<sup>221</sup> "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3.

<sup>222</sup> In 1915 the editor of *The Outlook* wrote, 'There are indications that Declaration Day – Wednesday August 4<sup>th</sup> – will be generally observed throughout the Dominion by special services, conducted by the several religious denominations, either separately or unitedly ... We are glad to notice that the example set by the Churches has stirred the authorities to like measures.' Editorial, *Outlook*, 3/8/1915, 3

morning and evening services had 'large attendance[s]'.<sup>223</sup> Mornington's 1915 service was 'successful' and a large attendance was recorded at St. Andrew's Church's two 1918 services.<sup>224</sup> In some cases these services were designated the official borough service marking the anniversary of the outbreak of war, resulting in many civic dignitaries such as borough mayors and councillors being present and frequently participating in some way during the service.<sup>225</sup>

The Catholic church observed Declaration Day differently. No record has been found of the day being marked by special services within the parish churches of the Diocese of Dunedin. Instead, Solemn Requiem Masses for the souls of Catholic soldiers who had died while on active services were held in the Dominion's cathedrals. These services were very well patronised. Large numbers of clergy would officiate, frequently brought in from outlying parishes for the occasion.<sup>226</sup> At some, such as Christchurch cathedral's 1915 commemoration, the service took the form of a military Mass, with school cadets parading in uniform, bugle calls ringing out and sanctuary boys being dressed in military uniform.<sup>227</sup>

Declaration Day was not just an event for the churches: it was also marked by public meetings. Importantly, these meetings were organised and advertised as religious services – the religious aspect of the meeting was accepted, promoted and important. Public notices in the *Times* described the meeting as a 'united service' in 1915 and 1918, and a 'short religious service' in 1916 and 1917.<sup>228</sup> These meetings had all the trappings and forms of united ecumenical church services. The 1915 Declaration Day was observed by royal command. Its religious component was determined by the Dunedin Patriotic Association's Clergy Committee. The public meeting was presided over by Presbyterian minister Balfour and opened with hymns. Five other clergymen participated in the service, representing the Presbyterian, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Salvation Army churches. Patriotic addresses were given by three of these clergy. The Mayor submitted a patriotic resolution to the meeting, which was passed with loud

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<sup>223</sup> "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3.

<sup>224</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, 6.

<sup>225</sup> The Mayor of Mornington was present at the 1915 service; the Mayor of Maori Hill attended the united service at Maori Hill Presbyterian Church; the Mayor of Port Chalmers attended the 1917 united service at Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church.

<sup>226</sup> For examples see "Christchurch North," *Tablet*, 10/8/1916, 27; "Diocese of Christchurch," *Tablet*, 10/8/1916, 21; "Diocese of Christchurch" and "Diocese of Auckland," *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 29.

<sup>227</sup> "Diocese of Christchurch," *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 27.

<sup>228</sup> "A Year of War," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6, "Meetings: Dunedin City Council," 3/8/1916, 1; "Meetings: Dunedin City Council," 4/8/1917, 1; and "War Anniversary: Dunedin City Council," 3/8/1918, 9.

acclaim.<sup>229</sup> It ended with more hymns and singing of the national anthem.<sup>230</sup> The other wartime Declaration Day public meetings differed only in minor details.

The Anglican and Presbyterian Churches played a significant role in the Dunedin city declaration day meetings. Nevill was a principal speaker in 1915 and 1918, Fitchett in 1916, and Edmund Nevill officiated in 1917. Nevill seconded the patriotic resolution in 1915. He argued that New Zealand owed it to the men who had been wounded or killed to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. He reminded the audience of the religious aspect of the war, and argued that victory would only come if the nation proved worthy of it, concluding by urging everyone to repent and turn to God as a means of hastening the Allied victory.<sup>231</sup> In 1918 Nevill spoke of the war as one of 'truth and righteousness' and 'part of an eternal war between good and evil.' He spoke of the angels of heaven watching over New Zealand's soldiers, and believed that they and their families should draw comfort from this, drawing analogies between New Zealand's soldiers and the Old Testament patriarch Jacob.<sup>232</sup> In 1916 Fitchett was one of five clergymen present and was the second speaker.<sup>233</sup> He reiterated his belief that the Allies were fighting a religious war, on the side of God against a nation that was amoral.<sup>234</sup> Balfour presided over the 1915 meeting and was second speaker in 1917. Davies spoke in 1916, stressing the righteousness of the Allied cause, the prosecution of the war until victory, and the

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<sup>229</sup> The text of the resolution was: "That on this anniversary of the declaration of a righteous war, this meeting of the citizens of Dunedin records its inflexible determination to continue to a victorious end the struggle in maintenance of those ideals of liberty and justice which are the common and sacred cause of the Allies." The texts of the resolutions for 1916, 1917 and 1918 were almost identical.

<sup>230</sup> The clergy participating were S. T. Nevill (Anglican Primate), G. H. Balfour (Presbyterian), R. S. Gray (Baptist), W. A. Hay (Methodist), and W. Hewitson (Master of Knox College, a former minister of Knox Church Dunedin, and a professor in the Presbyterian Church's Theological Hall). For examples of Dunedin City patriotic and Declaration Day meetings see *Times*, "A Year of War," 5/8/1915, 6; "Declaration of War," 5/8/1916, 10; "Three Years of War," 6/8/1917, 3; and "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," 5/8/1918, 3.

<sup>231</sup> "A Year of War," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6.

<sup>232</sup> "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3 and "The War. Fourth Anniversary of Declaration. United Service in Dunedin," *Witness*, 7/8/1918, 36.

<sup>233</sup> Nevill was one of five clergy present. The others were S. G. Griffith (Methodist), G. Heighway (Congregationalist), C. Dallaston (Baptist), and R. E. Davies (Presbyterian).

<sup>234</sup> 'The war, in its development, more and more disclosed itself to us as duty, the sternest of duties, based on religion. For Germany, the moral law had ceased to exist, replaced by the law of the jungle – Might was right. A nation strong enough to rob and murder its neighbours was entitled to do so. Power gave the right. And in this war of brigandage any form and degree of cruelty that might tend to break the spirit of the people was allowable. Thus we found ourselves fighting to maintain those elementary principles of public law without which there can be no comity of nations. Never in modern times had there been such a war, not perhaps since time began. It was a war between civilisation and barbarism, between Christ and the devil, and whatever inspiration the religion of Christ could give we needed.' "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10.

spiritual aspect of the struggle. Each point was punctuated by applause from the crowd.<sup>235</sup> Other Presbyterian clergy participated by leading the prayers or reading scripture passages.<sup>236</sup>

Local borough and suburban meetings followed similar formats. They were usually held in church or local halls with local clergy in some form of leadership role. Patriotic addresses were delivered by the borough mayor, distinguished citizens or clergy. The 1916 hill suburbs' meeting was held in the Roslyn Church of Christ hall and had three Protestant clergy participating: Dixon, who addressed the meeting; Warr, who proposed the patriotic resolution; and Jenkin, who seconded it.<sup>237</sup> The Mornington and Maori Hill borough commemorations used their respective Presbyterian church halls as venues. Anglican priest Samuel Cooper participated in the 1918 Green Island borough meeting. Similar meetings were held each year in Port Chalmers and St. Kilda boroughs, as well as suburban areas of Dunedin.<sup>238</sup>

Borough events were popular, albeit with smaller attendances than those at the city commemorations. The 1916 Ravensbourne and Portobello meetings were well attended, as was the 1918 Green Island borough meeting.<sup>239</sup> The Port Chalmers meetings attracted large crowds throughout the war.<sup>240</sup> Only the St. Kilda borough meetings had a recurring theme of poor attendance. The 1916 meeting had many councillors and clergy in attendance, but only a 'very small' audience, and the 1918 meeting received only 'moderate attendance.'<sup>241</sup> Poor weather was cited as possibly explaining the 1918 figures, though it is also possible that ease of transportation to the city event may have been a factor.

Catholic clergy were conspicuous by their absence at Dunedin's Declaration Day civic ceremonies. It seems probable that this was due to Diocesan dislike of appearing alongside Protestant clergy, unlike the situation in the Christchurch Diocese, where Catholic clergy

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<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> In 1915 Hewitson led the prayers, and in 1917 it was Miller. Miller read from the Bible in 1918.

<sup>237</sup> The denominations of the clergy were: Presbyterian (Dixon), Baptist (Jenkin) and Church of Christ (Warr). *Times*, "Declaration of War," 5/8/1916, 10.

<sup>238</sup> For examples see "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10; "Three Years of War," 6/8/1917, 3; and "Win the War," 6/8/1918, 6 for Port Chalmers; "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10 and "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3 for St. Kilda; "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10 for Ravensbourne; and "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10, "Declaration Day Services," 7/8/1917, 6, and "Win the War," *Times*, 6/8/1918, 6 for Portobello.

<sup>239</sup> "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10; "Win the War," *Times*, 6/8/1918, 6.

<sup>240</sup> "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10, "Three years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3, and "Win the War," *Times*, 6/8/1918, 6.

<sup>241</sup> "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10; "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3.

addressed the crowds in Lyttelton in 1915 and seconded the patriotic motion as part of the main Christchurch city commemoration.<sup>242</sup>

Declaration Day was firmly supported by the non-denominational press. The *Times* editor wrote of a 'solemn league and covenant of the champions of freedom and justice, civilisation and humanity.' He praised New Zealand's 'strength and vitality' that had increased as the war continued. Germany was the 'unscrupulous enemy,' full of 'the lust of hate and envy and rapacity.'<sup>243</sup> Similar remarks were made in 1915, 1917 and 1918.<sup>244</sup> Language replete with religious symbolism was used by the editor in these articles. The war was 'a sacred crusade against German aggression and wickedness' and one in 'defence' of 'faith in treaties.'<sup>245</sup>

Some historians have suggested that special intercessory events, such as Declaration Day, became increasingly poorly attended as the war progressed, using this as evidence that the public rejected a spiritual aspect to the conflict.<sup>246</sup> Eldred-Grigg wrote that 'ceremonies everywhere [in 1917] were thin, straggling, and drew hardly anybody.'<sup>247</sup> This was certainly not the case in Dunedin. Attendance at these public meetings was usually very good, especially at the Dunedin city meetings. The 1915 meeting filled the Garrison Hall.<sup>248</sup> The 1917 event was held at His Majesty's Theatre and the crowd was described as 'one of the largest ever, with no space left unoccupied.'<sup>249</sup> A similar description was given for the 1918 meeting, this time held at the Octagon Hall.<sup>250</sup> Only in 1916 were the crowds described as 'not as big as would reasonably be expected.'<sup>251</sup> The reason is unclear, though it seems to have been an aberration. Eldred-Grigg should, however, be acknowledged for addressing the topic of Declaration Day, even if he is erroneous in his conclusions. Many historians ignore or gloss over the day, instead focussing on Anzac Day as New Zealand's "true" day of intercession and commemoration. It is true that Anzac Day overshadowed Declaration Day, even during the war-years, but the latter was still a very important part of New Zealand's and Dunedin's cycle of war

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<sup>242</sup> "Diocese of Christchurch," *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 27.

<sup>243</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 4/8/1916, 4.

<sup>244</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/8/1915, 4; 4/8/1917, 6; 3/8/1918, 4.

<sup>245</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 4/8/1915, 4; Editorial, *Times*, 3/8/1918, 4.

<sup>246</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 161-162, 293; Allan Davidson, "New Zealand Churches and Death in the First World War," in Crawford and McGibbon, 453.

<sup>247</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 293.

<sup>248</sup> "A Year of War," *Times*, 5/8/1915, 6.

<sup>249</sup> "Three Years of War," *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3.

<sup>250</sup> "The War: Fourth Anniversary of Declaration," *Times*, 5/8/1918, 3.

<sup>251</sup> "Declaration of War," *Times*, 5/8/1916, 10.



commemorations, with tens of thousands of New Zealanders participating in some way. Historians who deny or ignore the popularity of Declaration Day also ignore the many church services held on that day. Churches experienced large congregations on those occasions, clearly indicating that many people accepted and believed in a spiritual aspect of the conflict.

Thus it is clear that religion was a vital part of Declaration Day, be it in church services, meetings in public halls or articles and editorials marking the anniversary. Public meetings had formats that closely mirrored religious services, had large numbers of Protestant clergy performing official roles and all featured patriotic addresses by recognised and prominent church leaders. Clergy were an integral part of the commemorations, regardless of the venue. Their presence, together with religious language and symbolism, explicitly linked Christianity to the war. Dunedin commemorations usually had substantial crowds year after year, regardless of location and organising body, indicating widespread public acceptance of a spiritual and religious aspect to the war. The justness of Britain's cause was repeatedly stressed, reiterating the continued belief that New Zealand was participating in a just war, and consequently one in which the Allies were fighting God's war against an unjust and evil foe.

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### **Departing for Camp**

Religion also played an integral part in the ceremonies marking the departure of soldiers from Dunedin.<sup>252</sup> Clergymen from at least seven different Protestant denominations delivered speeches at the Kensington Drill Hall and the railway station.<sup>253</sup> Soldiers' Bibles and Testaments were provided by the Otago Bible Society or Otago Sunday School children, and distributed to each soldier by either clergy or the children. Only once did a Catholic priest participate.<sup>254</sup> Coffey, together with the Mayor and Nevill, addressed the Sixth Reinforcements from the town hall steps when the troops paused on their march to the railway station.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>252</sup> For examples, see "Eleventh Reinforcements," *Witness*, 22/12/1915, 59; "Twenty-Eight Reinforcements," *Witness*, 18/4/1917, 5; "Departure of Thirty-Sixth Reinforcements," *Witness*, 13/2/1918, 7; and "Forty-Sixth Reinforcements," *Witness*, 18/9/1918, 24.

<sup>253</sup> Sarah Jane Piesse, "Patriotic Welfare in Otago. A History of the Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Association 1914-1950 and the Otago Patriotic Council 1939-" (MA thesis., Otago University, 1981), 12-13.

<sup>254</sup> The ceremonies for 23 Reinforcements were examined, ranging from the Eleventh (December 1915) to the Forty-seventh (October 1918). Clergy present at these ceremonies came from the following denominations: Anglican, Baptist, Church of Christ, Congregationalist, Methodist, Presbyterian and Salvation Army.

<sup>255</sup> "The Sixth Reinforcements. Off to Trentham," *Tablet*, 22/4/1915, 23.

Bands leading the marching Reinforcements sometimes played hymns, such as when the Eighth Reinforcements sang the hymn *Onward Christian Soldiers* outside the railway station.<sup>256</sup> Prayers would also be said at the drill hall and the railway station.

The churches' participation in these ceremonies has several possible interpretations. It is probable that the clergy were concerned for the spiritual and physical welfare of the men, and the ceremony can be seen as a "fatherly chat," with an appeal to God to keep the soldiers safe. Prayers would have provided some solace and comfort to the soldiers' families, many of whom would have been in the audience at the railway station, as well as confirmation to the soldier that he was participating in a just cause. Distributing Bibles provided more reassurance that the conflict was just and righteous. The presence of children reminded men what they were fighting for. The clergy's presence closely identified the churches with the war. Churches were commissioning the soldiers to "fight the good fight," one that they believed was just, righteous, and holy. Indeed, at the despatch of the Sixth Reinforcements, Coffey publicly stated: 'We are sending them [the soldiers] forth with blessings to fight in a great and glorious cause.'<sup>257</sup> By participating in these ceremonies, through handing out Testaments and praying for the safety of the departing men, the churches were explicitly linked to the prosecution of the war and were confirming the conflict as just and sacred. Once more, there was little objection from Dunedin's citizens to the churches' participation and the events were further evidence of church, state and society acting in concert.

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### **War and Sacrifice**

The sacrificial metaphor linking the death of the soldier to the life and death of Christ was very common in the *Envoy*. The editorial for June 1915 read: 'Not all our heroes obtain military honours, but for all we expect the immortal crown of the elect. For this is the virtue of the single act of charity: it cancels out a whole lifetime of sins. It transforms a sinful man into a saint.' It went on to compare bereaved mothers to Mary, mother of Christ, standing at the foot of the cross.<sup>258</sup> Soldiers killed during the Dardanelles campaign had died on 'the altar of sublime sacrifice.'<sup>259</sup> The British sailors killed at the battle of Jutland 'had consecrated

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<sup>256</sup> "The Empire's Call. New Zealand's Response: At the Railway Station," *Witness*, 2/6/1915, 52.

<sup>257</sup> "The Sixth Reinforcements. Off to Trentham," *Tablet*, 22/4/1915, 23.

<sup>258</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, June 1915 178, 181.

<sup>259</sup> "The Church Envoy," *Envoy*, August 1916, 217.

themselves for such a moment as this. They had lived for this death ... Boys and men, they knew what they had to do, they knew what they had to face, and they passed in the splendour of the moment for which their souls craved. God grant them rest.<sup>260</sup> Editorials in the *Tablet* described the volunteers as ‘bearing their full share of sacrifice for the Empire,’ and ‘God’s rest’ was ‘assured’ for all of New Zealand’s dead soldiers.<sup>261</sup> Those who died in this holy war were assured of immediate entry into heaven. The poem *All Souls 1915* described the men who fell in battle as having stormed into heaven, their charge at the enemy continuing from the field of battle to the gates of heaven, where they were welcomed by Christ.<sup>262</sup> Some authors drew the parallel between the sacrifice made by soldiers and by Christ. To give one’s life in a sacred cause was infinitely better than merely existing – it was committing a sacrificial act comparable to that of Christ on the cross.<sup>263</sup> Harold Gallagher’s poems reassured his readers that fallen soldiers had been strengthened by Christ prior to the battle and had received a ‘crown of glory’ once dead.<sup>264</sup> Gallagher described the dead as ‘martyrs,’ men who had been ‘called home’ by Christ, and he thanked God that the soldier’s ‘heart was true’ and his ‘spirit brave.’<sup>265</sup>

From the early days of the conflict, the Presbyterian Church believed in a sacrificial war. The war was just a few days old when the *Outlook’s* editor remarked that ‘for the Empire’s sake, our homes must carry their cross.’<sup>266</sup> The large number of casualties experienced during the Gallipoli campaign saw many references to sacrifice published in the *Outlook*. The poem *For Home and Country* by “JMSK” praised those who fought on behalf of others, concluding

Our fathers died for our heritage,  
They suffered to keep us free.<sup>267</sup>

A Canadian sermon published in the *Outlook* praised the sacrifice inherent in giving up a comfortable life, enlisting, and fighting and dying for righteous ideals and the defence of those

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<sup>260</sup> “Skager Rack,” *Envoy*, June 1916, Supplement, 4.

<sup>261</sup> “Sidelight on the War,” *Tablet*, 22/4/1915, 17; “An Unworthy Utterance,” *Tablet*, 6/5/1915, 33-34; “Ireland and the War,” *Tablet*, 3/6/1915, 33-34; “The War,” *Tablet*, 17/6/1915, 34.

<sup>262</sup> “All Souls 1915,” by “JLM,” *Envoy*, October 1915, 323.

<sup>263</sup> “Reflections on the War,” *Envoy*, November 1917, 260.

<sup>264</sup> “Pro Patria,” by Harold Gallagher, *Tablet*, 17/6/1915, 27.

<sup>265</sup> “Sacrifice,” by Harold Gallagher, *Tablet*, 23/9/1915, 19.

<sup>266</sup> “The Church and the World: The War Spirit,” *Outlook*, 25/8/1914, 4.

<sup>267</sup> “For Home and Country,” by “JMSK,” *Outlook*, 21/12/1915, 13.

back home.<sup>268</sup> Later that year the editor returned to the sacrificial metaphor in his editorial, writing:

Here the poet eloquently epitomises the spirit of self sacrifice which alone will bring Victory and secure Peace... It is this spirit of utter self sacrifice which has produced the victorious British army... The measure of victory granted to Great Britain will be proportioned to the measure of sacrifice, and this makes the price of victory exceedingly high.<sup>269</sup>

The *Outlook's* editor praised the 'joy of self-sacrifice,' articulating that through sacrifice the individual became a better person. In February 1917 an unaccredited poem affirmed that soldiers who died in battle went straight to heaven, their act of sacrifice cancelling their sins.<sup>270</sup> The editor proudly proclaimed that the Battle of Messines saw 'the age of sacrifice' come and wrote that death on the battlefield demonstrated that 'true love involves true sacrifice,' showing 'how love and sacrifice go hand in hand and how human chivalry is one of those immortal virtues on which passing centuries make no change.'<sup>271</sup> *The Champions of the Cross* likened a soldier's death to the death of Christ. A soldier would

Unto the end drink the great redemptive cup  
In dauntless faith which bears each bitter loss  
And wrests from Death the triumph of the Cross.<sup>272</sup>

Sacrificial language was common in sermons given by Presbyterian clergy. Davies, speaking at an intercessory service that formed part of the 1915 General Assembly, preached:

... it was a sad thing that their children should die just as they were beginning life; but a few great moments of glorious life were better than living a drab existence to old age. The death of their men in the eyes of the millions of a future generation would, he felt, be considered nothing less than a glorious privilege.<sup>273</sup>

This was not just the view of one minister. Dedicating a memorial tablet at Port Chalmers church, Alexander Whyte called deceased British soldiers 'the mighty dead.' They were 'without fault' and were standing before the throne of God. Whyte linked this sacrifice to the text of St. John 12: 24, the same text used by Ponder.<sup>274</sup> In his Christmas sermon William Grant referred to the continuing war as being one whereby 'the best life of our empire has

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<sup>268</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 4/1/1916, 3.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/10/1916, 3-4.

<sup>270</sup> "The Pearly Gates," *Outlook*, 6/2/1917, 11.

<sup>271</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 26/6/1917, 3-4.

<sup>272</sup> A.A. Armstrong, "The Champions of the Cross," *Outlook*, 10/7/1917, 19.

<sup>273</sup> "Time and Tide. Assembly Service of Intercession," *Outlook*, 7/12/1915, 4.

<sup>274</sup> "The Late Stuart Macdonald of Port Chalmers. Unveiling of Memorial," *Outlook*, 7/11/1916, 17.

been laid a sacrifice on Christ's altar,' and told his congregation that through doing so 'an Empire has found its soul!'<sup>275</sup>

Sacrificial language and metaphor were prominent within the Catholic church. The *Tablet* published communications to the Belgian people from Cardinal Mercier, a Belgian cleric who lived under German occupation and became for many people Belgium's voice. His communications were given considerable prominence in the *Tablet*, especially his 1915 pastoral letter in which he told all Christian mothers of soldiers that they stood beside 'the Mother of Sorrows, at the foot of the Cross.' The soldier who had died fighting for Belgium had been welcomed into heaven by God 'with love.' Mercier believed that by serving in the war a soldier had obtained 'the immortal crown of the elect,' cancelling 'a whole lifetime of sins' and transforming the man from a sinner into a saint.<sup>276</sup> A sermon by Dominican Friar Marie-Albert Janvier at Paris's Notre Dame was printed in full. Janvier assured his congregation that those 'slain in battle were not truly dead, they have made an exchange of life ... they have passed into the fullness of being and beatitude.'<sup>277</sup> The *Tablet* reprinted the words of a Protestant cleric who, at a service held in Birkenhead, preached that the war 'was the crucifixion of our manhood.' Several editorials commented on the sacrifice made by Catholics during the war, both families in New Zealand and soldiers on the battlefields.<sup>278</sup> In the regular column "Stand fast in the faith" the editor replied to families questioning the consequences for soldiers' souls. He quoted Mercier, saying that the soldier had died 'for the hearths and altars of his country' and through doing so had reached 'the highest degree of charity.' The soldier had been transformed from 'a sinful man into a saint.'<sup>279</sup>

Sacrificial language was used by Catholic priests in sermons and speeches. Bishop Verdon, speaking at a Mass at St Joseph's school, told the congregation that 'those who have given their lives in a noble cause would receive a crown of victory and the supreme happiness of a blissful

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<sup>275</sup> "Christmas 1916. 'Our Noblest Christmas,'" *Outlook*, 2/1/1917, 8.

<sup>276</sup> "Cardinal Mercier of Belgium to his People. The Suppressed Pastoral," *Tablet*, 4/3/1915, 22.

<sup>277</sup> "The Heroism of Belgium During the War of 1914," *Tablet*, 29/7/1915, 15.

<sup>278</sup> "An Unworthy Utterance," *Tablet*, 6/5/1915, 33-34; "The Month of the Sacred Heart," *Tablet*, 30/5/1918, 25-26.

<sup>279</sup> "Stand Fast in the Faith: the Soldier's Sacrifice and its Reward," *Tablet*, 30/9/1915, 11. Wittingly or unwittingly, the author seems to be alluding to the poem *Horatius at the Bridge* by Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, which contained the lines 'And how can man die better, than facing fearful odds, for the ashes of his fathers, and the temples of his gods.' Sentiments such as these would have found favour with many New Zealanders.

eternity.<sup>280</sup> Further afield Catholic clergy offered similar statements. Father Murphy, speaking at the annual Marist Cadet Church Parade, spoke of the dead as having sacrificed their lives for their friends, family, and country.<sup>281</sup> Redwood, at the consecration of the Presbytery of Methven, said that those who fell in the war ‘could not die in a better cause.’<sup>282</sup> Most explicitly the Rector of Wellington’s St. Patrick’s College, at a Solemn Requiem Mass to mark the deaths of thirty former pupils in the war, said that those men through their ‘courage, brave deeds, and generous and heroic self-sacrifice had emulated the example given by their Divine Saviour in sacrificing their lives.’<sup>283</sup>

Speakers used sacrificial language when addressing public meetings. Fitchett, at Anzac Day 1916, spoke of the New Zealand soldiers who ‘were willing to apply their courage in this great quarrel to endure hardness as good soldiers, to suffer and if need be to die, because they had learned something of the moral issues at stake.’ He believed that Christ would judge soldiers with mercy due to their act of self-sacrifice, arguing that ‘Christ will not be hard, for a man who dies for men.’<sup>284</sup> In 1917 Balfour spoke of the ‘glorious dead,’ men who had given up peace and security to fight, of the war that would purify and chasten the nation, and of the sacrificial act of the women and mothers.<sup>285</sup> The implication is clear – the soldier who sacrificed his life for others had performed a Christ-like deed and would be welcomed into Heaven.

It was common for churches to mark the enlistment, death or wounding of soldiers in ways that affirmed their actions and confirmed their sacrificial act. The *Envoy*’s parish notes section contained the names of soldiers who had enlisted or died on active service. Sacrificial language was often used in connection with the death of New Zealand’s soldiers. A solemn requiem was held at St. Paul’s Cathedral in August 1915 at which Charles Allen used the often-repeated words, taken from John’s gospel, ‘Greater love hath no man than this - that a man lay down his life for his friends.’<sup>286</sup> Implicit in that phrase is the act of sacrifice, the belief that by dying another is allowed to live. The 1918 Anglican diocesan synod described the fallen as men who

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<sup>280</sup> “Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 3/1/1918, 27.

<sup>281</sup> “M.B.O.B. Association, Christchurch,” *Tablet*, 1/7/1915, 29.

<sup>282</sup> “New Catholic Presbytery at Methven,” *Tablet*, 2/9/1915, 17.

<sup>283</sup> “St. Patrick’s College and the War,” *Tablet*, 16/8/1917, 28.

<sup>284</sup> “Anzac Day. United Service,” *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 26/4/1916, 3.

<sup>285</sup> “Three Years of War,” *Times*, 6/8/1917, 3.

<sup>286</sup> “Requiem for the Fallen. Service at St. Paul’s Cathedral,” *Witness*, 4/8/1915, 11.

had ‘given up their lives for their King, Empire, and the cause of Righteousness.’<sup>287</sup> It was usual for church committees to record the names of men absent on active service and offer the congregation’s sympathies to the families of the fallen. Annual reports contained the names of the dead, and parishioners were encouraged to keep these families in their prayers.<sup>288</sup> In some circumstances, resolutions of sympathy would be passed.<sup>289</sup> The language of sacrifice was common in resolutions passed by parish committees conveying their sympathies to bereaved families.<sup>290</sup> First Church’s Deacons’ Court recorded that those who died had ‘given their lives for King and country,’ the Port Chalmers Church’s 1916 annual report listed the names of the thirteen men who had ‘given their lives for their friends,’ the 1917 St. Clair Presbyterian Church Kirk Session report listed its fallen as having given their lives ‘for the cause for which the Empire is fighting’ and the 1918 report to the St. Steven’s Church annual meeting recorded the fallen as having made ‘the supreme sacrifice.’<sup>291</sup> Names of the fallen were often read at Catholic services and the *Tablet* had a regular “Roll of Honour” section in which it published the names, photographs and details of killed or wounded soldiers.

The circumstances surrounding the German invasion of Belgium provided an enduring reference to sacrifice that appeared within days of the outbreak of war. As a small and neutral country, Belgium had presented no threat to the German Empire. Despite this, Germany had invaded without warning and occupied much of the country. Belgium was represented as innocent, a country without sin, involved merely because of expediency in a war that was not of its making. In this metaphor, Belgium was cast as Christ, while Germany took the role of

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<sup>287</sup> This motion was moved to express the sympathy of the Synod with all those within the Anglican Diocese of Dunedin who had lost loved ones during the conflict. Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings* 1918, 22.

<sup>288</sup> For examples see Annual Report of Session for year ending 30/6/1918, Deacons’ Court Annual Reports 1889-1942, Caversham Presbyterian Church (AO 7/4), PCANZAO; East Taieri – “East Taieri Church,” *Witness*, 29/9/1915, 11; First Church – “The Year’s Work. At the Annual Meetings,” *Outlook*, 15/8/1916, 25; Newspaper extract on Annual Congregational Meeting 1918, Minute Book 1901-1920, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/2), PCANZAO.

<sup>289</sup> For examples see minutes 30/5/1916, Session Minutes 1888-1919, Caversham Presbyterian Church (BA 2/5), PCANZAO; minutes 2/7/1916, Deacons’ Court minute book 1900-1923, First Church of Otago, (AI 9/2 99/90/148) PCANZAO; Deacons’ Court 13/11/1917 and 3/12/1917, Deacons’ Court Minute Book 1917-1923, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BD 2/7), PCANZAO; Minutes 1/10/1916, Deacons’ Court Minute Book 1904-30, Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church (BF 3/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>290</sup> Minutes 27/6/1917, 10/10/1918, and 24/10/1918, Ladies’ Association Minute Book 1916-1918, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.

<sup>291</sup> Minutes 4/11/1918, Deacons’ Court minute book 1900-1923, First Church of Otago (AI 9/2 99/90/148), PCANZAO; Editorial, *Outlook*, 31/10/1916, 3; “Port Chalmers Church. Anniversary Meeting,” *Outlook*, 31/10/1916, 22; 1917 Kirk Session report, Annual reports and balance sheets 1910-1919, St. Clair Presbyterian Church (BB6/5), PCANZAO; and *Outlook*, 6/9/1918, 35.

the Jewish leaders, ready to sacrifice the innocent in order to preserve its position and further its plans.<sup>292</sup>

The language of sacrifice was very prominent in connection with war memorials. These took many forms, including plaques and tablets, church furniture and ornaments and memorial windows. Words used when dedicating or describing these memorials echoed the language and metaphor of sacrifice on the memorials themselves. Memorial windows often depicted the fallen as medieval knights, evoking memories of a romantic bygone era, of chivalrous and Christian knights, and crusades. In many windows Christ is portrayed welcoming the dead into heaven. He frequently holds a crown, and in some windows the words 'I will give you a crown of life' are written. The fallen were usually depicted as young, reinforcing the notion of the young having sacrificed their future for others, an inherently Christ-like act. Their act of sacrifice had wiped away their sin, and Christ's presence in the window is an explicit confirmation, not only of the righteousness and justice of the war, but also of the soldiers' sacrifice.<sup>293</sup>

Incorporating war memorials into communion tables was an explicit link to Christ's death. St. Steven's and South Dunedin Presbyterian Churches both possess memorial communion tables, with inlaid plaques listing the names of the dead. The tables were dedicated in 1919 at services at which ministers linked Christ's sacrifice to those who were memorialised. Robert Fairmaid, speaking at South Dunedin Presbyterian Church, 'paid eloquent tribute to the services of those who served and the sacrifice made by the noble dead.' William Hutchinson 'urged upon his hearers to live lives worthy of the heavy sacrifice these men had made for them and for posterity.'<sup>294</sup> Robert Evans, when dedicating the St. Steven's table, spoke about the appropriateness of a communion table as a memorial and linked the sacrifice of the soldiers to Christ's crucifixion. He said: 'The communion table holds the place in our church that the altar occupies in many other churches. In this memorial we are blending our sacrifice with the great age-long sacrifice of the Son of God in His work for the world's redemption.'<sup>295</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod proceedings 1915*, 16; *Outlook*, 27/10/1914 17; "Notes. Mr Chesterton and Belgium's Splendour," *Tablet*, 10/12/1914, 35; "The Priest on the Battlefield – the Apostolate of the Catholic Church," *Tablet*, 10/6/1915, 45.

<sup>293</sup> For examples, see the J. H. Allen and Ritchie memorial windows in All Saints' Church, the Statham and Livingston memorial windows in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the World War One memorial window at the former Roslyn Presbyterian Church.

<sup>294</sup> "Anzac Sunday at South Dunedin," *Outlook*, 9/5/1921, 8.

<sup>295</sup> The table was dedicated on May 29 1921. "St Stephen's Church, Dunedin," *Outlook*, 6/6/1921, 6.



Memorials were placed within churches while the war was still in progress. Roadside shrines, listing the names of serving and dead soldiers from the local community, were not unknown in Dunedin. Flowers and other objects were placed in or around the shrine and its location outside the church marked it as a very public memorial. The shrine at St. Mary's Mornington had 51 names recorded on it.<sup>296</sup>

The language used in dedicating memorials was redolent with sacrifice. Nevill, when dedicating the St. Paul's Cathedral Spedding memorial tablet, said:

Our boys who fell in the great war gave their lives for a great cause, the cause of God. Perhaps they did not realise the full glory of it at the time, but it was there. ... And by the supreme offering which they made the whole world is enriched today.<sup>297</sup>

These were not just the thoughts of the Bishop. In October 1918 St. Peter's Caversham dedicated a sanctuary lamp in memory of H.R. Hurd, killed in action in July 1917. At the dedication service, the Vicar spoke about the symbolic meaning of the lamp:

... [it] denoted God's constant presence in His church, while the colour of the lamp itself, namely red, is the colour of sacrifice – a fitting thought in view of the circumstances of the death of him whom we mourn.<sup>298</sup>

The All Saints' memorial was unveiled and dedicated on 3 August 1919 and Fitchett again reinforced the view of the war as a holy war, based firmly in righteousness, and portrayed those who had died as having sacrificed their lives.<sup>299</sup>

Maclean and Phillips have examined New Zealand's war memorials extensively. Community memorials were the most common form, followed by church memorials, reflecting 'the importance of religious loyalties ... and also the close involvement of the church in encouraging and supporting the war effort.' School memorials were the third most common.<sup>300</sup> Organising committees spent much time determining the site and form of memorials. Many memorials combined imperial, religious and classical themes. Christian symbolism was evident in both form and iconography, though the authors comment that 'compared to Britain, where the

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<sup>296</sup> "S. Mary's notes", *Envoy*, March 1917, 68.

<sup>297</sup> Clippings book, St. Paul's Cathedral (AG-147/057), Hocken.

<sup>298</sup> "St. Peter's, Caversham," *Envoy*, October 1918, 237.

<sup>299</sup> The Dean's speech of dedication included the words, 'We dedicate the Tablet to the glory of God, and in humble acknowledgement of a great deliverance. We record in honour, and for everlasting remembrance, the names of the men and the women who from this Parish went forth to the help of the Lord against the mighty, not counting their lives as dear unto them. We praise God that He accepted their service and brought it to good success.' "All Saints', Dunedin," *Envoy*, August 1919, 191.

<sup>300</sup> Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips, *Sorrow and the Pride. New Zealand War Memorials* (Wellington: Historical Branch, 1990), 83.

cross is by far the most common form of war memorial, it is not often chosen here.<sup>301</sup> This may be true, but it would be incorrect to infer that Christianity was not represented in war memorials. Christian imagery and language were very frequently incorporated into memorials. Inscriptions such as ‘Their name liveth for ever more’ and ‘Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for another’ were common.<sup>302</sup> Traditional funereal motifs such as urns and wreaths were common and crosses were incorporated into some memorials, such as Dunedin’s cenotaph, which has one at its apex.<sup>303</sup>

The centrality of Christianity to these memorials can be seen in the unveiling ritual. Maclean and Phillips write that ‘there were normally at least three Protestant ministers present’ leading the prayers, hymns and lessons.<sup>304</sup> The services to unveil and dedicate Dunedin’s community and school memorials followed this format. Four clergymen participated in the dedication of the Anderson’s Bay School memorial arch in 1928.<sup>305</sup> Speakers referred to the soldiers’ sacrifice that had ‘purchased’ a ‘glorious future.’ The unveiling concluded with the hymn “Thou Gracious God.”<sup>306</sup> Three clergy were present to lead the prayers and read biblical passages at the dedication of the St. Clair School memorial tablets.<sup>307</sup> Five hundred people attended the unveiling of the High Street school memorial, where clergy were among the speakers and three hymns were sung.<sup>308</sup> These three examples are typical of the unveiling of memorials at many of Dunedin’s schools. The ceremonies followed the form of a service. Clergy participation was welcomed and encouraged and the religious element was seen as an integral part of the ceremony. Once again, the close connection between the church, religious belief, civil society and the people was demonstrated, as was the belief in a sacrificial war with an intrinsic religious aspect.

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<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>302</sup> *Ibid.*, 106.

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 103.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 110.

<sup>305</sup> These clergymen were Revs Adam Begg, G. H. Jupp, J. L. Richards, and N. O. White.

<sup>306</sup> *Anderson’s Bay School Souvenir 70<sup>th</sup> Anniversary 1858-1928* (Dunedin: Coulls, Somerville, Wilkie Ltd, 1929), 25-26.

<sup>307</sup> School Committee Minutes Headmaster’s Annual Report 28/2/1922, St. Clair School (AG-86-101/002), Hocken.

<sup>308</sup> *Park’s-High St. School: Diamond Jubilee 1864-1924* (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., 1924), 35.

## Religion and Anzac Day

Historians accept the importance of Anzac Day to New Zealand, though they have debated its exact meaning. Many seemingly accept that the day has a spiritual aspect, though only a few accept that this is deeply ingrained with Christianity. Thus Mein Smith calls it a 'holy day,' a day where people could express sorrow, but she does not examine the influence of Christianity on how the day is observed.<sup>309</sup> King called it a day of commemoration for the dead.<sup>310</sup> Neither author examined the influence of Christianity on Anzac Day, the ceremonies on that day or the day's interpretation. Sinclair acknowledged that religion played some part in wartime Anzac Day observance, while at the same time maintaining that post-war New Zealand sought to shut out religion and clergy.<sup>311</sup> Australian historians, including Ken Inglis and Eric Andrews, went even further in denying any religious aspect to the day. John Moses wrote that Inglis had 'considerable difficulty in recognising the Christian influence in the Anzac rituals' and that Andrews' account of the development of an Anzac Day ritual was 'garbled and tendentious, not to mention under-researched.'<sup>312</sup> Arguments depicting a secular genesis and commemoration for Anzac Day are being challenged in both Australia and New Zealand. Scott Worthy's article on observance of the day during and immediately after the war, George Davis's doctoral thesis on Anzac Day observance, and his collaboration with Moses on David Garland and the construction of Anzac Day all indicate the key role religion played within the form and observance of the day.<sup>313</sup>

## Anzac Day and the Anglican Church

Anglican churches scheduled several services each Anzac Day, often including a Eucharist. Frequently church pulpits, altars and sanctuaries would be draped with the union flag or the New Zealand ensign, aligning New Zealand's cause with God and reinforcing the view of the war as both holy and sacrificial.<sup>314</sup> The linking of communion with observance of Anzac Day is

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<sup>309</sup> Mein Smith, 126.

<sup>310</sup> M. King, *Penguin History of New Zealand*, 300.

<sup>311</sup> Scott Worthy, "A Debt of Honour. New Zealanders' First Anzac Days" in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 36, no. 2 (2004), 192.

<sup>312</sup> Moses, "Anglicanism and Anzac Observance," 67-68.

<sup>313</sup> Worthy, 185-200; George Davis, "Anzac Day Meanings and Memories: New Zealand, Australian and Turkish Perspectives on a Day of Commemoration in the Twentieth Century," PhD thesis, University of Otago, 2008; J. A. Moses and George Davis, *Anzac Day Origins. Canon DJ Garland and Trans-Tasman Commemoration*, Barton, A.C.T.: Barton Books, 2013.

<sup>314</sup> For examples see "S. Paul's Cathedral," *Envoy*, May 1919, 118 and June 1920, 107.

significant. Sacrifice by the community and Christ's crucifixion were intrinsically linked through the sacrament of communion.

Attendance figures at these services provide some evidence of their popularity. Thirty-eight took communion at All Saints' 1918 service; thirteen at Holy Trinity's 1918 early communion; thirteen at St. John's Roslyn 1916 service and twelve in 1918; twenty-two at St. Matthews' eight a.m. service in 1918; and twelve at St. Paul's Cathedral's 1917 eleven a.m. service.<sup>315</sup> These numbers seem small, but it must be remembered that the services were outside the normal service times and days, that many men had enlisted, and that those men who remained would have to juggle work commitments. Women would be concerned with working or running the household and minding children. Attendance would therefore have been difficult, yet people still participated, acknowledging the day's special character. It must also be remembered that only communicants were recorded. There is ambiguity about the term "communicant," and it is likely that those who attended the service but did not take communion are not recorded. Multiple daily services but incomplete records could also have affected the number of people who are recorded as having attended over the space of the day.

Anzac Day was assigned a special character by the Dunedin Diocese, giving the day significance above the local and parish level. In 1917 the Diocese issued a special service liturgy to be used on Anzac Day, indicating acceptance that the day was unique and deviated from the lectionary.<sup>316</sup> The level of participation in the 1918 Anzac Day services throughout the Diocese can be inferred from the collections received on that day. The Diocese as a whole raised £204/3/- for Church Army huts at the front.<sup>317</sup> This was a considerable sum raised at a special service and beyond the normal giving of parishioners.<sup>318</sup>

### **Anzac Day and the Presbyterian Church**

Individual Presbyterian churches marked Anzac Day from 1916 onwards, but it seems to have taken several years for the practice to be adopted by all of Dunedin's congregations. Some of

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<sup>315</sup> Register of Services, All Saints' Dunedin (MS-1845/002), Hocken; Register of Services, Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers (MS-1084/025), Hocken; Vestry Book, St. John's Roslyn (MS-1927/008), Hocken; Register of Services, St. Mathew's Dunedin (AG-061/007), Hocken; Text of 11 am service "Gallipoli." Service Book, St. Paul's Cathedral (AG-147/042), Hocken

<sup>316</sup> Letter, Diocesan Secretary to Rev W. Uphill of Lawrence, 21/4/1917, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/015), Hocken.

<sup>317</sup> Letter, Diocesan Secretary to Wellington Secretary of Military Affairs Committee, 12/7/1918, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/015), Hocken.

<sup>318</sup> £204 represents over \$22,000 in 2014 NZ dollars.

the first Anzac Day services were united services with representatives from other Protestant denominations present. This was the pattern for both the Port Chalmers and the South Dunedin services, at which clergy from the Methodist, Congregationalist, Salvation Army, Presbyterian and Anglican Churches would all be present. The South Dunedin borough service was held within the South Dunedin Presbyterian Church hall, and was presided over by the Mayor of St. Kilda, while the Port Chalmers borough service was held within the Presbyterian Church.<sup>319</sup> This pattern was followed in Mosgiel in 1917, where local ministers from the other Protestant denominations took part in a united service held within the Presbyterian Church.<sup>320</sup> Individual services were held by parishes, but it does not seem to be until 1917 or 1918 that it became common for all parishes to have a service. By 1918, services were being held in First Church, Mosgiel, Knox, Roslyn, South Dunedin and St. Andrew's Churches.

Press reports indicate a large turnout for Presbyterian services. Over 400 people attended the Knox Church 1917 service, and 300 in 1918.<sup>321</sup> Anzac Day 1916 fell on the date of First Church's regular weekly intercessory service and had a 'very large' congregation.<sup>322</sup> South Dunedin Presbyterian Church recorded a large attendance at the 1916 service, and 150 attended the 1918 St. Andrew's service.<sup>323</sup> What is clear is that participating in some form of ceremony to mark Anzac Day gained increasing levels of support from Presbyterian congregations, committees and central church structures. By 1922 Dunedin Presbytery was advising that all congregations should hold morning services, adding its official approval to what it acknowledged had become usual practice.<sup>324</sup>

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<sup>319</sup> The South Dunedin united service had Raine (Methodist), Scott Allan (Presbyterian), Hopper (Methodist), and Fairmaid (Presbyterian) in attendance, "Anzac Day. Commemoration Ceremonies. Service at South Dunedin," *Witness*, 3/5/1916, 27. The Port Chalmers united service had Whyte (Presbyterian), Goertz (Anglican), Peryman (Methodist), Grant (Congregationalist) and Pullen (Salvation Army) in attendance, "Anzac Day. Commemoration Ceremonies. At Port Chalmers," *Witness*, 3/5/1916, 27.

<sup>320</sup> The *Otago Witness* makes no mention of the denominations present, merely recording that "local ministers took part." It does record that Kinmont, the Presbyterian Minister, presided at the service. "Evening Service," *Witness*, 2/5/1917, 39.

<sup>321</sup> "Anzac Day. The Services: Knox Church," *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 25/4/1917, 6; "Anzac Day. A memorable anniversary. Church services," *Witness*, 1/5/1918, 25.

<sup>322</sup> "Anzac Anniversary. Observances in Dunedin," *Star*, 25/4/1916, 4.

<sup>323</sup> "Procession and Service in Dunedin. Service at South Dunedin," *Star*, 26/4/1916, 3; "Anzac Day. A memorable Anniversary. Church Services," *Witness*, 1/5/1918, 25.

<sup>324</sup> Minutes 4/4/1922, Presbytery Minute Book 1919-23, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/8), PCANZAO.

## **Anzac Day and the Roman Catholic Church**

Catholics did not have special, dedicated Anzac Day services at their parish churches. Instead, services were held in each diocesan cathedral. These services were special High Masses to honour all the N.Z.E.F., especially those soldiers who had fought at Gallipoli. Many people attended and press reporters described St Joseph's cathedral congregations as 'filled to overflowing,' 'immense,' and 'very large.'<sup>325</sup> Catholics ascribed a religious meaning to commemorating Anzac Day, made obvious when the *Tablet's* editor wrote, 'But over and above all, the religious spirit, with its hopes and consolations, must pervade and permeate our celebration of Anzac Day.'<sup>326</sup> Just as much as their Protestant compatriots, Catholics believed that Anzac Day had a special, religious meaning though, like their counterparts in Australia, doctrinal differences precluded any form of joint or ecumenical religious service.<sup>327</sup>

## **Anzac Day Outside the Churches**

Commemorating Anzac Day was not just confined to the churches. Large public events with clergy and Christianity prominent were common. The 1916 commemorations were typical for the war years. Returned soldiers marched through Dunedin to the Town Hall, where they and the 'largest ever seen' crowds were addressed by the Mayor and Balfour. Nevill led prayers and hymns were sung. The Mayor presided over a united service that night at which seven clergymen were present.<sup>328</sup> Fitchett addressed the crowd, speaking of the 'deep religious feeling' that Anzac Day stirred. Nevill spoke of the fallen as 'martyrs,' 'sacrificed to Thy [God's] cause.' Balfour stressed the sacrificial element of all society – those who remained and worked for the war effort as well as those who fought and died in the front line.<sup>329</sup> The *Times* editor stressed the 'consecration' of the beaches at Gallipoli through the 'blood spilled' by New Zealand's soldiers.<sup>330</sup> Such a sentence is replete with symbolism of Christ's death on the cross, of sacrifice and communion. Christianity and Anzac Day could not be more intertwined. In 1917 the editor likened the Anzacs to Christian martyrs and said that the day should be one of 'thanksgiving and triumph.' The editorial concluded with a poem identifying the dead crowned

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<sup>325</sup> "Anzac Day. At St. Joseph's," *Star*, 26/4/1916, 3; "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 27/4/1916, 31; "Anzac Day. The Services," *Star*, 25/4/1917, 6; *Tablet*, 26/4/1917, 35.

<sup>326</sup> "Anzac Day," *Tablet*, 20/4/1916, 29-30.

<sup>327</sup> Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day Origins*, 168.

<sup>328</sup> The clergy were: Nevill and Fitchett (Anglican), Barton (Presbyterian), Heighway and Saunders (Congregationalist), Hay (Methodist), and Gray (Baptist).

<sup>329</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 26/4/1916, 2.

<sup>330</sup> *Ibid.*, 26/4/1916, 4.

in heaven, echoing the belief that Jesus would give the dead a crown of life.<sup>331</sup> Events in other centres differed only in minor details from Dunedin's observance and had similar levels of religious involvement.<sup>332</sup>

Moses and Davis have argued against 'secular humanists [who were] adamant that there is nothing especially religious about Anzac Day commemoration.'<sup>333</sup> Their work demonstrates the importance and influence of Garland in the construction of a standardised form of Anzac Day observance in Australia and New Zealand.<sup>334</sup> Garland, an Australian canon and secretary of the Brisbane Anzac Day Commemoration Committee, was intent on ensuring that Christianity was at the heart of Anzac Day and drew on his life experience of both Orangeism and Anglo-Catholicism to give the day elements of public spectacle, ritual, and Christian mysticism.<sup>335</sup> Garland had to negotiate the doctrinal differences between different denominations in order to encourage multiple faiths to participate in group commemorations, and he was of course aware that an overtly denominational service would deter large sections of the community from attending. Garland's influence extended to Dunedin, where his suggested plan for marking Anzac Day was the model for the city's wartime commemorations.<sup>336</sup> Thus religion, sacrifice and Christianity were an important part of Anzac Day from the start of its observance, regardless of their venue or the media. Garland had crafted a non-denominational, though firmly religious, service that allowed all people to honour the service and sacrifice of Australia's and New Zealand's soldiers.

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### **Intercessory Services**

Intercessory prayer was a further way whereby the conflict took on a religious and sacred aspect, as well as implying a connection between God and the war. Dunedin's Council of Churches organised many intercessory services for peace between August 1 and 3 of 1914,

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<sup>331</sup> *Ibid.*, 25/4/1917, 4.

<sup>332</sup> Worthy, 185-200.

<sup>333</sup> Moses and Davis, *Anzac Day Origins*, 170.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 118.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 33.

<sup>336</sup> Garland called for commemoration services to be held at the graveside of returned soldiers in the morning. Services would be held at churches at 11 am, to be followed by a parade and march by returned men through the centre of towns and cities, to be followed by a rally. That evening a nondenominational public gathering would be held in town halls or cinemas. Both this and the midday rallies would feature hymn-singing, prayers and speeches by local dignitaries. Moses and Davis, *ibid.*, 168-169.

involving many of the city and suburban churches.<sup>337</sup> Churches quickly modified their prayers once war began, with the focus now being a speedy Allied victory in a conflict in which Britain was fighting a just war. The Council of Churches also observed the first Sunday of the war as a day of humiliation and prayer for victory. The habit of daily bell-ringing to prompt people to pray for God's protection for British soldiers and sailors and for victory was imported from Britain and spread quickly from Wellington to the rest of New Zealand.<sup>338</sup> It is unclear how many people participated, and the practice was progressively discontinued by many churches. Longer lasting were regular intercessory services.

Davis argued that intercessory services were relatively uncommon prior to Anzac Day and were affected by 'class stratification,' being largely attended by the 'influential and wealthy.'<sup>339</sup> Davis's assertions seem incorrect. Regular services of intercession were held in many city and suburban churches, continued for the duration of the war, and were not confined to affluent areas. They had the strong support of the Anglican and Catholic Dioceses, the General Assembly and Dunedin Presbytery. They were sometimes held daily, but more commonly weekly. They focussed on prayers for peace, for victory, and for God's protection of loved ones. Almost all Dunedin's Anglican and Presbyterian churches held regular intercessory services and prayer meetings.<sup>340</sup> It was usual for rolls of honour to be read, prayers for the deceased, for protection of the living and for the Empire's leaders recited, and for a rededication to the war effort.<sup>341</sup> Some intercessory services were vigils, such as when the First Church Ladies participated in day-long intercessory services.<sup>342</sup> Paradoxically, while Catholicism did not hold as many "special" war intercessory services as the Protestant

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<sup>337</sup> 'Prompt action has been taken by the Council of Churches in regard to the present international crisis in Europe, and an appeal was made on Saturday morning for special prayers to be offered on behalf of a peaceful and speedy settlement. The various city and suburban churches made a ready response to the appeal, and united prayers were offered up that Divine intervention might avert threatened disaster.' "Action by the Churches," *Times*, 3/8/1914, 6.

<sup>338</sup> "War and Peace: A Chronicle and a Comment," *Outlook*, 26/1/1915, 4.

<sup>339</sup> Davis, "Anzac Day Meanings," 93-94.

<sup>340</sup> Anglican parishes included All Saints', Holy Cross St. Kilda, Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, St. John's Roslyn, St. John's Waikouaiti, St. Mark's Green Island, St. Mary's Mornington, St. Matthew's, St. Michael's and All Angels Anderson's Bay, St. Paul's Cathedral and St. Peter's Caversham. Presbyterian congregations were Anderson's Bay, First Church, Kaikorai, Knox, Maori Hill, Port Chalmers, Ravensbourne, Roslyn, South Dunedin, St. Andrew's, St. Clair, South Dunedin and St. Stephen's.

<sup>341</sup> The All Saints' intercessory services were held on a Friday evening and began in November 1914 and continued throughout the war. *Envoy*, November 1914, 309; Annual Report for presentation at AGM 30/4/1918, Vestry Minute Books 1882-1923, All Saints' Dunedin (AG-080/040), Hocken. First Church held a weekly service, with periodic additional special intercessory services.

<sup>342</sup> Minutes 15/4/1918 and 16/5/1918, Ladies' Association Minute Book 1916-1918, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.



Churches, it can be argued that Catholics prayed for victory more often than Protestants, since Bishop Verdon had ordered Dunedin's Catholic Clergy to make special intercessory prayers at their daily Mass.<sup>343</sup>

Irregular intercessory services were common throughout the war. Dunedin churches observed the first Sundays of 1915 and 1917 as special days of prayer and humiliation, following a request from the King. Anzac Day 1916 and all Declaration Days were observed by royal command. Sometimes it was the government that requested a specific day to be observed, as it did on Christmas Day 1916 and when the Minister of Internal Affairs called for special intercessions in October 1917. At other times it was purely denominational, such as when Dunedin's Anglican Diocese observed 7 October 1917 as a special day of intercession, and when the Pope ordered all Catholic churches throughout the world to hold special services to pray for peace. European churches observed this on 7 February 1915 and non-European churches on 21 March.<sup>344</sup> Most spectacularly, in April 1918, in response to alarming reports of German advances in France, a united prayer service took place in the First Church's Burns Hall. The service began at 9 am, concluding twelve hours later, and comprised hourly sessions being conducted by leading Protestant clergy, the Mayor and laymen. Nevill, Woodthorpe, William Curzon-Siggers, Fitchett, Andrew Cameron and Balfour were among participating clergy.<sup>345</sup> Around 7,000 people, or over 10% of Dunedin's population, participated in the united day of prayer.

Nevertheless, attendance at parish intercessory services was always a matter of some disquiet among many clergy. They were convinced that these services were vital to the war effort, and were often dismayed by seemingly poor attendance. The *Envoy* printed regular appeals to men and women to attend these services, and regretted that more people were not present. Unfavourable comparisons were drawn between the numbers of people attending church in

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<sup>343</sup> The prayer was 'O God, who dost crush out war and by Thy powerful defence dost defeat the assailants of them that trust in Thee, come to the help of Thy servants who implore Thy mercy, and beat back the fierce onslaughts of our foes; so that we may raise Thee with ceaseless thanksgiving.' "Catholics and the War," *Tablet*, 21/10/1915, 31.

<sup>344</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 25/3/1915, 35; "Quarant Ore at St. Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 11/10/1917, 22.

<sup>345</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 23/4/1918, 3-4.

From March to July 1918 the German Army launched its "last throw of the dice," a series of offensives aimed at breaking through the British and French lines. Five offensives were launched, resulting in around half a million casualties on each side. The Germans failed to break through the Allied lines but exhausted their reserves of their best trained and most motivated troops. The Western Front now paused until August 1918 when the Allied 'Hundred Days' offensive began that ultimately defeated Germany.

France and Britain with those in New Zealand.<sup>346</sup> “Dame Lavender” explicitly linked the lack of intercessory prayer with delayed victory: ‘Wouldn’t it be a terrible thing if we were delaying victory because we were not ‘doing our bit’ by not praying?’<sup>347</sup> Such was the disquiet that in April 1918, Nevill issued a pastoral letter to the Diocese on the subject, writing

It is not enough that prayers should be offered in an empty church: it is the cry of His people that God waits for. I earnestly beseech you, therefore, and so far as I may exercise the authority which the Head of the Church has conferred upon me, I desire you to be instant in prayer and in particular to attend the public services of intercession provided by your clergy, both in the city and the country churches, and to promote by your example and influence the spread of a deeper religious conviction throughout the community.<sup>348</sup>

Nevill’s lament was supported by many clergy, and not just for the period towards the end of the war, when war weariness could provide some explanation for a low turnout. The special day of intercessory prayer held on 3 January 1915 saw a total of eighty-seven communicants attend three services at St. Matthew’s church, and fifty-four communicants at the service held on 2 January 1916.<sup>349</sup> At the 1917 Annual General Meeting of Holy Trinity Port Chalmers’ parishioners, the Vicar’s report expressed his regret that the midweek intercessory services were not well attended, and urged more people to attend.<sup>350</sup> Only seventeen communicants attended the cathedral’s intercessory service held on 6 January 1918.<sup>351</sup>

It seems to have been similar within the Presbyterian Church. Attendance at intercessory services was good at the start of the war, but complaints from ministers and Presbytery at small turn-outs became more and more common as the war progressed. A ‘large number’ of people attended the February 1915 mid-week services at First Church, but by December 1915 the Presbytery Clerk was suggesting that weekly services be discontinued over the holiday period.<sup>352</sup> This motion was defeated, but its suggestion indicates a low level of attendance. The St. Clair Session annual report regularly commented on the lack of people attending that church’s weekly intercessory services.<sup>353</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, October 1914, 250; August 1915, 246; February 1917, 30.

<sup>347</sup> “Children’s Corner,” *Envoy*, December 1917, 279.

<sup>348</sup> “A Pastoral Letter by the Primate,” *Witness*, 17/4/1918, 38.

<sup>349</sup> Register of services, St. Matthew’s Dunedin (AG-061/007), Hocken.

<sup>350</sup> AGM 30/4/1917, Vestry Minute Book, Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers (MS-2300/003), Hocken.

<sup>351</sup> Service Book, St. Paul’s Cathedral (AG-147/042), Hocken.

<sup>352</sup> Minutes 7/12/1915, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>353</sup> For examples see the 1916 and 1917 Annual Reports. Annual Reports and Balance Sheets 1910-1919, St. Clair Presbyterian Church (BB 6/5), PCANZAO.

However, this is by no means the full story. Almost all of the special services observed during the war were very well attended. St. Matthew's special day of intercession on 8 August 1915 welcomed a large congregation at the morning service and a full church at the evening service.<sup>354</sup> This was just four days after the Declaration Day services held in parishes and public places throughout Dunedin. Anzac Day and Declaration Day services, two events that featured intercessory prayers prominently, were very well attended by Presbyterian congregations. It was similar when special Presbytery or General Assembly services took place. The news of the Gallipoli landings prompted special intercessory services and proved popular with the public, while times of emergency, such as April 1918, saw people turn out in their thousands to attend intercessory services.<sup>355</sup> Many people would attend Anglican and Presbyterian services to mark specific milestones and events in the war where attendance was frequently far in excess of the capacity of the venue. Dunedin residents continued to mark these milestones by going to church in large numbers, explicitly accepting a spiritual aspect to the war. Neither should attendance at regular services be disregarded. Many suburban and central city churches held regular weekly intercessory services throughout the war, indicating a clear desire on the part of both clergy and the congregation to hold this type of service. Numbers may have been small, though it is unknown what the priest or minister was comparing the congregational size to, but the services were nevertheless thought worth persevering with, both by the clergy and the church's governing bodies. Clearly, the views on both the efficacy and the necessity of intercessory prayer were shared by many parishioners, but perhaps not to the same degree as that held by the clergy.

It is difficult to state with any certainty the popularity of Catholic intercessory services. Intercessory prayers for victory became a standard part of Catholic services, and so, in some sense, all Catholic services were war-intercessory services. However, it would be incorrect to compare these daily parish services with the special intercessory services held by Protestant churches. Considered in isolation, these special services were very similar to those in the large Protestant churches such as the Anglican cathedral, St. Matthew's, Knox Church or First Church. They were usually held in the Cathedrals, though parish services were held on a few occasions.<sup>356</sup> Congregation sizes were recorded as large, indicating support from the

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<sup>354</sup> "Day of Intercession," *Times*, 9/8/1915, 3.

<sup>355</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion," 469.

<sup>356</sup> The *New Zealand Tablet* records special intercessory services being held at Dunedin's St. Joseph's Cathedral on thirteen occasions during the period 1915 – 1918, but only once for Lawrence's St. Patrick's Church (when the Pope ordered these services).

parishioners for intercessory prayer, and the fact that special forms of service were developed by the Church suggests considerable support from the hierarchy for belief in a spiritual side to the war and a God who was intimately involved with it.<sup>357</sup>

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### **Holy War Outside the Churches**

*Times* editorials frequently used sacrificial language. New Zealand's Gallipoli dead had 'died the beautiful death in a noble cause' and families who grieved had had this grief transformed by the knowledge that their son or husband now had 'a new glory of a radiant transfigured memory.'<sup>358</sup> During the Third Battle of Ypres the editor referred to the 'transcendental faith' that supported mourning families and concluded by quoting the Book of Revelation 19: 11:

And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and He that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness He doth judge and make war .... And the armies which were in heaven followed Him upon white horses, clothed in fine linen, white and clean.<sup>359</sup>

The clear implication was that the war was righteous, that the 'armies of Heaven' were ranged on the side of the Allies, and that the dead had been judged by Christ and deemed worthy of heaven. During the final days of the war the editor discussed mourning and assured his readers of a 'happy reunion' with the dead in heaven.<sup>360</sup> "Civis" wrote that the New Zealanders who had fallen at the Battle of Messines had 'died for the liberties of the world.'<sup>361</sup> He described the war effort as 'casting out devils.'<sup>362</sup> Correspondents to the *Times* held similar views. W. Ings suggested that the bereaved should seek comfort in God, and "A Mother in Israel" wrote that she had 'joyously given one of my best sons for this war' and blessed 'all who offer themselves for God and country.'<sup>363</sup>

Religious language was common when describing the conflict. *Truth*, well known for its ambivalence towards organised Christianity, described the war as righteous and supported calls

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<sup>357</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 9/9/1915, 35; 21/6/1917, 32; "Quarant Ore at St. Joseph's Cathedral, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 11/10/1917, 22.

<sup>358</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 24/5/1915, 4.

<sup>359</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/11/1917, 6.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 7/9/1918, 6.

<sup>361</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 23/6/1917, 6.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 20/10/1917, 4.

<sup>363</sup> W. Ings, letter to editor, *Times*, 29/5/1915, 5; *Times*, "Passing Notes," 24/11/1917, 4.

for the nation to pray for victory.<sup>364</sup> Words and phrases such as ‘righteousness,’ ‘crusade,’ ‘the sacred dead,’ ‘the Cross and the Crescent,’ ‘tremendous crusade,’ and ‘religious war’ were all used by the non-religious media to describe the conflict.<sup>365</sup> Readers unashamedly described the Empire’s war effort as favoured by God. “Blighty” avowed in one letter that Christ, had He been present on earth, would ‘be with our troops now fighting ... for the cause of humanity.’<sup>366</sup> Correspondent J. J. Ramsay quoted a poem containing the lines ‘Satan defied on the wild Turkish heights’ and ‘On a mission of justice and Godliness bound’ and committing the public to pray for the soldiers.<sup>367</sup> “TCM” wrote that fallen soldiers had ‘sacrificed themselves on the altar of duty’ and later spoke of the need to hold a Dominion-wide holiday where ‘one and all may give themselves up to a day of quiet, reverential, thanksgiving’ when Jerusalem was captured.<sup>368</sup> The comparative paucity of opposing viewpoints indicates considerable public support for this view.

The special services marking important milestones in the war attracted crowds in churches far in excess of their usual congregation, suggesting that more than just regular church-goers felt compelled to attend. The fact that civic authorities were ready and willing to organise and participate in public ceremonies that closely followed religious services to mark these events, and with clergy encouraged to play a central role, indicates that the wider public accepted a significant role for religion outside of the church setting. Language used by clergy at these services, coupled with the large crowds that they attracted year after year, indicates widespread acceptance by the public in viewing the conflict as sacred and holy, with a definite spiritual dimension. It was similar with the departure ceremonies for reinforcements. Religion played a central role in these ceremonies and at no point was there any formal or widespread objection to this from Dunedin’s public.

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<sup>364</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 10/10/1914, 1; 12/2/1916, 5; 4/3/1916, 1.

<sup>365</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 2/6/1915, 6; Editorial, *Times*, 12/6/1915, 8; Editorial, *Times*, 14/6/1915, 4; Editorial, *Times*, 27/9/1915, 4; Editorial, *Times*, 7/9/1918, 6; “Passing Notes,” *Times*, 20/1/1917, 4; Editorial, *Truth*, 10/10/1914, 1; “Dunedin Wowsers Wrathful,” *Truth*, 12/2/1916, 5.

<sup>366</sup> “Blighty,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 16/2/1918, 3. For other examples see “MSP” to the editor, *Times*, 28/6/1915, 10; “TCM” to the editor, *Times*, 15/1/1916, 4; “Honour the Brave in the Highest Places” to the editor, *Times*, 28/2/1916, 6; “TCM” to the editor, *Times*, 24/11/1917, 8.; “Angry Protestant” to the editor, *Times*, 20/7/1918, 11.

<sup>367</sup> J. J. Ramsay, letter to the editor, *Times*, 15/12/1915, 10.

<sup>368</sup> “TCM,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 15/1/1916, 4; 24/11/1917, 8.

## Opposition to Holy War

This is not to argue that everyone believed that the war was holy. Not every Dunedin resident attended the large public meetings or church services. Some would have absented themselves in protest at the church's affiliation with the war, rejecting the notion of a sacred or holy war. Not everyone who was present would have felt comfortable with the churches' obvious identification with the war effort, and with the language used to describe the nature of the war. Others present may have supported New Zealand's participation but rejected any spiritual dimension to the conflict. Despite the prevalence of the language of religious conflict, *Truth* periodically published articles and letters that criticised those people who viewed the war as sacred. Editorials criticised clergy who denounced war in peace but praised it in times of conflict. This type of clergy were 'blasphemous bounders and dirty dogs of the most dastardly description,' as were those who for 'any war at any time and all the time, under any and all circumstances' denounced Christ's message of 'Peace on Earth, Good-will toward all men.'<sup>369</sup> John Norton of Queensland, the founder of *Truth*, wrote criticising the 'perfidious and murderous' diplomacy of nations and men that called upon God to witness 'their honour, loyalty, and truth.'<sup>370</sup> The correspondent "D'Enghien's Ghost" wrote caustically of Christianity, describing it as 'the curse of civilisation' and commented disparagingly on the 'millions of men' who were 'drenching the plains of Europe and Asia with rivers of human blood, in the 'sacred name of religion.'<sup>371</sup>

Some clergy, too, opposed belief in an intimate link between God and war, though none from Dunedin. Barber highlights Gibb's journey from enthusiastic support of the war to post-war pacifism, a journey that had recognisably begun in 1916. Charles Murray, Minister of Christchurch's Sydenham Presbyterian Church, had opposed militarism and war for many years and was described by Barber as Gibb's 'kindred spirit' in questioning the war, militarism and the goals of the conflict. Thomas Sprott, Anglican Bishop of Wellington Diocese, wrote privately to Gibb denouncing the war as 'imperialistic darkness.'<sup>372</sup> However, it should be noted that opposition among clergy was both muted and limited. Barber details how the correspondence between Gibb, Murray and Sprott was private and discrete, strictly not for

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<sup>369</sup> "War Whooping Wowsers," *Truth*, 3/7/1915, 1.

<sup>370</sup> "An Apotheostical Aftermath," *Truth*, 4/9/1915, 1.

<sup>371</sup> "D'Enghien's Ghost," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 4/9/1915, 1.

<sup>372</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 199-200, 202.

public dissemination.<sup>373</sup> Barber wrote that ‘throughout New Zealand the clergy were beginning to doubt whether even a just war vindicated the bloodbath on Europe’s battlefield,’ implying that there were large numbers of clergy increasingly questioning the war.<sup>374</sup> This seems unlikely, given the continued support that all churches gave to the war effort and comments from clergy year after year. No hint is found of large-scale and overt criticism of the war within the three largest denominations’ publications, or from parishioners, governing bodies or congregational committees, all of whom continued to support the Dominion’s war effort. It is possible that Barber is confusing war-weariness with objection. After years of war it would be natural to wish for its conclusion without necessarily doubting the justness of the cause or the determination that it must be fought until victory. No comparable evidence for Dunedin clergy holding views such as those of Gibb, Spratt, and Murray has been discovered. It is almost certain that a range of opinion existed within Dunedin’s clergy, although there is no evidence suggesting that Presbyterian, Anglican or Catholic clergy privately or publicly dissented from supporting the war effort, with the obvious exception of Kelly.

Some authors have suggested that religious language, particularly sacrifice, was used as a means of making sense of the sheer number of deaths on the battlefield.<sup>375</sup> Eldred-Grigg argues that sacrificial language was used to help conceal the true nature of the war, to disguise with euphemism the fact that soldiers were dying in numbers inconceivable to New Zealanders.<sup>376</sup> Davidson has argued that the linkage allowed for the war to continue unquestioned and to provide the families of the bereaved some comfort and meaning.<sup>377</sup> Manuel makes a similar statement when, in an Australian context, she wrote: ‘Death was dealt with through accepting that it furthered and championed the imperialist cause’ bestowing a “meaningful” death on the deceased, comforting the bereaved and negating any potential challenge to Australia’s war effort.<sup>378</sup> Upon examination these arguments seem inadequate. A war that was just resulted in any death becoming a sacrifice for a greater and holy cause. The two concepts were linked, and to argue one without the other is to deny the second half of this metaphor. Furthermore, if this

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<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, 200, 202.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, 202

<sup>375</sup> Allan Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa. A History of Church and Society in New Zealand* (Wellington: Education for Ministry, 1991), 98-99.

<sup>376</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 147.

<sup>377</sup> Davidson, “New Zealand Churches,” 457.

<sup>378</sup> Jacqueline Manuel, “We are the Women who Mourn our Dead: Australian Civilian Women’s Poetic Responses to the First World War,” *Journal of the Australian War Memorial*, No 29 (November 1996), sections 18-21.

was the tactic of New Zealand's elite, and it was as successful as some historians suggest, it argues for a widespread religiosity within New Zealand, sufficient to maintain morale during four years of losses. It also does not explain why so many New Zealanders were willing to be led by the elite, unless it was in a direction they also favoured.

Davidson also argues that the 'crusading language employed in the first eighteen months sounded increasingly hollow as the war literally became bogged down on the Western Front and weariness began to overtake it.'<sup>379</sup> However, examination of the sources indicates that New Zealand churches, church organisations, clergy and church-goers continued to use the language of sacrifice, crusade and sacred conflict for the duration of the war, not just in 1914 and 1915. Crucially, so did people outside of formal church structures. Editors, writers and correspondents within the non-denominational press continued to use religious language and metaphor to describe the conflict, and people continued to respond favourably to this interpretation.

Laurie Guy approaches the topic of church involvement from a theological viewpoint that condemns any support by the church for the war as 'unwitting blasphemy.' He does not attempt to explain why this support was given and does not attempt to examine how popular or otherwise such a stance was in the churches, how it was received by their members, or how common such views were throughout society. Nor does he explain why he believes these views to be blasphemous.<sup>380</sup>

Many other historians, including Olssen, King and Mein Smith, make scant or, more commonly, no comment on how prominent Christianity was when interpreting and justifying the war, nor do they discuss how just war theory can be used to explain the widespread support for the war. For these authors, and others, the war seems to have had little or no spiritual dimension. This is despite repeated claims by clergy that the conflict was just, and the evident popularity of such an interpretation. Davidson is one of the few who does refer to this, which he does when discussing Cleary's interpretation of the war in November 1917.<sup>381</sup> P. J. Gibbons is another, referring to the Roman Catholic belief that the conflict was just.<sup>382</sup> These two historians are, however, among the few who have examined this aspect of the conflict.

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<sup>379</sup> Ibid., 451-453.

<sup>380</sup> Laurie Guy, *Shaping Godzone. Public Issues and Church Voices in New Zealand 1840-2000* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011), 252.

<sup>381</sup> Davidson, "New Zealand Churches," 452.

<sup>382</sup> P. J. Gibbons, "The Climate of Opinion," in Oliver, *Oxford History*, 313.



Many scholars have denied or overlooked the existence of a spiritual dimension to the conflict. Nevertheless, it is clear that the vast majority of the public accepted a religious explanation of the nature of the conflict and the casualties that it caused. They viewed the war through the lens of their faith, and this faith helped them to interpret it in terms that could only be described as giving to the conflict a spiritual dimension, a war that was holy, righteous, sacred and sacrificial. Above all it was widely regarded as just, a concept rooted in Christian theology and Christian philosophy.

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When war was declared in August 1914, it was quickly established in people's minds that the British Empire's involvement was fundamentally just and the Empire's enemies were unjust and amoral. Germany was seen as a nation that had turned away from God. For many the war became a crusade against evil, a belief that helps explain the on-going support of the churches for recruiting and prosecuting the war to its successful conclusion.

Once the war was accepted as righteous and holy, it followed that the enlistment, service and death of soldiers, as well as the role of women and families back in New Zealand, became viewed as a metaphor for the life of Christ and the language of sacrifice became a continual refrain in wartime sermons, hymns, poetry, public meetings, articles and letters.

These views were accepted and promoted both within and outside of the churches. Newspaper editors, correspondents and prominent community leaders adopted the language of crusade, righteous conflict and sacrificial service in their day-to-day discussions of the war and explanation of its consequences. Thousands of Dunedin's citizens attended commemorations and days of intercession that were announced and conducted as religious services. Clergy and civic leaders alike played significant roles in these events; the line between church and state was blurred and religion and faith were used to sustain the war effort. There were few discernible differences between what was being expressed within the churches, either by clergy or membership, and what was occurring outside the churches, be it the views voiced by editors, correspondents or individuals at public meetings. The religious dimension was accepted and confirmed by the majority of Dunedin's residents. There was without doubt a widespread belief in the righteousness and justice of New Zealand's and the Empire's cause.

## Chapter 3: Patriotism

### “I Vow to Thee My Country”<sup>1</sup>

Imperial patriotism had been a part of life in New Zealand since 1840. The patriotic spirit, the expression of nostalgia and fondness for and loyalty to the Empire and Britain, had waxed and waned but had never entirely disappeared from public consciousness. The war years saw the rhetoric of patriotism lift to new heights. The men, women and children who remained in New Zealand were mobilised, playing a vital part in supporting the Dominion’s soldiers. Whether it was creating goods to ease the harsh realities of service life, raising funds to support the families of men who were absent, killed or maimed, or supporting the Red Cross, patriotic work was popular and widespread. People from every socio-economic group were involved.

Patriotic language and activities became essential elements of life in New Zealand for the duration of the conflict, with Dunedin churches playing a significant role. Patriotic sermons were preached, the churches’ newspapers wholeheartedly sanctioned patriotic work, and church organisations enthusiastically supported the war effort. There were instances where the dominant patriotic tone was challenged, but these were few.

Supporting military-based denominational institutes and chaplaincies was an important part of churches’ patriotic endeavours. Congregations sustained the work of the church amongst the soldiers on active service, although it is clear that some denominations did more than others. Priests and ministers on military service enjoyed the moral and financial support of their parishioners, regardless of the impact of their absence on parish life. These efforts were seen as vital parts of each denomination’s service to God, to the soldiers, and to the war effort.

The extent of the churches’ patriotic work has hitherto received little recognition from historians, most of whom have focussed on specific groups, such as women and children, or have examined patriotic work as a single topic without considering who was participating and how they did so. Within Dunedin’s Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches, patriotic giving of money, goods or time was part of daily life during the hostilities. Existing parish organisations quickly adopted patriotic causes to support, while new organisations were created with patriotic work as their *raison d’être*. Working bees and fundraising were commonplace for

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<sup>1</sup> ‘I Vow to Thee, My Country’ was first set to music in 1921 by Gustav Holst and was published as a hymn in 1926. The words are based on the poem ‘Urbs Dei’ written by Cecil Spring Rice in 1908.

thousands of Dunedin's church-goers. The substantial contribution made by churches to New Zealand's patriotic causes formed a significant proportion of New Zealand's overall effort.

An examination of patriotism demonstrates the extent to which churches, religion, the Empire and society were intertwined during the war years. The denominational press, church committees, clergy and parishioners demonstrated their patriotic credentials throughout the war and in doing so exhibited remarkable similarity with what was occurring outside the churches, be it in the press or at public meetings, commemorations or community events.

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### **The Empire and Imperial Patriotism**

Edwardian commentators frequently predicted the Empire's imminent break-up. Controversial issues such as imperial defence, governance, free trade and successive Irish Home Rule crises seemingly supported these predictions.<sup>2</sup> The outbreak of war, however, caused these issues and fears to be swept away and united the Empire in a way that many had not thought possible. Although this unity was to prove short-lived and was, perhaps, more prevalent in the Dominions and colonies with large settler communities, much of the disquiet and discontent was hidden from New Zealanders, the majority of whom continued to live in a bubble of imperial contentedness and confidence. Almost all of New Zealand, including the churches, celebrated the Empire's prosecution of the war and its unity. New Zealand's war effort was seen as demonstrating commitment to the Empire.<sup>3</sup> New Zealand soldiers' participation in notable battles added to the sense of imperial patriotism and unity and evoked great pride in the men who had fought and died on the Empire's battlefields.<sup>4</sup>

Both Lineham and Barber have pointed out that Church leaders were strongly supportive of the Empire.<sup>5</sup> This support extended out from church leaders to churches *per se*. The *Envoy* applauded the evident unity of the Empire in response to the war crisis, declaring, 'the Empire is one,' 'the Empire shows a united front in unbounded patriotism,' and 'the scattered

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<sup>2</sup> William Louis, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998-99), 50-52, 56-57.

<sup>3</sup> M. King, *Penguin History*, 294.

<sup>4</sup> Brooking, 101.

<sup>5</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion," 476; Barber, "Social Crusader," 198.

communities of the British people really do sustain one another.<sup>6</sup> Some Anglican commentators believed the war was a transformative period in which the Empire's rulers and the ruled would forge new bonds of respect for one another. Fitchett argued that the contribution of the 'Orientals' would result in them being seen as 'full members' of the Empire, and in a later issue he argued that the exposure of Indian soldiers to those of the Dominion had led to an understanding that 'the coloured man differs from us far less than we, in our conceit and narrowness were apt to imagine.'<sup>7</sup> The *Outlook* editor waxed lyrical: 'Today the idea of the Empire reigns in the hearts of men with an undisputed sovereignty, never achieved before. The fundamental unity of the race is realised again.' The *Outlook* asserted that the British Empire was 'bound together by the war, in a way unparalleled in history.' Its patriotic stance was demonstrated also by its view that 'in this great war all are soldiers of a united Empire,' and by this statement: 'It was the Union Jack, and the unity which had characterised the whole of the Empire during the last four years had been a surprise to ourselves and a confusion to our enemies.'<sup>8</sup> Declarations such as these were not confined to the first rush of war fever. The belief that the war had bound the Empire together more closely was sustained throughout the war.<sup>9</sup>

In the minds of many, Church and Empire became welded into one unit. This was reinforced through public lectures, addresses and the sacred press. Woodthorpe, in a series of sermons delivered at St. Martin's N.E.V., spoke on the 'expansion and mission of the British Empire.'<sup>10</sup> The New Zealand branch of the Church of England Men's Society (C.E.M.S.), which had 367 members in twenty-two branches in the Dunedin Diocese, proposed that it was time formally to recognise that the British Empire was under the protection of God:

It is suggested that this would be effected if a proclamation could be issued by the King-Emperor, with the advice of the Imperial Council, calling upon his people where possible in all parts of the Empire to observe ... a public religious service ... repeated annually for the purpose of reminding people that the Empire is under the protection of God, and asking for a continuance of the Divine blessing.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> "The War," *Envoy*, September 1914, 217; "Current Notes," *Envoy*, October 1914, 250; "Reflections on the War," *Envoy*, November 1917, 260.

<sup>7</sup> "War Notes," *Envoy*, November 1915, 351; "Reflections on the War," *Envoy*, November 1917, 260.

<sup>8</sup> "The Church and the World: The War Spirit," *Outlook*, 25/8/1914, 3, Editorial, 4/5/1915, 3; Editorial, 19/11/1918, 3.

<sup>9</sup> For other instances concerning the Presbyterian Church later in the war period see Editorial, *Outlook*, 3/8/1915, 5; 29/8/1916, 3; 22/1/1918, 3.

<sup>10</sup> "St. Martin's Notes," *Envoy*, March 1916, 89.

<sup>11</sup> "CEMS," *Envoy*, June 1919, 137.

The Vicar declared his faith in the ‘great power that religion has exercised in building up the character of our British race’ when giving his annual report to the St. Martin’s N.E.V. parishioners.<sup>12</sup> The *Outlook* reprinted sermons claiming divine favour for Britain and the Empire, such as that by Stinson arguing that anything that strengthened the Empire was proof of God’s purpose and that God had chosen Britain to rule an empire greater than any other the world had seen.<sup>13</sup> Another reprinted Ponder’s sermon where he preached that the capture of Jerusalem was proof that God favoured Britain.<sup>14</sup> The *Outlook* praised the Royal Navy after the Battle of Jutland. God had given the sea ‘as a sacred trust into the charge of the British Empire,’ and command of the sea was ‘Britain’s God-given heritage.’<sup>15</sup>

These opinions encapsulated the late Victorian and Edwardian Empire: it was widely accepted that Britain’s destiny was to civilise and evangelise the world and that the extent and strength of the Empire was proof of God’s favour.<sup>16</sup> Antecedents of the opinions contained within the *Envoy* and *Outlook* can be seen in statements made at the 1888 London missionary conference, where speakers made statements such as ‘God has entrusted his mission of converting the world ... to the Anglo-Saxon race, as represented by the British people and their Empire.’<sup>17</sup> John Moses touched on this, albeit in an Australian context, in his article “Anglicanism and Anzac Observance:” “The colonial church of England in Australia was very conscious of being the church of a world-wide empire, and its leaders understood themselves to be the agents of the extension of the Kingdom of God within the Empire that Almighty God in His wisdom had bestowed upon the British race to rule.”<sup>18</sup> This desire motivated many of the young Anglican priests who served in mission stations, intent on creating an Empire of God on earth.<sup>19</sup> Much of what Moses has described in the Australian setting is immediately apparent in the Anglican Church, and indeed also the Presbyterian Church, in New Zealand, especially a belief in a symbiotic relationship between the Empire and God, together with a hint of fear in the realisation that what God had given, God could take away, if Britain no longer lived up to His ideals.

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<sup>12</sup> Annual Report 1917, balance sheets and annual reports, St. Martin’s North East Valley (MS-2210/03), Hocken.

<sup>13</sup> *Outlook*, 18/8/1914, 18.

<sup>14</sup> “The Topic. The Religious Significance of the Capture of Jerusalem,” *Outlook*, 8/1/1918, 14-15.

<sup>15</sup> “God and the Navy. The British Empire’s heritage”, *Outlook*, 13/6/1916, 3-5.

<sup>16</sup> Stewart J. Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom 1815-1914* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2008), 435.

<sup>17</sup> Brown, *Providence and Empire*, 435.

<sup>18</sup> Moses, Anglicanism and Anzac Observance, 59

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

Imperial unity and belief in the “mission” of the Empire received a more muted reception in the Catholic church and the *Tablet*, though patriotic sentiment was not absent: Coffey declared at a Dunedin public meeting that Britain should have launched a preventive war against Germany during the first decade of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> One area that the *Tablet* did single out for praise was the involvement of Ireland and Irish troops in the conflict. The *Tablet* published articles boasting of the numbers of volunteers from Ireland, the deeds of the regular and Territorial Irish regiments, and the performance of the Irish components in the ‘New Armies.’ Nationalist and Unionist differentiations were made, but these were now less important than the overall contribution to the Empire’s war effort made by all parts of Ireland and the Irish in Britain and the Dominions. Many Catholics felt that the decision of Irish Nationalists to support Britain rather than take the opportunity to extract concessions was proof of the justice of the British cause. It seems that national unity between Catholic and Protestant, be it in Britain or New Zealand, was more important for many Catholics than the blanket imperial unity that so captivated Protestants.<sup>21</sup>

Sweetman has argued that this loyalty was expressed as a means to an end: in return for supporting the war effort, Ireland would receive its long sought-after Home Rule.<sup>22</sup> It is certain that this was a powerful motivator for some, perhaps the majority, but Sweetman’s statement overlooks the imperial patriotism within Catholicism maintained by English-origin and Scottish-origin Catholics. These people, admittedly a small minority of New Zealand’s Catholics, were unlikely to be motivated by Hibernian nationalism to the same extent as Irish Catholics, and were similarly unlikely to be as opposed to the British Empire as their Irish co-religionists. Additionally, treating the Irish Catholics as a monolithic block is unwise. It is almost certain that Irish Catholics had a range of opinions on the Empire and Home Rule, from opposition to outright support, and that these opinions would have waxed and waned over the years. This last is hinted at by Bernard Cadogan when he writes: ‘During this time of greatest conformity, it would seem that the Irish connection was of less importance than ever.’<sup>23</sup> This is not to deny that the majority of Catholics were of Irish descent, and that a large proportion are likely to have viewed the British Empire with some degree of hostility. It is

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<sup>20</sup> In voicing such an opinion Coffey was (perhaps unwittingly) echoing the Royal Navy’s First Sea Lord, Jackie Fisher, who had advocated ‘Copenhagening’ the German fleet, that is, a surprise attack by the Royal Navy on the German fleet while it was at anchor. “Current Topics. The Kaiser’s Dream,” *Tablet*, 3/9/1914, 22.

<sup>21</sup> “An Unworthy Utterance,” *Tablet*, 6/5/1915, 33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Sweetman, “New Zealand Catholicism,” 87.

<sup>23</sup> Cadogan, “Lace Curtain Catholics.”

more to indicate that differing opinions existed within Catholicism, often changing with some degree of dynamism.

Church historians have argued that the churches exhibited patriotism from the very start of the war. Lineham singles out several prominent clergymen from throughout New Zealand, including Gibb, Ponder, Nevill and Alfred Averill for particular mention.<sup>24</sup> His conclusions could apply equally to other prominent Dunedin clergy, including the Presbyterians Dixon, Dickie and White and Anglicans Fitchett, Charles Allen, Curzon-Siggers, and John Mortimer. Lineham, Barber and Breward argue that the churches embraced patriotism almost without reserve.<sup>25</sup> Certainly the *Envoy* adopted a patriotic tone from the start of the war. The September 1914 editorial stated that the men in camp at Tahuna Park were ‘full of eager enthusiasm and patriotism; and all are anxious to serve their king and their country. No doubt they feel themselves heroes already and their patriotic ardour brims over.’<sup>26</sup> In February 1915 the editor wrote: ‘The love of country which this war has kindled to so intense a flame is a sentiment to which in its highest and purest form an appeal may be made in the name of Christ.’<sup>27</sup> Such exuberance was echoed wholeheartedly by the *Outlook*. The editor expressed the view that the men volunteering for the expeditionary force were ‘the first offering’ that ‘we shall lay on the altar of patriotism.’<sup>28</sup> Editorials and sermons published later in 1914 explicitly linked patriotism and Christianity, arguing that a strong faith would inexorably lead to a love of country.<sup>29</sup>

The start of the war also saw the *Tablet* prominently featuring patriotism and patriotic endeavours in its articles. The editor supported Joseph Ward, at that time leader of the Liberal party, when he declared the conflict to be just. It believed the Empire’s involvement had met all three of the church’s criteria for defining a just war.<sup>30</sup> The Catholic proportion of the Samoan invasion force, 40% of the entire force when Catholics made up just 14% of New Zealand’s population, was ‘a splendid illustration of the genuineness and practical character of

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<sup>24</sup> Lineham, “First World War Religion,” 473.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*; Breward, *History of Churches*, 241; Barber, “Social Crusader,” 194

<sup>26</sup> “Visit to the Camp,” *Envoy*, September 1914, 220.

<sup>27</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, February 1915, 38.

<sup>28</sup> *Outlook*, 18/8/1914, 4.

<sup>29</sup> “The Church and the World: War!” *Outlook*, 11/8/1914, 3-4; 18/11/1914, 18.

<sup>30</sup> These were that the State was threatened by another, that right had been violated by another state, and that the State’s future security necessitated military involvement. In each case, the editor argued that there was no remedy possible other than war. Editorial, *Tablet*, 20/8/1914, 33-34.

Catholic loyalty.<sup>31</sup> Palmerston North was the concentration centre for the Wellington Military District and articles reported ‘evidence of intense patriotism’ and that the patriotic funds being subscribed to were ‘proof positive ... of this town’s wholehearted commitment in the Empire’s cause.’<sup>32</sup>

The Anglican Diocese and Dunedin Presbytery supported the Bible in Schools League’s decision to suspend its campaign for the duration of the war and to donate its existing and future funds to raising an ambulance unit for the expeditionary forces.<sup>33</sup> Holy Trinity Port Chalmers C.E.M.S. hosted an evening discussing patriotism.<sup>34</sup> Churches held patriotic services and church amenities were made available to patriotic societies for little or no charge.<sup>35</sup> The First Church grounds were frequently used by the Anzac Club and parades for special events such as Anzac Day and Declaration Day would often form up in the shadow of the church.<sup>36</sup> In some cases patriotism was demonstrated by cancelling an event, such as when the All Saints’ Mothers’ Union decided not to hold a social due ‘to the present feeling of grave responsibility and anxiety for the welfare of our country,’ or when Kaikorai Presbyterian Church paid over the Sunday School picnic fund to the Belgian Relief Fund.<sup>37</sup> Bodies and groups established to safeguard public and private morality, such as the League of Honour, took on a patriotic tone. Branches of the League were formed in New Zealand to protect young soldiers from ‘the dangers of drink and vice.’<sup>38</sup> The Mothers’ Union held meetings at which patriotic topics were discussed. Women’s roles as mothers took on new meaning, raising boys who would become

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31 “Catholics to the Fore,” *Tablet*, 20/8/1914, 34.

32 “Palmerston North,” *Ibid.*, 3/9/1914, 25.

33 Following the announcement, Invercargill Anglican churches raised £40 for the League’s contribution to the war effort. Around £2,000 was eventually raised, enough to equip two Field Ambulance units. “St John’s, Invercargill,” *Envoy*, September 1914, 226 and “Bible in State Schools,” *Envoy*, October 1914, 263, *Outlook*, 18/8/1914, 4, 12 and “An Acknowledgement,” 29/9/1914, 5.

34 21/9/1914, Church of England Men’s Society Minute Book, Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers (MS-2300/009), Hocken.

35 For examples see AGM of parishioners 9/5/1917, Vestry and Church Committee minute book, St. John’s Waikouaiti (MS-1869/018), Hocken; Vicar’s report to AGM of Parishioners, 29/4/1918, Vestry Minute Book, St. John’s Roslyn (AG-142/016), Hocken; St. John’s Roslyn Vestry meeting 30/11/1915, Vestry Minute Book, St. John’s Roslyn (AG-142/016), Hocken.

36 Minutes 7/2/1916, Deacons’ Court minute book 1900-1923, First Church of Otago (AI 9/2 99/90/148), PCANZAO.

37 “All Saints’ Dunedin,” *Envoy*, November 1915, 365; Minutes 1/12/1914, Deacons’ Court Minute Book 1910-26, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/5), PCANZAO.

38 This group had begun in the United Kingdom, and was being established in New Zealand and Australia in 1915. “The War and the Church,” *Envoy*, January 1915, 5 and “S. Mary’s, Mornington,” December 1915, 397.



the Empire's next generation of soldiers.<sup>39</sup> These future soldiers needed to be raised with ideals of imperial patriotism, purity, and holiness.

Many Presbyterian churches acquired large numbers of special hymns and liturgies for use during war time.<sup>40</sup> Balfour prepared a special hymn sheet of patriotic hymns for use in war time, and these were used at Dunedin's First Church and were circulated among the other churches.<sup>41</sup> The St. Andrew's Church session ordered hundreds of sheets containing special war hymns in March 1917.<sup>42</sup>

### Memorialising Earl Kitchener

Lord Kitchener's death provides a comprehensive example of the extent of wartime imperial patriotism within the churches and in Dunedin as a whole. Kitchener's life was presented as the modern imperial story. He had visited much of the Empire, including New Zealand and Dunedin, advising on imperial defence. He had fought in several wars, had modernised India's army and had personally directed campaigns expanding the Empire.<sup>43</sup> His admirers publicised

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<sup>39</sup> 'The chief objects of the Mothers' Union are to uphold the sanctity of marriage, and to awaken in mothers of all classes a sense of their great responsibility as mothers in the training of their boys and girls (the future mothers and fathers of the Empire). To organise in every place a band of mothers who will unite in prayer, and seek, by their own example, to lead their families in purity and holiness of life.' 'Mother's Union,' *Envoy*, May 1915, 145 and *Three simple addresses on the objects of the Mothers' Union*: 'If we know anything of the laws of heredity, and how children partake of the conditions of body and mind of those who bring them into being, it would surely lead to purer and more governed lives in us from whom so much will be transmitted, and on whom the future welfare of the race depends.' Pamphlets, hymn sheets and other papers (AG-080/078), Hocken.

<sup>40</sup> Anderson's Bay purchased an additional 300 copies of hymns in April 1915. Minutes 13/4/1915, Manager's Minute Book 1908-20, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian Church (BA 1/4), PCANZAO. Caversham purchased 200 copies of the litany for soldiers and sailors in June 1916. Minutes 15/6/1916, Session Minutes 1888-1919, Caversham Presbyterian Church, (BA 2/5), PCANZAO. Maori Hill purchased an additional 100 copies of 'Hymns in time of war' in September 1915. Minutes 14/9/1915, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1906-1917, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church, (BE 2/7), PCANZAO. Roslyn purchased 300 copies of special hymns for war time in August 1915. Minutes 3/8/1915, Deacons' Court minutes, Roslyn Presbyterian Church, 1907-29 (BE 5/1 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO. Copies were also purchased for the South Dunedin Presbyterian Church. Minutes 12/8/1915, 9/9/1915, Managers' Minute Book 1906-19, St. James Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin (BB 4/9), PCANZAO.

<sup>41</sup> "Time and Tide," *Outlook*, 1/6/1915, 5.

<sup>42</sup> Minutes 18/10/1915, 13/12/1915, and 16/4/1917, Session Minutes 1913-1933, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, (BB2/10 19/6), PCANZAO; Minutes 5/3/1917, Deacons' Court minutes 1914-22, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (BB3/6 4PZ), PCANZAO.

<sup>43</sup> Kitchener had served in countries as diverse as Cyprus, Palestine, Egypt, the Sudan, India and in Southern Africa. His campaigns established British control over the Sudan in 1898 and all of Southern Africa after he defeated the Boer republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1902. In 1910 he toured the Empire and advised the New Zealand government on its plan to introduce compulsory military training. At the time of the outbreak of war, he was serving as British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt. Kitchener was on an official visit to Russia when the ship he was on, HMS *Hampshire*, sank off the coast of Scotland. It is widely accepted that the *Hampshire* hit a mine laid by the German submarine U 75.

Kitchener as a man of strong Christian faith. Controversy still surrounds his efficacy as Secretary of State for War, but one incontrovertible fact is that in 1914 Kitchener was the only man the Empire's public would trust at the helm of the war effort, and he continued to enjoy significant, albeit declining, public support until his death.

In New Zealand Kitchener was portrayed as an imperial and Christian hero, and special services of commemoration were held in at least eleven of Dunedin's Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic churches to mark his life and death.<sup>44</sup> Such events were common in many parts of the Empire, blending Christianity and imperialism and firmly anchoring the life of Kitchener within an imperial context.<sup>45</sup>

Much was made of Kitchener's faith. A. C. Allan described him as 'a servant whom the Lord when He came found watching.'<sup>46</sup> St. Matthew's appended its commemoration service to the end of its Eucharist, blending Christ's death with Kitchener's imperial service and death.<sup>47</sup> The First Church memorial service included a parade by staff officers, territorial soldiers and returned soldiers, and was conducted by Balfour in his role as army chaplain.<sup>48</sup> Evans, at the Knox Church memorial service, ascribed Kitchener's success in war to his dedication to duty and his deep Christian faith, believing that God had put him in place as Secretary of State for War to create Kitchener's Army.<sup>49</sup> St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church held two services marking Kitchener's life and death, while the South Dunedin Presbyterian Church passed a motion of mourning.<sup>50</sup> St. Joseph's Cathedral's eleven a.m. Mass was dedicated to Kitchener's memory. One hundred uniformed Territorial soldiers and Senior Cadets were amongst the large congregation. Coffey paid tribute to Kitchener's key role in placing Britain on a war

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<sup>44</sup> Services were held at St. Matthew's, St. Paul's Cathedral, All Saints', and Holy Trinity Port Chalmers (Anglican); First Church, Roslyn, Knox Church, Port Chalmers, St. Andrew's, North East Valley (Presbyterian); and St. Joseph's Cathedral (Roman Catholic).

<sup>45</sup> John Pollock, *Kitchener* (Robinson, UK: London, 2002), 488-490.

<sup>46</sup> Allan was preaching at All Saints' Dunedin church. "Local Sorrow and Regret. The Church Services. Other Churches," *Times*, 12/6/1916, 3.

<sup>47</sup> "Local Sorrow and Regret," *Times*, 12/6/1916, 3.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 12/6/1916, 3.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* "Kitchener's Army" was the term given to the armies raised by voluntary enlistment from 1914 to 1916 in Britain. In all, five army groups comprising 30 divisions were formed and over two million men volunteered.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*; Minutes 8/6/1916, Managers' Minute Book 1906-19, St. James Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin (BB 4/9), PCANZAO.

footing, describing his death as ‘personal to every one of His Majesty’s subjects.’<sup>51</sup> The *Tablet*’s editor similarly highlighted Kitchener’s imperial service and war-time role.<sup>52</sup>

Marking Kitchener’s life and death was not confined to the churches – it was a community- and Empire-wide event, but always had input from local churches. Dunedin’s mayor and Fitchett jointly called a public meeting in honour of Kitchener, at which Fitchett moved a motion of ‘heartfelt sorrow at the loss sustained to the Empire by the lamentable death of Lord Kitchener.’<sup>53</sup> Port Chalmers held a united service in honour of Kitchener, attended by military forces.<sup>54</sup> Members of the 10<sup>th</sup> (North Otago) Regiment and Senior Cadets paraded at Mosgiel’s Drill Hall to attend a church parade, while the National Reserve and the Territorial forces met at the Oval for a memorial service.<sup>55</sup> Military forces also attended the All Saints’ memorial service.<sup>56</sup> These meetings and services were well attended at all of the venues, suggesting widespread community support for memorialising Kitchener’s life and death. They were all placed firmly within a Christian context, blending his life-story and persona with the religious views of Dunedin’s populace.

### **Imperial Patriotism Outside the Churches**

The *Otago Daily Times*’ editor greeted rumours that the Governor of New South Wales had questioned whether the Dominions would be committed to war by the decision of the British Parliament and King with an unequivocal statement that such belief was ‘destructive to the whole dream of Imperial unity ... When the Empire is at war all parts of the Empire are at war.’<sup>57</sup> He made no attempt to discuss any legal basis for the Dominions standing to one side. For him, the Empire was an indissoluble unit. This was a view widely shared by New Zealanders. Gibbons described imperial patriotism during the war as ‘almost obligatory.’<sup>58</sup> The expression perhaps conjures tones of reluctance and possible coercion, but the evidence indicates that imperial patriotism was popular, widespread and long-lasting. The patriotic tone of the *Times* was evident throughout the war. The editor celebrated the fact that verse two of

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<sup>51</sup> “Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 15/6/1916, 32.

<sup>52</sup> “Current Topics. A Heavy Blow,” *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>53</sup> “Tributes from Dunedin,” *Times*, 8/6/1916, 7; “Lord Kitchener. Sympathy from New Zealand. Tributes from Dunedin,” *Times*, 8/6/1916, 7.

<sup>54</sup> “Local Sorrow and Regret,” *Times*, 12/6/1916, 3.

<sup>55</sup> “Memorial Services: Port Chalmers,” *Times*, 10/6/1916, 9.

<sup>56</sup> “Notes,” *Envoy*, July 1916, 207.

<sup>57</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 3/8/1914, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Peter Gibbons, “The Climate of Opinion,” in Oliver, *Oxford History*.

‘God Save the King’ had been sung at the St. Paul’s cathedral foundation stone laying ceremony. For him, the lines ‘confound their politics, frustrate their knavish tricks’ were just as relevant at that time as they had been when first penned in the 1740s.<sup>59</sup> Empire Day 1916 was held up as a time to realise ‘afresh the benefits and obligations of Imperial membership.’<sup>60</sup> In late 1918 “Civis” praised the British armies’ achievements and worldwide prosecution of the war: ‘British armies in possession at Bagdad, at Jerusalem, at Damascus, at Aleppo – can such things be! Moreover a British army is fighting Austrians and Turks in the Balkans; a British army is with the Italians on the Piave; and a British army (of sorts) is harassing Bolsheviks from frozen Archangel.’<sup>61</sup> Published correspondence spoke of a parent ‘joyously’ giving ‘one of my best sons for this war.’<sup>62</sup> Correspondent “Fight the Good Fight” advised all shops that had not made use of German capital to advertise the fact, believing ‘we should utterly cast everything German out of existence.’<sup>63</sup> Imperial festivals, such as Trafalgar Day, were enthusiastically celebrated by the people of Dunedin. The 1914 celebrations had many hundreds attending an open air rally.<sup>64</sup> In 1915 a ‘very well attended’ free public concert was held at the Garrison Hall and many businesses flew union jacks and white ensigns.<sup>65</sup> In 1918 Nelson’s signal from the Battle of Trafalgar was flown in Queen’s Gardens, guarded by returned soldiers.<sup>66</sup>

The popularity of patriotism was without doubt very widespread. Groups such as the Victoria League, the Women’s Anti German League, the All for Empire League, and the Women’s National Reserve had tens of thousands of members by 1918.<sup>67</sup> Patriotic organisations affiliated to the major patriotic funds continued to operate for the duration of the war and in some cases, beyond. Groups continued to be formed throughout the war.<sup>68</sup> In late 1916 the Sawyer’s Bay branch of the Otago Women’s Patriotic Association doubled the number of its

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<sup>59</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 22/9/1915, 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid*, 24/5/1916, 4.

<sup>61</sup> “Passing Notes,” *Times*, 2/11/1918, 4.

<sup>62</sup> “A Mother in Israel,” letter to “Civis” in *Times*, “Passing Notes,” 24/11/1917, 4.

<sup>63</sup> “Fight the Good Fight,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 14/2/1917, 6.

<sup>64</sup> “Trafalgar Day in Dunedin: Commemorating the Anniversary of Nelson’s Victory,” *Witness*, 28/10/1914, 38.

<sup>65</sup> “Trafalgar Day. Annual Demonstration in Dunedin,” *Witness*, 27/10/1915, 9.

<sup>66</sup> Nelson’s signal, flown from HMS Victory at the Battle of Trafalgar, was “England expects,” an abbreviation of his original signal “England expects that every man will do his duty.” “Trafalgar Day in Dunedin,” *Witness*, 30/10/1918, 29.

<sup>67</sup> Hutching, 143-146; Baker, 27.

<sup>68</sup> The St. Clair branch of the Otago Women’s Patriotic Association was formed in October 1915, “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: Branch at St. Clair,” *Times*, 6/10/1915, 8. The Portobello branch was formed in November 1915, “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: Portobello Branch,” *Times*, 24/11/1915, 6.

meetings.<sup>69</sup> By 1916 New Zealand had 350 branches of patriotic organisations, 120 of which were formally affiliated to the patriotic societies.<sup>70</sup>

The imperial patriotism and sentiment exhibited by the denominational press, many clergy, and large numbers of church members was no different from that exhibited outside the churches. Indeed, the issues covered by the *Envoy*, *Outlook*, and *Tablet* were the same as those canvassed in the *Times* and *Evening Star*. Muslim Indians were praised for their ‘towering wave of patriotism’ and their ‘unswerving loyalty to the British flag’ following the Ottoman Sultan’s declaration of a jihad against Britain, France and Russia on 11 November 1914.<sup>71</sup> Offers of soldiers from the Dominions were praised and used as evidence of an imperial spirit across the Empire.<sup>72</sup> The fear that the Empire would dissolve under the immediate stress of war was evident in the relief that it had not. The *Times* carried an editorial praising imperial unity on 5 August 1915, writing that the manifestation of ‘loyalty to the cause of Great Britain’ from ‘one end to the other’ of the Empire ‘afforded a magnificent spectacle.’ The editor believed that Germany had been relying on disunity to divert British attention from events in Europe, and the empire’s unity had been Germany’s first shock.<sup>73</sup> In later editorials the war was portrayed as the vehicle whereby the constituent parts of the Empire were forging a common imperial citizenship.<sup>74</sup> India would reap ‘... the reward to which her self-assertion as a part of the British Empire will fully entitle her.’<sup>75</sup> India, the editor confidently wrote, would be welcomed to full membership of the Imperial brotherhood through sending a delegate to imperial conferences.<sup>76</sup> Letters to the editor indicate that some readers viewed the Empire’s future in a new light. J. Sinclair questioned the ‘whites only’ immigration policies of the New Zealand and Australian governments, writing that ‘the colonies are under a deep debt to our brothers in India.’<sup>77</sup> The Indian Army’s contribution to the war effort together with the funds raised by India for the war effort were the means whereby India would ‘earn her passage’ to full membership of the Empire. A. Bathgate proposed that the Dunedin war memorial should take the form of a

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<sup>69</sup> “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: Sawyer’s Bay Branch,” *Times*, 25/11/1916, 10.

<sup>70</sup> Melanie Nolan, “Keeping the Home Fires Burning: Gender, Welfare and the First World War,” in Crawford and McGibbon, 505.

<sup>71</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 16/1/1915, 6.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 5/8/1915, 4.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, 10/10/1914, 8; 5/8/1915, 4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 6/10/1915, 5; 24/5/1916, 4; 5/5/1917, 6.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 16/1/1915, 6.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 6/10/1915, 5.

<sup>77</sup> J. Sinclair, letter to the editor, *Times*, 8/3/1915, 3.

bronze of Britannia, surrounded by her children representing the Empire, explicitly stating that the memorial should portray ‘our united Empire.’<sup>78</sup>

Historians have debated the extent to which imperial patriotism permeated New Zealand society, although almost all believe it existed. Kay rejected the thesis, advanced by historians such as Oliver, Morrell and W. David McIntyre, that New Zealand participated in the war solely out of blind imperial loyalty. He argued that economic and strategic self-interest, as well as imperial loyalty and close cultural connections, were important motivators.<sup>79</sup>

Olssen has written that 1915 marked the ‘high point of jingoism and xenophobia.’<sup>80</sup> Evidence from both inside and outside the churches does not seem to support this. Patriotic language within and outside of churches was evident throughout the war. Patriotic organisations continued to increase both their membership and their branches. The Anti-German League and its ilk proliferated after 1915, not before. Patriotic efforts continued throughout the war and do not show any measurable tailing off from 1916 onwards. Evidence does exist that some patriotic donations became smaller as the number of causes and casualties multiplied, although overall there does not seem to be any significant reduction in the total given. Indeed, New Zealanders seem to have increased, or at least maintained, their donations as the war progressed.

Sinclair tackled the question of imperial patriotism by examining the results of a questionnaire completed by forty-two soldiers serving with the N.Z.E.F. Only one man described himself as fighting for the Empire. Sinclair uses this to assert that the Empire belonged to an official rhetoric disseminated by newspaper editors, clergy, school teachers and politicians, and that to most people it was an abstraction, concluding that ‘the mass of people were unmoved by imperial questions.’<sup>81</sup> Setting aside the problem of using just 42 replies to assess the views of over 120,000 soldiers or 1.1 million New Zealanders, a superficial examination of the opinions of the press, both denominational and non-denominational, together with those of the clergy, might seem to support Sinclair’s opinion. However, patriotic belief in the imperial cause was a constant background in New Zealand life and was ever present in the language and sentiment of the war effort. Mein Smith perhaps most accurately summed this up when she wrote,

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<sup>78</sup> A. Bathgate, letter to the editor, *Times*, 31/8/1918, 13.

<sup>79</sup> Kay, 32-33.

<sup>80</sup> Olssen, “Waging the War,” 303.

<sup>81</sup> Sinclair, *A Destiny Apart*, 172-173.

‘People felt no contradiction between nation and Empire, between New Zealand and “Britain overseas,” because theirs was a colonial nationalism.’<sup>82</sup> The patriotism seen in the churches was not false or confined to an elite. It was widespread throughout the denominations, irrespective of social status or denominational allegiance.

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### **Service and Patriotic Organisations**

Efforts made by churches and church organisations to raise funds and manufacture goods for patriotic ends is usually absent from historical discussions. Historians acknowledge the roles of community and school organisations, as well as the many spontaneous groups formed to co-ordinate this work. A number of writers make particular reference to the work of women. Brooking refers to the frustrations experienced by women at ‘being able to do no more than knit socks or pack food parcels’ and writes also that ‘children too played their part.’<sup>83</sup> Megan Hutching discusses the role played by women within the patriotic organisations in raising funds.<sup>84</sup> Sarah Piesse, writing about the Otago Patriotic and General Welfare Association, focuses on ‘community involvement’ and the fact that members from all parts of the community were involved.<sup>85</sup> Yet she confines her discussion of the church in patriotic associations to the work of the O.P.G.W.A.’s Clergy Committee.<sup>86</sup> The wider contribution by churches and church-run organisations, especially by their lay members, is largely ignored. Piesse, like Brooking and Hutching, accentuates the role of women to the detriment of other parts of the community.<sup>87</sup> Piesse provides a less than comprehensive view of patriotic organisations in Dunedin during this time, largely due to her focus on one entity, with little attention to those it interacted with.

Some historians have focused on class when discussing patriotic work. Olssen attributes the organisation of patriotic events and groups to the upper-middle and middle classes.<sup>88</sup> This view is replicated by Piesse, who writes that the women who ran the O.P.G.W.A. came from the ‘upper layer of Dunedin society’ and that those who collected for it were women ‘who had no

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<sup>82</sup> Mein Smith, 124.

<sup>83</sup> Brooking, 104.

<sup>84</sup> Hutching, 141-142.

<sup>85</sup> Piesse, 8.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 36, 64-69.

<sup>88</sup> Olssen, “New Society,” 273.

need to work.<sup>89</sup> Gibbons expands this group to include community leaders, gentry, middle class and lower-middle-class.<sup>90</sup> Eldred-Grigg claims that the middle classes dominated the various patriotic organisations, and acknowledges that school children and women were actively involved.<sup>91</sup>

What these historians miss is that churches and church affiliated organisations were an important part of a network of patriotic organisations that involved all of society, regardless of age, sex or class. The organising of patriotic efforts would be fruitless without the people who were willing to give time, money or possessions to patriotic organisations. People who gave to patriotic organisations came from all parts of society. Men as well as women, and children too, participated in patriotic endeavours. It would be inaccurate to claim that church groups were the largest or most important organisations involved, but they were significant in the role they took on, the socio-economic breadth of their membership, and the many different ways in which they aided the war effort. Examining the patriotic work of churches reveals how broad-based patriotic work actually was.

At the outbreak of war many church organisations, involving a cross-section of the community, were already tailored towards providing charity relief.<sup>92</sup> The prominence of women in wartime patriotic organisations may be partly explained by the fact that many church-based charitable organisations pre-war were run by women or had predominantly female membership. The emerging patriotic organisations therefore required merely a switch in focus. Either singly or as multi-parish collective efforts, they turned to raising funds, producing goods and collecting donations for patriotic causes.

Just a few days after the outbreak of war a large group of women from All Saints' parish formed a sewing and knitting group to make garments and cholera belts for soldiers then entering Tahuna camp.<sup>93</sup> Later that month, the parish's Girls' Friendly Society raised £23/8/3 for the O.P.G.W.A. through a sale of work and a patriotic concert and the parish's Sunday

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<sup>89</sup> Piesse, 36, 64.

<sup>90</sup> Gibbons, 313.

<sup>91</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 111.

<sup>92</sup> Common to most were junior and senior Sunday Schools, Ladies' Guilds, parish associations, the Church of England Men's Society, Girls' Friendly Society, Junior and Senior Bible Classes, and Mothers' Unions.

<sup>93</sup> 'Cholera belts' were made from flannel and fitted around the waist for warmth. They dated from a time when it was believed that keeping the kidneys and stomach warm helped protect against cholera. "All Saints' Church," *Envoy*, August 1914, 225.



School collected £3/14/10 for the Belgian Relief Fund.<sup>94</sup> St. John's Roslyn Ladies' Guild made 24 shirts and 32 cholera belts over two days from donated materials.<sup>95</sup> In September that parish's Girls' Friendly Society and Ladies' Guild collected over 700 pieces of clothing from people in the parish for Belgian refugees in Britain.<sup>96</sup> Holy Trinity Port Chalmers contributed to a united effort of local churches that collected over 3,000 items for Belgian refugees.<sup>97</sup> The St. Paul's Cathedral Guild collected a parcel of clothing for Belgian refugees and passed this on to the Dunedin Women's Association.<sup>98</sup>

Comparable levels of industry and donations were prevalent within the Presbyterian parishes. In parishes as distinct in character as Caversham, Kaikorai and Knox, Iona, St Andrew's and St Stephen's, funds were raised and garments made.<sup>99</sup> The commitment of Presbyterian congregations was such that Dunedin Presbytery passed a resolution expressing their 'gratification' that so many congregations had 'given clothing and food for the relief of the sufferers of war in Britain and Belgium.' The Presbytery also established a committee to co-ordinate the parishes' giving.<sup>100</sup>

The Belgian Relief Fund was particularly popular with New Zealand's Catholics and, nationally, much effort was spent on fund-raising. Within a month the *Tablet* was commenting on the efforts being made in Dunedin, Christchurch, Napier, and Timaru, and recorded that £555 had been donated in Invercargill in early October 1914.<sup>101</sup> October 25 was designated a

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<sup>94</sup> "All Saints' Church," *Envoy*, December 1914, 342.

<sup>95</sup> "St. John's, Roslyn," *Envoy*, September 1914, 225.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, October 1914, 272; December 1914, 345.

<sup>97</sup> "Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers," *Envoy*, November 1914, 313.

<sup>98</sup> "Latest Cables. Dunedin Women's Association," *Times*, 22/8/1914, 10.

<sup>99</sup> 12/8/1914, Ladies' Association Minute Book 1914-28, Caversham Presbyterian Church (AO 8/3), PCANZAO; "The War," *Times*, 11/8/1914, 2; Minutes 1/12/1914, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1910-26, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE8/5), PCANZAO; *Ibid.*; "Knox Church: Annual Meeting," *Times*, 14/8/1914, 7; "Patriotic Funds: Recital at Knox Church," *Times*, 22/8/1914, 10; Minutes 15/9/1914, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1904-30, Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church (BF 3/7), PCANZAO; Letter, Hon. Treasurer to Dunedin Women's Patriotic Association 17/10/1914, Deacons' Court Letter book: 1910-1915, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (BB 1/1 4PZ), PCANZO; Minutes 11/11/1914, Deacons' Court Minutes 1901-17, St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church (BG 3/5), PCANZAO.

<sup>100</sup> Presbytery minutes 6/10/1914, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>101</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 3/9/1914, 34. The £555 equates to more than \$83,000 in 2014 NZ dollars. "Catholic Federation. Invercargill," *Tablet*, 8/10/1914, 31.

provincial day for raising funds, and by November 1914 the Auckland Diocese alone had raised £15,500 in cash and £25,000 in goods for Belgian and British poor.<sup>102</sup>

Eldred-Grigg has written that patriotic work and giving tailed off at the end of 1914 as the first flush of war fever subsided and price increases and ‘donor fatigue’ became prevalent.<sup>103</sup> There is no evidence of such a phenomenon within Dunedin’s churches. Indeed 1915 saw the patriotic efforts within parishes and congregations, the Anglican and Catholic Dioceses, and Presbytery became systematised and formalised, with special collections being taken up for patriotic purposes, and appeals from the pulpit for goods and funds. Liaison was established with the various community-based funds and organisations such as the O.P.G.W.A. and the Belgian and Serbian Relief Funds. All this occurred prior to the Dardanelles campaign.

A great deal of detailed information exists to demonstrate the extent of fund-raising, the variety of means used to do so, and the range of organisations supported by various Dunedin parishes.<sup>104</sup> Dunedin’s Anglican Diocese officially declared the first Sunday in 1915 a diocesan day of intercessory prayer, devoting collections that day to the British and Belgian Relief Fund.<sup>105</sup> The response from various parishes was generous and varied in its approaches to fund-raising. Dunedin Presbytery co-ordinated the dispatch of 42 cases of clothing to Britain for Belgian and British poor and destitute.<sup>106</sup>

The Red Cross and the military hospitals were also popular destinations for funds and sundry items. For example, organisations from All Saints’ parish donated 800 items, worth around £100, to the Red Cross in 1916; the St. John’s Roslyn Girls’ Friendly Society dedicated its work that year to the Red Cross, while pupils of the newly-established Columba College began weekly giving to the Wounded Soldiers’ Fund, and the First Church Ladies’ Association

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<sup>102</sup> “Diocesan News. Diocese of Auckland,” *Tablet*, 19/11/1914, 26; “St. Dominic’s College, Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 17/12/1914, 15; “St. Mary’s College, Wellington,” *Tablet*, 24/12/1914, 11.

<sup>103</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 111.

<sup>104</sup> “All Saints’ Dunedin,” *Envoy*, October 1915, 335; *Ibid.*, November 1915, 365; “S. Mary’s, Mornington,” *Envoy*, April 1915, 131; *Ibid.*, August 1915, 268; *Envoy*, November 1915, 365; Deacons’ minutes 2/2/1915, Deacons’ Court Minute Book 1910-26, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/5), PCANZAO; *Times*, 4/5/1915, 8; Deacons’ minutes 20/4/1915 and 15/6/1915, Deacons’ Court Minute Book 1906-1917, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BD 2/7), PCANZAO; Deacons’ minutes 5/3/1915, Deacons’ Court minutes, Roslyn Presbyterian Church, 1907-29 (BE 5/1 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO.

<sup>105</sup> Minute Book, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

<sup>106</sup> Presbytery minutes 2/3/1915, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO; “Time and Tide. Dunedin’s Loving Gift,” *Outlook*, 27/4/1915, 5.

devoted their work for the latter half of 1915 to equipping five beds in the NZ base hospitals.<sup>107</sup>

Focussing on one patriotic organisation did not mean that other areas were ignored, though it is clear that they did not receive the same emphasis as they had earlier. In April 1916, the All Saints' Churchwardens and Vestry report recorded that £15 had been collected for unspecified Patriotic Funds.<sup>108</sup> St. John's Roslyn's Mothers' Union urged all the women of the parish to use the 1917 Easter period as a time of self-denial in aid of the women of France, Serbia and Belgium. The records note that when this call was made, 'it was suggested that penny subscriptions should be asked for, as there are so many demands for money in connection with the war,' indicating that the many requests for funds, coupled with the steadily increasing cost of living, made it more difficult to raise funds than previously.<sup>109</sup> St. Matthew's raised almost £33 for the Belgian Relief Fund at Christmas 1916, while St. Mary's Mornington decided that during 1917 two out of every three meetings should be spent on patriotic endeavours.<sup>110</sup> In the twelve months to June 1916 the First Church Ladies' Guild sent almost 500 items to the Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Society, participated in street collections for the Red Cross, sent four dozen Christmas parcels to soldiers, and helped organise and run the Patriotic Association's Anzac Day garden party.<sup>111</sup> The years 1916, 1917 and 1918 saw no diminishing of their work, with items being despatched every month.<sup>112</sup> Smaller parishes, such as Kaikorai, Maori Hill and St. Andrew's, continued to make donations of goods and money for patriotic purposes throughout the war.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> "All Saints' Dunedin," *Envoy*, April 1916, 115; "All Saints,' Dunedin," *Envoy*, January 1916, 25; *Ibid.*, December 1916, 346; "S. John's, Roslyn," *Envoy*, November 1915, 365 and Vestry Minute Book, St. John's Roslyn (AG-142/016), Hocken; Deacons' minutes 5/3/1915, Deacons' Court minutes, Roslyn Presbyterian Church, 1907-29 (BE 5/1 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO; "Columba Girls' College," *Outlook*, 10/8/1915, 14; Minutes 12/7/1915, Ladies' Association Minute Book 1911-1916, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.

<sup>108</sup> "Parish of All Saints'," *Witness*, 26/4/1916, 33.

<sup>109</sup> Mothers' Union 17/4/1917, Mothers' Union Minute Books, St. John's Roslyn (AG-142/037), Hocken.

<sup>110</sup> Vestry meeting 28/3/1917, Vestry Minute Book (AG-061/002), Hocken; "S. Mary's, Mornington," *Envoy*, March 1917, 68.

<sup>111</sup> Ladies' Association Annual Report to June 30<sup>th</sup> 1916, Ladies' Association Minute Book 1916-1918, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.

<sup>112</sup> The annual report for year ended 30 June 1917 mentions that 36 meetings were held over the year and 1,051 items were made and donated to the Red Cross and Otago Women's Patriotic Society. Report for year ended 30<sup>th</sup> June 1917, First Church. Ladies' Association Minute Book 1916-1918, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.

<sup>113</sup> The Kaikorai Sunday School raised £5 for the Red Cross over 1918. Annual accounts to June 30 1918, Session Minute Book 1901-1920, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/2), PCANZAO; Special collections were regularly held at the Maori Hill church to raise funds for patriotic purposes. Minutes 15/6/1915,

Christmas gifts for soldiers were a popular form of giving. All Saints' parish despatched five cases of gifts to Egypt for Christmas 1915 and St. Luke's Mosgiel sent Christmas parcels to the men on active service.<sup>114</sup> Anderson's Bay Presbyterian Church spent over £12 on gifts for Christmas 1915, while First Church regularly donated either goods or funds to provide Christmas gifts for soldiers.<sup>115</sup> Similar endeavours to raise funds or procure goods for soldiers took place at Maori Hill and Kaikorai Presbyterian churches.<sup>116</sup>

Dunedin's Catholic Diocese held a diocesan-wide collection for the Belgian Relief Fund in early February 1915, raising £123 from the cathedral parish alone.<sup>117</sup> Efforts throughout the Diocese had raised over £661 from February to June of 1915.<sup>118</sup> Catholic women from throughout Dunedin canvassed the city and organised themselves into a 'very successful' sewing guild, meeting every Wednesday in St. Joseph's hall to collect donations of goods for Belgian refugees.<sup>119</sup> This group was wound up in June 1917, immediately reconstituting itself as the St. Joseph's Guild, dedicated to the Red Cross and patriotic purposes.<sup>120</sup> The Dunedin Society of St. Vincent de Paul received donated fabric for making into clothes for Belgian refugees.

Catholic patriotism was not, however, exclusively geared towards raising funds for Belgian refugees. Parishes and church schools held patriotic fairs and concerts where schoolchildren performed patriotic songs and plays, and stalls and exhibits would showcase Britain and the

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17/8/1915, 21/8/1917, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1906-1917, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BD 2/7), PCANZAO; The 1915-1916 Balance Sheet showed £25 given to various chaplaincy and convalescent organisations, Deacons' Court minutes 1914-22, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (BB3/6 4PZ), PCANZAO.

<sup>114</sup> Letter, HQ, NZEF, Cairo to Mr S.T. Mirams, Dunedin, 22/1/1916, Correspondence, All Saints' parish, (AG-080/045), Hocken; "Taieri Plain cum Green Island," *Envoy*, November 1915, 369.

<sup>115</sup> Minutes 11/10/1915, Manager's Minute Book 1908-20, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian Church (BA 1/4), PCANZAO; Report for year ended 30<sup>th</sup> June 1917, First Church. Ladies' Association Minute Book 1916-1918, First Church of Otago (BG 7/6 1990/90), PCANZAO.

<sup>116</sup> Minutes 16/10/1917, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1917-1923, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BD 2/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>117</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin Notes," *Tablet*, 28/1/1915, 35 and "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 18/2/1915, 34.

<sup>118</sup> Letter, J.A. Johnstone, Chair of the Belgian Relief Collecting Committee, to MacDonald of Otautau, reprinted in the *New Zealand Tablet*. Announces that Dunedin has raised £134, Lawrence £86, South Dunedin £5, Gore £48, Mosgiel £20, Milton £13, Riversdale £12, Port Chalmers £11, Omakau £11 and Oamaru £50. *Tablet*, 13/5/1915, 34. In June 1915 Coffey announced that Riverton had raised £37, Ranfurly had raised £35 in a second collection, £81 having previously been donated, and Invercargill had raised £64. *Tablet*, 3/6/1915, 29.

<sup>119</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 4/3/1915, 35; "Catholic Sewing Guild," *Witness*, 6/9/1916, 21.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 21/6/1917, 32.

Dominions along with the empire's other allies.<sup>121</sup> Catholic groups supported the work of the Red Cross and schools and parishes raised considerable funds and goods for that charity.<sup>122</sup> South Dunedin convent schools raised over £200 in one gala, £104 going to the widows and children of the men killed at the Battle of Jutland and the remainder to the Belgian Relief Fund. The most popular stall was 'Killing the Kaiser.'<sup>123</sup> Non-church events were supported by Catholics: the St. Joseph's Harriers supporting the "Sports Queen" and various groups participating in street collections on behalf of the Red Cross or similar organisations.<sup>124</sup> Attendance at parish patriotic organisations was high, with the South Dunedin St. Vincent de Paul society meetings averaging sixteen people over twenty-two meetings held in 1916.<sup>125</sup> As well as the Belgian Relief Fund, the Catholic church opened funds for the relief of Polish and Serbian refugees. The Serbian Relief Fund was not a popular destination of funds, but the Polish Relief Fund closed in early 1916 with a balance of £216.<sup>126</sup>

In addition to their own patriotic efforts in fundraising and manufacturing goods churches played an important part in community efforts. Parish organisations spent a considerable amount of time and effort manufacturing and donating goods and funds directly to the various patriotic organisations. They were an important source of support and logistical organisation. Their pre-war efforts in supporting foreign and domestic causes helped to provide a structure for patriotic aid to local families, refugees, and soldiers overseas. Church halls also provided venues for many of the smaller patriotic organisations in areas that lacked suitable facilities of their own.

Fundraising and manufacturing goods to support the war effort, all in the name of patriotic giving, was very popular in Dunedin's churches. Boys and girls, mothers and the elderly, men outside military age – all were involved to some degree, either collectively or individually. It was not just the women and children, though understandably they formed the majority of those people involved in patriotic work. Organisations comprising men and women of all ages

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<sup>121</sup> Schools and parishes that held patriotic concerts, fairs and galas included Mosgiel, Mosgiel Catholic School, the Port Chalmers Convent School, St. Dominic's College, St. Dominic's Priory, St. Philomena's College and the Christian Brothers' School.

<sup>122</sup> At its first meeting after formation, the St. Joseph's Guild donated 36 items to the Red Cross. "St. Joseph's Patriotic Guild," *Witness*, 8/8/1917, 44. At its May meeting the St. Patrick's South Dunedin Patriotic committee forwarded 155 items to the Red Cross. "St. Patrick's Patriotic Branch," *Witness*, 22/5/1918, 43.

<sup>123</sup> "Dunedin Diocesan Notes," *Tablet*, 13/7/1916, 31.

<sup>124</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 8/7/1915, 35; 9/9/1915, 35; 10/2/1916, 35;

<sup>125</sup> "St. Vincent de Paul Society, South Dunedin," *Tablet*, 3/8/1916, 37.

<sup>126</sup> "Serbia Relief Fund," *Tablet*, 3/2/1916, 35

participated, and giving of goods and money was common at services through special collections and retiring collections. Patriotic giving was not just confined to one or two churches in the well-to-do areas of the city. All churches were involved, regardless of the socio-economic status of the parishioners. South Dunedin and Caversham were just as involved as Roslyn and Maori Hill. Similarly, there was no rural-urban divide. Parish organisations in Waikouaiti and Portobello were no less in evidence than those in the city.

Patriotism, service to the nation, and duty to God became another facet of a conflict that was widely believed to be just, righteous and sacred – being patriotic and supporting the war effort became, at least partly, a religious act. For many people it became impossible to consider oneself a dutiful Christian without supporting the war effort. For a man the litmus test was his willingness to serve in the armed forces. For the young, the old, men in special circumstances and all women, patriotic giving was an acceptable substitute. Seemingly any form of giving took on a patriotic tone during this period. The *Envoy* urged people to give money to St. Hilda's Collegiate School as a thank-offering to God for 'preventing us from being incorporated into the German Empire.'<sup>127</sup> Children were urged to help the war effort, with Sunday Schools enthusiastically helping to raise funds. Thousands of pennies were given, the children's efforts being recognised when the *Envoy* published a poem containing the lines 'Perhaps they feared the part they played was small in serving England. England knows that they have served her best of all.'<sup>128</sup> There is an echo in this poem of the gospel story of the widow's offering.<sup>129</sup> Patriotic fundraising, either in money or in kind, was a consistent and substantial part of church life during the war. The accumulated value of these donations from Dunedin's parishes totalled many tens of thousands of pounds, and that of the churches nationwide hundreds of thousands of pounds. This was a major focus of every congregation and denomination and collectively they formed a significant part of New Zealand's patriotic giving.

The area of female labour mobilisation provides an interesting example of where the churches both deviated from and conformed to the mores of wider New Zealand society. Steven Loveridge examined New Zealand's hesitant mobilisation of female labour to replace men who

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<sup>127</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, January 1915, 2.

<sup>128</sup> "Verse from the Fleet," *Envoy*, January 1915, 13.

<sup>129</sup> In this story, told in both Mark's and Luke's Gospels, Christ singles out a widow's offering of just a few coins of low value as more significant than the offerings of the wealthy, for even though the amount was small, the widow had given all that she had, whereas the wealthy gave only what they could comfortably spare.

were absent in the expeditionary force.<sup>130</sup> Thousands of women took up positions in employment either previously denied to them or extremely restricted. Others volunteered as nurses or Red Cross workers, leaving New Zealand and working close to, or in, warzones. Church literature is conspicuously silent regarding this. Women were celebrated in their traditional roles as carer, mother, nurturer and supporter, but, officially at least, remained strictly confined to them. Patriotic work neatly fitted into these roles, especially as it flowed nearly seamlessly from acceptable pre-war charitable work. Only Presbyterianism acknowledged women workers outside these roles, and then only twice – once in verse and once when reprinting a British article.<sup>131</sup> Given this silence it is hard to argue with Loveridge's conclusions that the 'mobilisation of womanpower ... conflicted with traditional conceptions of female roles' and that 'responses to an expanded female workforce and the transfer of jobs to female hands collided with some of the central tenets of the established sexual order.'<sup>132</sup> The churches were merely reflecting and sharing the seemingly majority disapproval of women outside their traditional role.

### **Patriotic Work Outside the Churches**

Patriotic work undertaken by the various church organisations was part of a nationwide network of patriotic giving. Dunedin was the centre of the O.P.G.W.A. and the Otago Women's Patriotic Association, groups that received goods and funds from Dunedin's patriotic organisations. The first flush of war saw the creation of at least nine organisations to support the Lady Liverpool Fund, followed by at least thirteen patriotic organisations concerned with wider patriotic work.<sup>133</sup> One of the most important of these was the O.P.G.W.A., formed after a public meeting held on 14 August 1914.<sup>134</sup> Newspapers regularly published details of meetings, working bees, and summaries of items donated, and these reports indicate the wide level of involvement from Dunedin's individuals, schools, churches, and other community organisations in participation in patriotic work. St. Clair's patriotic

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<sup>130</sup> Steven Loveridge, "'Sentimental Equipment': New Zealand, the Great War and Cultural Mobilisation," PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 2013, 230.

<sup>131</sup> "The Topic: Women and the War," *Outlook* 17/8/1915, 16, 22; "For the Women," *Outlook*, 11/1/1916, 34.

<sup>132</sup> Loveridge, 230, 233.

<sup>133</sup> Branches of the Lady Liverpool Fund were set up in Kaikorai, Maori Hill, Mornington, Mosgiel, North East Valley, Port Chalmers, Ravensbourne, St. Kilda and Woodhaugh, as well as an overarching Dunedin organisation. Patriotic society branches were established in Green Island, Leith Valley, Maori Hill, Mornington, North East Valley, Port Chalmers, Portobello, Roslyn and Kaikorai, Sawyer's Bay, St. Clair, St. Kilda and Woodhaugh.

<sup>134</sup> Piesse, 7.

association recorded 365 items donated in November 1915 and 397 items in July 1917.<sup>135</sup> One month later the branch donated 543 more items.<sup>136</sup> Similar levels of activity were experienced by other Dunedin branches.<sup>137</sup> “Bag Day” provides an excellent example of the extent of New Zealanders’ participation in patriotic organisations. In July 1917 the Otago and Southland Women’s Patriotic Fund appealed for 100,000 items to be manufactured that month. This large figure was ambitious and was achieved through the collective effort of the local branches throughout the two provinces.<sup>138</sup>

Schools were an important source of goods and money. Eldred-Grigg wrote disparagingly of the efforts children made, writing that ‘the stories often sounded fishy’ and that ‘mothers and fathers of dragooned children often must have been less than happy.’<sup>139</sup> Yet there is no evidence of parents complaining to school committees about school-based patriotic work. Children in church-based organisations seem to have initiated the redirection of picnic and prize funds to patriotic work. Kaikorai school donated 506 items as well as money from the Standard 5 class in November 1915, Mornington school pupils made a regular weekly donation, and Musselburgh school donated 121 items in December 1917.<sup>140</sup> Other community organisations, such as rifle clubs, youth organisations and various Dunedin bands, as well as businesses, were also involved.

New Zealanders were very inventive in finding ways to contribute to the war effort. Concerts, collections, auctions, art unions, carnivals, fetes, lectures, magic lantern shows and cinemas were all used as vehicles to raise money. Giving, whether of time, goods or money was popular, with organisations taking to the streets to collect for the war effort. It is estimated that various organisations nation-wide, encompassing everything from churches and schools to athletic clubs and businesses, raised almost £5.5 million in cash.<sup>141</sup> Patriotic organisations oversaw the collection and manufacture of tens of thousands of garments. The total number

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<sup>135</sup> “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: St. Clair Branch,” *Times*, 13/11/1915, 5 and “Otago Women’s Association: St. Clair Branch,” *Times*, 28/7/1917, 8.

<sup>136</sup> “Otago Women’s Association: St. Clair Branch,” *Times*, 25/8/1917, 8.

<sup>137</sup> For example, the North East Valley Patriotic branch collected 524 items in April 1918. “N.E. Valley Women’s Association,” *Times*, 8/5/1918, 5.

<sup>138</sup> “Work in Mornington,” *Times*, 7/7/1917, 7.

<sup>139</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 119.

<sup>140</sup> “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: St. Clair Branch” and “Otago Women’s Patriotic Association: Roslyn-Kaikorai Branch,” *Times*, 13/11/1915, 5; “Work at Mornington,” *Times*, 2/9/1916, 11 and “Women’s Patriotic Association: St. Kilda Branch,” *Times*, 8/12/1917, 8.

<sup>141</sup> Drew, 196.



collected is unknown but in total they were valued at over half a million pounds.<sup>142</sup> The Lady Liverpool Fund, the Lady French Fund, the British and Belgian Relief Fund, the Red Cross, the Wounded Soldiers' Fund, the Otago Women's Patriotic Association and the O.P.G.W.A. were all popular destinations for patriotic groups' fundraising endeavours. Patriotic work was carried out in almost every Dunedin suburb and school. Local groups manufactured items and raised funds which would then be sent to central clearing houses for forwarding to Europe, the Middle East, New Zealand's convalescent homes, or for distribution to the permanently disabled or families of the deceased in New Zealand.

Patriotic giving should therefore be seen as a community-wide phenomenon. It was not, as some historians have implied, something confined to just one sector of society, nor was it channelled to just one part of the war effort. Patriotic work supported soldiers on the front line and at rest, in the hospitals and when undergoing rehabilitation, as well as providing assistance to the families of the deceased. All parts of Dunedin participated – schools, churches and church organisations, and community clubs and organisations, as well as thousands of individuals. Church organisations were acting no differently from any other part of society in their commitment to support the war effort, a commitment they maintained from the conflict's start to beyond its ending. Their relationship with the patriotic organisations was symbiotic and supportive.

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## **Military Chaplains and Denominational Institutes**

### **Military Chaplains Before the War**

Chaplains had accompanied New Zealand contingents during the South African War, and they and their institutes were present during the Territorial Army training camps in the period prior to the outbreak of World War One. The task of organising and staffing Anglican camp institutes fell to the Diocesan Military Affairs Committee, chaired by Curzon-Siggers.<sup>143</sup> Camps in Otago also profited from the work of Bush-King, who served at many camps as the

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<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

<sup>143</sup> Curzon-Siggers was a priest of St. Matthew's Dunedin and a Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral.

Anglican chaplain.<sup>144</sup> Responsibility for the work in camps was transferred to the C.E.M.S. in January 1914 although individual parishes continued to have significant input.

In 1912 the Presbyterian Church's General Assembly created a standing committee to co-ordinate chaplains' work in the territorial forces, and each presbytery established a chaplaincy committee. The Otago Chaplains' Committee was established in 1913.<sup>145</sup> These bodies organised and staffed the institutes at territorial camps and worked in conjunction with the churches closest to the military camp to make the arrangements for the spiritual and recreational care of the soldiers.

Bush-King's work as a military chaplain in this period demonstrates the support given by the Anglican Church to this patriotic ministry. He spent 100 days in camp in the eighteen months prior to July 1914.<sup>146</sup> St. Matthew's Church, through the work of Curzon-Siggers, the Military Affairs Committee and Bush-King, maintained a very strong connection with Otago's chaplains and the Anglican institutes. Dunedin Presbytery appointed eleven men as Territorial Army camp chaplains under the overall leadership of Dutton, who was appointed senior chaplain.<sup>147</sup> Presbyterian practice was for as many clergy as possible to attend Territorial camps as chaplains. Eight participated in Dunedin's May 1914 camp.<sup>148</sup> Catholic clergy also served as chaplains to the territorial training camps.

### **Military Chaplains During the War**

The concentration of men from the Otago Military District at Tahuna Park provided the impetus for the defence department and each denomination to roll into action their respective well-oiled machines of chaplains and institutes. Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic institutes were established and staffed by chaplains. Five Presbyterian clergy were associated with

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<sup>144</sup> Bush-King was another priest associated with St. Matthew's Parish.

<sup>145</sup> Sitting on the Otago Chaplains' Committee when it was established were Dutton, Gray, Fairmaid, McDonald, Balfour, Aitken, Kilpatrick, Dixon, Fisher and Kinmont. Sitting on the General Assembly Committee were Shirer (Convener), Gibb, Inglis and McCaw. PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 37.

<sup>146</sup> Bush-King trained at Selwyn College, Dunedin, was ordained Deacon in 1911 and priest in 1912. He attended every camp within Otago from 1910 to 1914, spending a total of 372 days as Anglican chaplain to military training camps. "The War," *Times*, 22/9/1914, 8.

<sup>147</sup> Minutes 6/6/1911, Presbytery Minute Book 1907-13, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/6), PCANZAO.

<sup>148</sup> Minutes 16/3/1914, Chaplains' Committee Minute Book 1913-54, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 8/36), PCANZAO.

Tahuna camp, with at least two being present in the Presbyterian institute all day and into the evening.<sup>149</sup> Coffey served as the Catholic chaplain for the duration of the camp's life.<sup>150</sup>

After the departure of the Main Body, the Defence Department established a single training facility for infantry, with much smaller facilities for the specialised units. The main camp was located at Trentham, and soon a large facility of huts and tents was erected on the site. Integral to the camp were chaplains and their denominational institutes, ministering to the spiritual and recreational needs of the soldiers in training. Institutes were well used, providing venues for social functions and for religious activities. Institutes were open during the day and into the early evening. Men used them for reading and relaxation. They had stocks of games, magazines, newspapers and books for recreation, and paper, envelopes, pencils, pens and ink for writing home. Chaplains would be on hand to talk to men, provide pastoral care and advice, organise and co-ordinate functions held in the institute, and lead religious activities such as Bible Classes, prayer meetings and church services. Institutes increased in size as the camps expanded, often ending up with facilities far in excess of those found in many parishes.

### **Anglican Institutes**

Trentham's first Anglican institute was a single large marquee staffed by a non-resident chaplain. It was soon resolved that a more permanent structure was necessary to minister effectively to the soldiers. A small hut was constructed, but as the camp increased in size it became clear that it would not be tenable in the long term. Additionally, other denominations possessed larger and better equipped permanent institutes, and it was both embarrassing and inefficient for the Anglican institute to be located in, firstly, a large tent and then a small hut. The *Envoy's* editor wrote: 'It is very well to talk about patriotism, but the question is, are we going to leave the work of providing places for the religious and social advancement of our co-religionists who have given up themselves to the service of our nation to other people?'<sup>151</sup> The 1915 Diocesan Synod passed a series of motions empowering the Diocese's Standing Committee to appeal to all parishes throughout the Diocese for funds.<sup>152</sup> Drawing up the design and letting the tender for the new institute was delegated to the Wellington Diocese's Military Affairs Committee, to be funded proportionally by each Diocese.

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<sup>149</sup> The Presbyterian clergy were Dutton, Fairmaid, Fisher, Rose and Miller.

<sup>150</sup> "Catholics and the War," *Tablet*, 21/10/1915, 31.

<sup>151</sup> "Diocesan Notes and Official News," *Envoy*, November 1915, 345.

<sup>152</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod Proceedings 1915*, 23-24.

Funding the Anglican institutes was a constant problem for the Dunedin Diocese. The diocesan Standing Committee had urged work on the institute to begin work immediately ‘regardless of cost’ and making an open-ended promise to fund its portion of the institute.<sup>153</sup> Constructing the new institute was to cost £1,300, with Dunedin Diocese’s liability being £300.<sup>154</sup> It took over a year for the Diocese to raise this sum.<sup>155</sup>

Compounding the existing fundraising problem was the expansion of the Government’s network of permanent training camps, and hence the number of institutes and chaplains. Featherston camp, holding 3,500 men, was opened in 1915. Featherston needed an institute, estimated to cost £800, with a further £200 required to fund the chaplains. Later that year another new permanent camp, holding 400-500, was established in Rotorua. Its institute was estimated to cost £700.<sup>156</sup> In 1916 the Tauherenikau camp became permanent. A temporary institute, costing £80, was attached to the camp.<sup>157</sup> To cap it all Trentham’s institute was expanded: the side chapel was extended and a tower added. Institutes in six camps would tax the resources of the Dominion’s Anglicans significantly.<sup>158</sup>

The Anglican Church had some well-founded fears about its ability to raise the funds for building and staffing these institutes, and the ad hoc system of collections and donations was simply unable to raise the required funds. In late 1916 R. W. Simpson was appointed for six months as the Wellington Military Affairs Committee’s Financial Organiser, tasked with raising enough money to make the work of chaplains and the institutes financially independent of New Zealand’s Dioceses. His target was £10,000, to be raised by a Dominion-wide appeal. Simpson visited every New Zealand parish, travelling to Dunedin in early 1917.<sup>159</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> Minutes 29/6/1915, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

<sup>154</sup> Letter, George Stephenson to Statham, 23/8/1915, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/017), Hocken.

<sup>155</sup> In November 1915, it was announced that the first appeal had raised £236, and in March 1916 a further £11 was transferred. In June 1916, it was announced that the Diocese was still £60 short of its last levy. *Envoy*, November 1915, 345; Letter, Diocesan Secretary to Rev. G. Stephenson, Petone, 14/3/1916, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/014), Hocken; Minutes 14/11/1916, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

<sup>156</sup> Letter, G.A. Stephenson to Secretary of Standing Committee, 30/5/1916, Folder 1, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>157</sup> Circular letter from Chairman of Military Affairs Committee, Wellington, January 1917, Minutes, St. Mary’s Mornington (MS-1495/018), Hocken.

<sup>158</sup> The six camps were Featherston, Tauherenikau, Rotorua, Trentham, Narrow Neck and Awapuni

<sup>159</sup> Minutes 14/11/1916 Letter from Bishop of Christchurch to Dunedin Diocese Standing Committee, Minute Book, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

Dunedin Diocese consistently failed to raise as much money as had been expected. Simpson believed that the Diocese could fund £1,400. Initially there was optimism that this amount would be realised, but as fundraising began it became clear that the Diocese would not meet its targets. In July 1917 the national total raised was £3,298 but only £386 had come from the Diocese.<sup>160</sup> By August, the national total had almost doubled to £6,053 but Dunedin's total had increased by just £14.<sup>161</sup> In October, the national total was £9,218, Dunedin's just £494.<sup>162</sup> Dunedin Diocese was consistently the lowest-giving Diocese in New Zealand.

Inevitably, this poor performance gave rise to some recriminations. In August 1917 Simpson wrote to the Bishop expressing his frustration with the Diocese's efforts.<sup>163</sup> Simpson had not met the bishop while visiting Dunedin, and believed that this may have contributed to the poor giving in the Diocese. Later that month he wrote, 'I can only express my regret that there appears little probability of the Dunedin Diocese rising to the occasion and contributing at least £1,000.'<sup>164</sup> Simpson resigned in September 1917, and in October another member of Wellington's Military Affairs Committee, Williamson, expressed the hope that there were many in Dunedin who had not yet given who would ultimately do so.<sup>165</sup>

When the giving from individual parishes is examined, it can be seen that the amounts provided by congregations were significantly less than those given to other patriotic causes. This pattern is clearly identified, for example, in Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, St. Mark's Green Island, St. Martin's N.E.V. and St. Mary's Mornington.<sup>166</sup> St. Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay achieved some of the highest totals, the meagre sums of £4 in October 1915

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<sup>160</sup> "Mr. Simpson's Report and List," *Envoy*, July 1917, 163.

<sup>161</sup> "Military Affairs Committee," *Envoy*, August 1917, 179.

<sup>162</sup> The Auckland Diocese had raised £2,800, Christchurch £2,000, Wellington £1,800, Waiapu £1,500 and Nelson over £600. Letter, Williamson to Statham, 17/10/1917, Folder 2, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>163</sup> Simpson wrote, 'I think your Lordship will agree with me that Dunedin shows up very badly.' Letter, Simpson (MAC) to Bishop of Dunedin, 1/8/1917, Folder 2, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>164</sup> Letter, Simpson (Military Affairs Committee) to Bishop of Dunedin, 10/8/1917, Folder 2, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>165</sup> Minutes 7/8/1917, Minute Book, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

<sup>166</sup> Register of Services, Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers (MS-1084/025), Hocken; Vestry Book, St. Mark's Green Island (MS-1886/015), Hocken; Vestry Book, St. Martin's North East Valley (MS-2210/022), Hocken; Balance sheets and annual reports, St. Martin's, North East Valley (MS-2210/031), Hocken; Register of services, St. Mary's Mornington (MS-1495/025), Hocken; Annual Report, St. Mary's, April 1918, Vestry Minutes, St. Mary's Mornington (MS-1495/018), Hocken.

and £3 in September 1916.<sup>167</sup> The Cathedral itself banked only £5 for the Trentham institute in October 1915, and appeals for funds from various parish organisations raised little additional money.<sup>168</sup> Other parishes, including All Saints', St. John's Roslyn and St. Peter's Caversham, seem to have given nothing towards the denomination's institutes. Most surprisingly, given the parish's earlier connection with both chaplains and institutes, no record of any giving to the various institute and chaplains' appeals has been found for St. Matthew's.

It is difficult to explain why Anglican parishes seemed so reluctant to give to the Anglican institutes. Despite the lack of financial support the Diocese continued to support the idea of chaplains and institutes, and clergy and parishes continued to voice their ideological commitment to the concept. It may have been that the bishop was distracted by the building of the new cathedral, a considerable project that occupied much of his and the Standing Committee's time from 1915 to 1919. However, the Diocese was more than just the bishop, and it would be unlikely that his lack of leadership alone could explain the woeful performance of the entire region. It was not because the parishes were failing in their patriotic duty or were suffering from donor fatigue or poverty. Donations to other patriotic funds were recording steady performances or only slight declines in giving. Parish work for soldiers on active service, in the form of Christmas parcels, "care packages" and goods such as service kits continued throughout the war. Whatever the explanation, Anglicans did not fund chaplains and institutes with the same verve as they did other patriotic work.

### **Presbyterian Institutes**

Presbyterians also found that the continued expansion of Trentham camp necessitated a succession of ever larger institutes. A large marquee was quickly superseded by a temporary wooden building. This was expanded in early 1915, but by then church parades were attracting over 1,000 Presbyterians and nightly prayer meetings had attendances of around one hundred men.<sup>169</sup> Plans were commissioned to double the size of the institute, but it was to be almost eighteen months before it was built. The church's attention was diverted by the new Featherston camp and a dispute with the Ministry of Defence. Trentham's new Presbyterian

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<sup>167</sup> "S. Michael's, Anderson's Bay," *Envoy*, October 1915, 337 and Service Register, St. Michael's and All Angels, Andersons Bay (MS-1815/011), Hocken.

<sup>168</sup> Minutes 4/10/1915, Cathedral Committee Minute Book, St. Paul's Cathedral (AG-147/007), Hocken.

<sup>169</sup> On 3/1/1915 700 men attended the Presbyterian Church parade. This increased to 900 on January 17, and by April Dutton was reporting over 1,000 men attending church parades. "Time and Tide," *Outlook*, 12/1/1915 6, "Chaplains' Committee," *Outlook*, 26/1/1915, 5.

institute, completed in 1916, was the largest at the camp, able to accommodate 700 men in the main hall and a further 300 in the reading room. A Bible Class room and chaplain's office were also included in the building.<sup>170</sup>

The Presbyterian Church willingly engaged in collaborative efforts between the non-Episcopal churches with both chaplains and institutes. In 1915 Dunedin Presbytery's Chaplains' Committee agreed to work with the Y.M.C.A. and the Methodist church in providing institutes, and even discussed the possibility of working with the C.E.M.S. at territorial camps, but this latter initiative failed due to a mutual lack of commitment.<sup>171</sup> Featherston camp's Presbyterian chaplain provided spiritual guidance for Presbyterians and Methodists.<sup>172</sup> The non-Episcopal churches recognised that financial constraints precluded any one denomination from providing a suitable institute, and consequently funded one large joint institute. Appeals for funds were launched in early 1916 and by the middle of the year the building was complete.<sup>173</sup> Comprising three halls seating 1000, 600 and 300 men respectively, together with offices for the chaplains, the construction was overseen by a committee of ten, five Presbyterian, two Methodist, and one each from the Congregational and Baptist churches and the Church of Christ.

Featherston and Trentham were the only two camps provided with permanent institutes. Awapuni, Tauherenikau and Rotorua had to make do with temporary facilities, usually using marquees no longer needed at the larger permanent camps. The Otago Chaplains' Committee continued to ensure that each territorial training camp had an institute and at least one chaplain posted to it for the duration of the camp.<sup>174</sup>

Dunedin Presbytery seems to have found it much easier than the Anglican Diocese to fund chaplain's activities and the construction of institutes. Indeed, Dunedin Presbytery remitted

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<sup>170</sup> There is evident pride in the announcement in *The Outlook* that the Presbyterian Institute's main hall was 110 x 50 feet, while the Anglican Institute was 100 x 50 feet. "Time and Tide. Trentham Presbyterian Institute," *The Outlook* (Dunedin) 3/10/1916, 6.

<sup>171</sup> Minutes 15/2/1915, 19/2/1915 and 2/3/1915, Chaplains' Committee Minute Book 1913-54, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 8/36), PCANZAO.

<sup>172</sup> "Tauherenikau M.C. Notes," *Outlook*, 18/1/1916, 8.

<sup>173</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 29/2/1916, 5; "Report of the Chaplains' Committee to 1916 General Assembly," PCNZ, *Proceedings 1916*, 147.

<sup>174</sup> During the period March-June 1915 there were nineteen camps within the Otago Chaplains' Committee's geographical area. Each had at least one chaplain and an institute. Minutes 11/2/1915, Chaplains' Committee Minute Book 1913-54, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 8/36), PCANZAO. In June 1918, Gray reported that 26 formal and 20 voluntary camps had been held in the previous twelve months, and each had had a Presbyterian Chaplain in attendance. "Territorial Camps," *Outlook*, 18/6/1918, 12.

more in the 1916 Trentham institute fund-raising drive than the entire Anglican Diocese managed over the course of the war, raising £1,074.<sup>175</sup> Funds established to provide chaplains with money were over-subscribed, and in at least one case closed off early.<sup>176</sup>

Money was raised for more than just the large permanent institutes. Chaplains, territorial institutes, stationery, and discretionary monies were all funded by donation. Congregational retiring collections proved to be a substantial source of funds. This is not to say that congregations did not quibble about being repeatedly directed to raise funds. South Dunedin Presbyterian Church's managers questioned why just Dunedin was being requested to fund a chaplain for all of Otago and Southland, and later appeals for funds for Trentham were received but no subsequent action taken.<sup>177</sup> The Deacons of St. Stephen's declined to take up collections for Featherston camp or the Theological College, citing too great a pressure on their church's and congregation's funds.<sup>178</sup> These were, however, exceptions and usually parishes responded generously to requests for funds.<sup>179</sup>

The comparative ease with which the Presbyterian Church and its congregations funded its institutes and chaplains was probably due to numbers. There were many Presbyterians within Dunedin and consequently a large funding base. The Presbyterian Church was trying to care for nominally a quarter of the Dominion's soldiers, a much smaller total than the Anglican Church's 40%. The Presbyterian Church was realistic enough not to try to establish permanent institutes in every camp, and was open to joint endeavours with the other non-Episcopal churches. All these factors helped to spread the fiscal load, and as a consequence Dunedin's Presbyterians were better able to support its contributions than Dunedin's Anglicans.

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<sup>175</sup> Amounts raised were: Knox £304; East Taieri £71/3/4; St. Andrew's £155/18/7; St. Stephen's £1/17/-; Green Island £5/13/-; Anderson's Bay £63/11/7; Maori Hill £16/14/-; Chalmers £2/5/-; Musselburgh £1/1/-; Seacliff £1; First Church £300/2/5; Ravensbourne £20/6/6; Mornington £9; Caversham £7/4/-; Roslyn £34/16/2; South Dunedin £5/18/-; Kaikorai £15/5/6; Mosgiel £13/7/6; Port Chalmers £23/7/6; "Per J.K." £20; Anonymous £1. An additional £36/9/- was raised from the Russell St. Junior C.E. Society. "Trentham and Featherston Presbyterian Military Institutes Fund," *Outlook*, 19/9/1916, 6.

<sup>176</sup> Minutes 4/4/1916, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>177</sup> Minutes 8/3/1917 & 14/2/1918, Managers' Minute Book 1906-19, St. James' Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin (BB 4/9), PCANZAO.

<sup>178</sup> Minutes April & May 1916, Deacons' Court Minutes 1901-17, St. Stephen's Presbyterian Church (BG 3/5), PCANZAO.

<sup>179</sup> For examples, see Minutes 14/12/1914, 14/6/1915, 13/3/1916, 12/2/1917, 18/6/1917, 11/2/1918, Deacons' Court minutes 1914-22, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (BB3/6 4PZ), PCANZAO; Minutes 13/4/1915, 11/5/1915, 11/7/1915, Managers' Minute Book 1908-20, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian Church (BA 1/4), PCANZAO; Minutes 5/3/1917, 4/2/1918 Deacons' Court minute book 1900-1923, First Church of Otago (AI 9/2 99/90/148), PCANZAO.



## Roman Catholic Institutes

The first Catholic institute at Trentham was a temporary structure, but by March 1915 the Province had agreed that a permanent building was necessary. Although the major motivation was a need to provide an adequate home for the institute, it is evident that competition among the various denominations played a part. Catholics did not want to be the only major denomination without a permanent building.<sup>180</sup> Plans were commissioned for a large building with a main hall seating 600 people, a bedroom for a chaplain, and a second small room for vestments and hearing confession, and the building was ready for occupation by May 1915.<sup>181</sup>

Like other denominations, as the number of camps increased, so did the number of Catholic institutes. Despite a determination to build permanent institutes at each of the permanent training camps, only two buildings were ever constructed, at Trentham and Featherston. The smaller permanent camps had to make do with marquees and when these became unserviceable, the chaplains were advised to see what existing facilities they could use.<sup>182</sup> Territorial camps also relied on marquees to act as temporary institutes during the camp.<sup>183</sup> Construction of the Featherston institute began in March 1916 and was dedicated in June that year. As at Trentham the inadequacy of the existing temporary structure was a major motivator for constructing a purpose-built building, but the Catholic Federation and Featherston's Catholic Chaplain were not above drawing unflattering comparisons between the Catholic institute and those housing the other denominations' institutes. Segrief wrote to the *Tablet* stating that the lack of a Catholic space was 'a very serious disadvantage' and described having to 'beg' accommodation from the Y.M.C.A. as 'humiliating.' A Catholic institute would enable Catholic soldiers to 'feel a just pride at being as good and as independent as any denomination in the camp.' As constructed, the institute had four rooms, with a hall able to seat 600, a chaplains' room, a separate library for N.C.O.s, and a chapel.<sup>184</sup>

The Catholic Federation played an important co-ordinating and fundraising role to pay for the institutes' construction. Each Diocese was assessed by the Federation's Dominion Executive, which passed the assessments down through Diocesan Executives to the parishes, with an

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<sup>180</sup> "Catholic Federation Bulletin," *Tablet*, 25/3/1915, 9.

<sup>181</sup> "Archdiocesan Notes," *Tablet*, 6/5/1915, 26.

<sup>182</sup> *Tablet*, 28/10/1915, 51; "Palmerston North Notes," 10/9/1914, 31; "Catholic Federation Bulletin," 25/3/1915, 9; "Archdiocesan Notes," 12/8/1915, 26.

<sup>183</sup> "Catholic Federation Bulletin," *Tablet*, 25/3/1915, 9; "Diocese of Dunedin," 13/5/1915, 35.

<sup>184</sup> "Catholic Institute, Featherston Camp," *Tablet*, 22/6/1916, 27; "Featherston Camp Catholic Institute," *Tablet*, 21/6/1917, 45.

expectation that each would pay what it could.<sup>185</sup> Funding the Trentham institute demonstrates the importance of the Federation. In April 1915 the Wellington Diocesan Executive complained that ‘Catholics ... have made a very poor response to the appeal for funds’ for the Trentham institute.<sup>186</sup> Catholics continued to be reticent to give to the ‘Trentham institute’s debt extinction fund. Much of the work seems to have fallen on the shoulders of the Wellington Archdiocesan Executive, who protested to the Dominion Executive that administering the institute and raising funds should be a national, not regional, liability.<sup>187</sup> The matter was passed to the Federation for resolution and a nationwide appeal was organised in early 1916. By March the institute was debt free.<sup>188</sup> The speed at which this debt was discharged indicates the nationwide reach of the Federation, as well as the commitment of its members to supporting Catholic chaplains and institutes in their work with Catholic soldiers.

The lack of parish records makes it difficult to gauge the extent of Dunedin’s Catholic parishes’ involvement in raising funds for the institutes. Sporadic announcements in the *Tablet* provide some evidence of how much the Dunedin Diocese as a whole was able to fund - £137 of the Featherston institute’s total cost of £1,509 was provided by the Diocese.<sup>189</sup> This compares very well with the Diocese’s quota, which was set at £100. It was a similar story with quotas levied on the diocesan branch of the Catholic Federation, where a £40 quota was exceeded by £7.<sup>190</sup> Similar announcements in the *Tablet* indicate that the Dunedin Diocese was able to meet its assessments as well as make additional spontaneous gifts.<sup>191</sup>

The Catholic Federation was also committed to supporting the work of Catholic chaplains to the forces. To begin with, goods and donations were obtained on an *ad hoc* basis. Appeals would be launched when a specific need was identified, such as portable altars, prayer books and rosaries, and Catholic and secular literature.<sup>192</sup> However, in May 1916, the organisation began fundraising for the Catholic Field Service Fund. This was administered by the

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<sup>185</sup> “Wellington Archdiocesan Notes,” *Tablet*, 18/3/1915, 25.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 15/4/1915, 24; “Catholic Federation – Dominion Executive,” *Tablet*, 17/6/1915, 29.

<sup>187</sup> “Catholic Federation. Wellington Diocesan Council,” *Tablet*, 27/1/1916, 41.

<sup>188</sup> “Diocesan News. Archdiocese of Wellington,” *Tablet*, 2/3/1916, 23.

<sup>189</sup> “Catholic Institute, Featherston Camp,” *Tablet*, 17/8/1916, 32.

<sup>190</sup> “Catholic Federation. Annual Meeting of the Dominion Council,” *Tablet*, 21/9/1916, 11.

<sup>191</sup> For instance, the Diocesan Council of the Catholic Federation held a diocesan-wide collection in December 1915 (“Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 16/12/1915, 35), and paid its assessment of £100 to the Catholic Federation on time and seemingly without difficulty, “Catholic Federation, Dunedin Diocesan Council,” *Tablet*, 3/2/1916, 41).

<sup>192</sup> “Catholic Federation. Report of the Dominion Executive,” *Tablet*, 4/3/1915, 29 and “Catholic Federation. Auckland Diocesan Council,” 12/8/1915, 23.

Federation's Dominion Executive, who would provide funds for chaplains overseas to allow them to purchase items for Catholics under their pastoral care. It allowed the denomination to be proactive, rather than reactive, as the funds would already be on hand when a need was identified. All parishes, diocesan councils, patriotic committees and trustees of patriotic funds were sent information about the fund and over £6,000 was raised. Parishes supported the Federation but were also able to send their own contributions directly to chaplains, such as in late 1916 when the Dunedin Diocese sent a package of 1,280 items to O'Neill for distribution as Christmas gifts.<sup>193</sup>

### **Military Chaplains**

Providing chaplains to the forces was another way in which churches demonstrated their commitment to the Dominion's war effort. All denominations supported the work of military chaplains. This was a significant cost and each denomination developed methods to meet the cost. Chaplaincy work was popular among clergy, with some denominations resorting to a waiting list. Providing and supporting military chaplains was accepted by church members without dissent, along with a commitment that this work would continue for the duration of the war. The need for chaplains was accepted without question by the military authorities, by the Government, and by the people of New Zealand.

Military chaplains were officially appointed by the Ministry of Defence and accorded the rank and privileges of an officer, with the majority of their salaries paid for by the Government. They were integral to the N.Z.E.F. It was usual for the local parish minister to act as the chaplain within the regional training camp system. However, once permanent centralised camps were established, steps were taken to attach specific clergy to each denomination's institute.

### **Anglican Chaplains**

The Anglican Church approached its chaplaincy duties from an unashamedly denominational position. It envisaged a steady stream of Anglican chaplains accompanying each contingent ministering to Anglican soldiers' spiritual needs in the firing line in accordance with its rules and guidelines. Denominationalism was important. Guy wrote that the Anglican Church 'did not necessarily see itself as Protestant, many of its people viewing the church as a third way (*via*

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<sup>193</sup> "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 24/8/1916, 31; 12/10/1916, 35.

*media*) between Protestant and Catholic.<sup>194</sup> Guy's view is supported by the parochialism the church applied to its chaplaincy duties. The church believed that it held a special position in New Zealand's society, partly because it was the largest Christian denomination and partly because of its theological position between Catholicism and Evangelical Protestantism. Diocesan Standing Committees passed resolutions that reiterated its belief that only priests who had been properly ordained and licensed by a bishop in the Province of New Zealand could serve as an Anglican chaplain.<sup>195</sup> In November 1915, Anglican chaplains refused to participate in a united service, arguing that they could not participate in any meaningful way in these forms of services. This was not an isolated case and chaplains on active service did shun united services.<sup>196</sup> The church was quite clear that its primary duty was towards Anglicans. In part, this also stemmed from the steady supply to New Zealand of British-born and British-trained clergy coming from a tradition of an established church to a country where they were the majority church. Old habits and convictions persisted. Regular declarations were made calling for more chaplains to be sent with the forces based on the number of Anglicans in a particular reinforcement, a camp, or the army as a whole.<sup>197</sup> Complaints were lodged with the defence authorities concerning the lack of an Anglican chaplain accompany the 12<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> Reinforcements.<sup>198</sup> In early 1917 Nevill, as Primate, wrote to the Minister of Defence

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<sup>194</sup> Guy, 9.

<sup>195</sup> Letter, Secretary of Auckland Standing Committee to Secretary Dunedin Standing Committee, 11/8/1915. 'That the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Auckland desires to express the grave dissatisfaction of members of the Church of England with the method of appointing Anglican Chaplains to the Expeditionary Forces of the Dominion; and is of the opinion that no clergyman should be appointed to such a position, unless he holds the licence of a bishop of the Province, and receives the written approval of a committee of Bishops of the Province, appointed by the Bishops themselves for this duty.' Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/017), Hocken.

<sup>196</sup> Letter from Chaplain Captain Bush-King to Editor, 3/11/1915, *Envoy*, November 1915, 349.

<sup>197</sup> In September 1915 the Standing Committee of the Waiapu Diocese wrote, "The number of Anglican Chaplains to the forces as mandated by the Minister of Defence, is totally inadequate." Minutes 12/10/1915. Letter to Dunedin Diocese Standing Committee from Diocese of Waiapu 27/9/1915, Minute Book, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken. At the 1916 Dunedin diocesan synod, the Bishop of Dunedin wrote, 'I have striven to secure that we should be allowed to have the proportion of Chaplains to which we are entitled.' Also Bishop's Address, *Proceedings Second Session 17th Synod*, 18.

<sup>198</sup> Letter, Capt S.W. Shelley for Lt Colonel Adjutant General to Primate 7/3/1916, Letter Book, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-008/014), Hocken; Letter, Standing Committee of Diocese of Waiapu to All NZ Diocese, 18/12/1916. 'That the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Waiapu having heard that no Anglican Chaplain is being sent with the 20<sup>th</sup> Reinforcements, desires respectfully to call the attention of the Hon. Acting Premier to a state of affairs which inflicts grave injustice upon fifty per cent of the troops proceeding to the Front, who are thus deprived of the religious ministrations to which they are entitled. The Committee trusts that this state of affairs may be remedied without delay.' Folder 2, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

requesting that an Anglican Chaplain be appointed to every reinforcement leaving New Zealand.<sup>199</sup>

This is not to denigrate the very real effort that the Anglican Church made to provide chaplains. Its insistence on chaplains accompanying each reinforcement draft, each hospital ship voyage, each training camp, and each combatant unit indicates the importance with which it viewed this ministry. Nine priests had volunteered their services as chaplains within a week of war being declared, twice the number required. Two more Anglican chaplains sailed with the Samoan invasion force.<sup>200</sup> Nevill's President's address to the 1916 Diocesan Synod spoke of the large amount of time he spent selecting chaplains and making arrangements for the parishes left vacant. He felt he could not complain of the labour 'since the selection of Chaplains to minister to sick and wounded and dying soldiers is a matter of supreme importance.'<sup>201</sup> Parishes, too, invariably supported their priest's decision to serve as a chaplain, despite the pressure this put on the congregation. Five Dunedin city parishes experienced vacancies due to their clergy serving as chaplains for extended periods of time.<sup>202</sup> The closure of Selwyn College resulted in added strain as theological students were no longer available to cover absent clergy. Bush-King made an almost triumphal progress through the parishes of Dunedin prior to his departure as a chaplain, culminating in 'a solemn benediction and dismissal service' at St. Matthew's.<sup>203</sup> Roberts, Vicar of St. Martin's N.E.V., was farewelled at a special gathering and presented with a silver communion set, a watch, and a large cheque to help him in his work.<sup>204</sup> Members of the congregation had actively lobbied Nevill on Roberts' behalf to grant him leave for service as a chaplain. This was typical of the high level of parish support and disregard for the disruption to parish life. Parishes directly associated with

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<sup>199</sup> Minutes 9/1/1917, Standing Committee, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-004/003), Hocken.

<sup>200</sup> Nine Anglican Chaplains had volunteered to serve – 4 from Auckland Diocese, 1 from Wellington, 1 from Christchurch Diocese, 1 from Nelson, and 2 from Dunedin Diocese. The Archbishop decided to send Bush-King, Taylor, Tobin and Dobson. Two other Anglican chaplains had sailed with the advance guard of the Expeditionary Force. *Times*, 19/8/1914, 2

<sup>201</sup> President's Address to Synod in Diocese of Dunedin, *Proceedings of the Second Session of the Seventeenth Synod*, 18.

<sup>202</sup> The five parishes were St. Matthew's, St. Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay, St. Martin's North East Valley, Holy Trinity Port Chalmers and Holy Innocents Woodhaugh.

<sup>203</sup> "S. Matthew's, Dunedin," *Envoy*, September 1914, 225.

<sup>204</sup> Roberts was appointed Chaplain to the 8<sup>th</sup> Reinforcements. St. Martin's Vestry held a special meeting on 27/10/1915 following their Vicar's appointment to this position. Mr A. E. Tyrrell moved the following resolution: 'That the Vestry place on record their hearty appreciation of the action of the Vicar in accepting the important appointment of Chaplain to the Eighth Reinforcements about to proceed to the front. The members pledge themselves to loyally co-operate in promoting the best interests of the parish during his absence, and hope that the exigencies of the war may permit his speedy and safe return.' Seconded by Mr Gillies. Vestry Minute Book, St. Martin's North East Valley (MS-2210/014), Hocken.

chaplains supported the chaplains' work to a greater extent than they provided assistance to the institutes.

Unlike the *Outlook* or *Tablet*, the *Envoy* was not prolific on the subject of its chaplains' activities abroad. It is remarkable how little information was circulated to Anglican parishioners, especially given the importance with which this ministry was viewed. Information about the institutes, and how these benefited the soldiers in training, was much more frequent than letters or reports from chaplains overseas. Such correspondence was common in other denominational newspapers. This shortcoming on the part of the *Envoy* may, in part, be connected to efforts to fundraise for institutes, but it probably also explains the generalised lack of giving to chaplains by parishes. A lack of exposure seems to have led directly to a lack of financial support, at least amongst Dunedin parishes.

### **Presbyterian Chaplains**

Presbyterianism similarly viewed chaplains and their duties as very important. Advertisements asking for clergy to volunteer as chaplains were published in the first wartime issue of the *Outlook*.<sup>205</sup> The outbreak of war was accompanied by an appeal from the Defence Authorities for chaplains to accompany the N.Z.E.F. overseas, and there was competition for one of the three places that accompanied the Main Body.<sup>206</sup> By June 1916 sixteen men had volunteered for chaplaincy duties. The church was proud of its efforts, the *Outlook's* editor writing: '... without any derogation to the chaplains of other churches, it is safe to say that our Presbyterian chaplains have put up a good record; they have made a tremendous mark upon the military life of the Empire.'<sup>207</sup> By the end of the war thirty-four Presbyterian ministers had served as chaplains in the European, Pacific, Near East and Middle East theatres and on the high seas.

The Presbyterian Church jealously guarded its right to have Presbyterian chaplains appointed to the armed services. It maintained that Presbyterians should be ministered to by Presbyterian clergy, and the General Assembly passed several motions protesting against reinforcement drafts being sent from New Zealand unaccompanied by a Presbyterian chaplain.<sup>208</sup> Complaints

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<sup>205</sup> "Time and Tide," *Outlook*, 11/8/1914, 5.

<sup>206</sup> The first three chaplains accepted were King (Pleasant Point), Ross (Dunedin) and Grant (Gisborne). "Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. General Assembly. Seventh Day. Chaplains," *Outlook*, 8/12/1914, 22.

<sup>207</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 21/3/1916, 4.

<sup>208</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1915*, 49-50; PCNZ, *Proceedings 1917*, 48.

were also registered when it was announced that the two hospital ships would sail with only Anglican and Catholic chaplains aboard. The General Assembly opposed a plan to promote Anglican bishops as senior chaplain without a similar promotion being given to Presbyterian chaplains.<sup>209</sup> Equality of treatment and mutual recognition of each denomination's special characteristics was very important to Presbyterians.

Providing ministers for chaplaincy duties inevitably caused strain on their congregations, which suffered a procession of interim and temporary ministers, a lack of leadership in the congregation, financial pressure from the need to support multiple ministers, and a lack of direction. Caversham church in particular suffered for almost the entire war. Its minister volunteered as a chaplain as soon as war broke out and was absent for the entire war. Ill-health barred him from active service at the front, but did not stop him serving as a chaplain at Tahuna Park, Trentham camp, and finally on board the hospital ships. Nevertheless the parish repeatedly refused to accept his resignation, appointing junior ministers or theological students as *locum tenentes* and retaining Dutton as their principal minister.<sup>210</sup> Several special congregational meetings were held in response to Dutton's absence, that of March 1917 unanimously passing resolutions giving Dutton leave of absence until the end of the war and reaffirming the parish's commitment to his ministry.<sup>211</sup> The congregation's wishes received the staunch support of the Session.<sup>212</sup> Ravensbourne church was firm in its support of its minister, who also wished to volunteer for chaplaincy duties, despite the strain this would cause.<sup>213</sup> Gray, their minister, also received the support of both the Otago Chaplains' Committee and the General Assembly Chaplains' Committee.

Congregational support for chaplains was not restricted to mere resolutions. Regular collections were held throughout the war for funds towards chaplains' work, as well as donations of goods and materials being received for the various institutes. The sums collected

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<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, 1914, 45.

<sup>210</sup> Dutton moved to Wellington for three months as Chaplain at Trentham Camp in February 1915. In June he informed the Caversham Session that his name had been put forward as chaplain to the hospital ship then being commissioned by the government. In March 1917 he was granted extended leave of absence from the parish for the whole of the war.

<sup>211</sup> The motion read: 'That this meeting declares its continued love and loyalty to Mr Dutton and expresses its best wishes for him in his work and for his safe return.' Congregational meeting 17/2/1915, Session Minutes 1888-1919, Caversham Presbyterian Church (BA 2/5), PCANZAO; Special Congregational Meeting 28/3/1917, Session Minutes 1888-1919, Caversham Presbyterian Church (BA 2/5), PCANZAO.

<sup>212</sup> Minutes 31/6/1915, Session Minutes 1888-1919, Caversham Presbyterian Church (BA 2/5), PCANZAO.

<sup>213</sup> Minutes 7/12/1915, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

at special and retiring collections, while often not large, must be placed in the context of extra giving during a period of fiscal constraint. Regular giving to the church continued and collections for patriotic work, chaplains and institutes were all in addition to parishioners' usual donations. They should therefore be seen as commitment by the parishioners to chaplains and their spiritual care of the soldiers.

The desire for ministers to volunteer for chaplaincy duties, along with prolonged absences such as Dutton's, spurred Dunedin Presbytery to formalise the process for continuing ministerial oversight in a parish when their minister was absent as a chaplain. From June 1915 there was a special committee charged with arranging for *locum tenentes* to conduct services and appoint interim moderators to attend to the administrative duties.<sup>214</sup> Financial stress among congregations, the Presbytery and the church motivated the Presbytery to pass a motion stating that it could not afford to send any additional chaplains to the front in December 1915.<sup>215</sup> Despite this, ministers from Dunedin continued to apply, and be accepted, as chaplains, and did leave their parishes. Additionally, many more ministers were temporarily absent as they attended territorial camps as chaplains. Spiritual obligations, pastoral care and patriotism won out over monetary considerations.

### **Roman Catholic Chaplains**

There does not seem to have been the same level of impetus and enthusiasm from within Catholicism for clergy to volunteer for service as a chaplain, and there was never the same competition within the clergy to enlist. This may have been due to the paucity of priests within New Zealand and reluctance by the hierarchy to see parishes without a spiritual leader.<sup>216</sup> It could also have been due to New Zealand's Catholic priests being predominantly of Irish extraction and thus unlikely to have the same level of enthusiasm as Protestant clergy. Nor did the Catholic hierarchy have the same level of ideological commitment towards military chaplaincy as was maintained by Protestant leaders such as Nevill, Gibb, Dickie and Dixon.

This is not to maintain that Catholic clergy and its hierarchy were actively antagonistic towards serving as chaplains, nor were they dismissive of clergy who did want to serve. Sweetman has argued that the church saw the war as 'a chance to expand its pastorate' and it certainly

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<sup>214</sup> Minutes 1/6/1915, *ibid.*

<sup>215</sup> Minutes 7/12/1915, *ibid.*

<sup>216</sup> In October 1914, it was reported that only the Wellington Diocese could spare priests. "Archdiocese of Wellington Notes," *Tablet*, 27/8/1914, 22.



embraced the opportunity, albeit in a more subdued manner than the Protestant churches.<sup>217</sup> The hierarchy appointed chaplains to the permanent and *ad hoc* training camps, the hospital ships and troop transports, and a steady supply of clergy accompanied the men of the N.Z.E.F. into the front lines. The church protected and asserted its right to have Catholic soldiers accompanied by Catholic chaplains, and it actively opposed attempts by other denominations, the Ministry of Defence, or wider New Zealand society to place Catholic chaplains in subordinate positions.<sup>218</sup> Two Catholic chaplains, McMenamin and Dore, died as a result of their war service.<sup>219</sup> Service as a chaplain was not confined to clergy either newly ordained or newly arrived in New Zealand. Cleary, the Bishop of Auckland, served as a chaplain in Britain and France during 1917.

No Dunedin-based Catholic priests served as chaplains, but an examination of the circumstances of other Catholic chaplains indicates that these men largely enjoyed the support of their parishioners. McMenamin was farewelled by his parish at a large gathering and presented with money and gifts.<sup>220</sup> Father Daly's parishioners gave him an illuminated address in which their regret at his leaving the parish was mixed with their pride at him going to minister to New Zealand's soldiers.<sup>221</sup> Father Lacroix was farewelled from the Greymouth town hall at a function attended by the Mayor and the acting Prime Minister. The function was described in the *Tablet* as 'lavish' and the town hall 'crowded,' indicating that many from the community supported his decision. This farewell was followed by another smaller function held at the Officers' Club.<sup>222</sup> The *Tablet* was an effective means of publicising the activities of chaplains, printing letters from soldiers and from chaplains recording how the latter ministered to the troops, both in New Zealand and abroad.<sup>223</sup> Additionally, at no point, even during the

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<sup>217</sup> Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism," 110.

<sup>218</sup> In 1915 the Presbyterian chaplain Dutton was given £200 from the Wellington Patriotic Fund for use by the chaplains on the ship. The Catholic Federation objected to this as would mean that Segreif, the Catholic chaplain, would have to ask a Presbyterian chaplain for money. The matter was quickly resolved by Dutton putting aside a portion of the £200 for the Roman Catholic and Anglican chaplains to use at their own discretion. Segreif's views were not revealed, but the incident indicates how jealously the Catholics in New Zealand guarded their status as equals of other denominations. "Notes. A Reasonable Protest," *Tablet*, 29/7/1915, 35.

<sup>219</sup> McMenamin was killed in France, while Dore died subsequent to repatriation after being severely wounded at Gallipoli.

<sup>220</sup> "Diocesan News. The Archdiocese of Wellington," *Tablet*, 3/9/1914, 24.

<sup>221</sup> "Farewell to Rev. Father Daly," *Tablet*, 30/11/1916, 50.

<sup>222</sup> "Westland Army Chaplain," *Tablet*, 3/5/1917, 15.

<sup>223</sup> For examples see "Diocesan News. Archdiocese of Wellington," *Tablet*, 20/8/1914, 25-26; "The New Zealand Troops in Egypt," *Tablet*, 4/3/1915, 13, 15; "Farewell to Rev. Father Daly," *Tablet*, 30/11/1916, 50; "His Lordship Bishop Cleary," *Tablet*, 8/2/1917, 23-25; "Our Catholic Chaplain in Egypt," *Tablet*, 29/3/1917,

tenure of Kelly as editor, did the *Tablet* question or criticise the work of Catholic chaplains serving with the armed forces, nor did it question their need.

### **Military Chaplains in General**

The effort made to support chaplains and denominational institutes was never seriously questioned. No denomination was willing to forgo establishing institutes in the training camps and despatching chaplains with the reinforcement drafts from New Zealand. This was despite clear financial pressures on the denominations. There is no evidence that any denomination seriously questioned its part in providing and funding chaplains and institutes. Governing bodies, parishes and congregations all agreed that it was part of the denomination's responsibility to provide chaplains, as well as a necessary and vital part of the denomination's and the nation's war effort and ministry. There was similar agreement within governmental and military circles. They did not question the worth of chaplains and institutes, and the default position was that chaplains would continue to be commissioned and accompany soldiers and sailors on active service. This may be partly because the chaplains' activities in running social and recreational programmes, acting as censors and helping the wounded fulfilled a need, but at no point were their explicitly religious duties questioned. Indeed, through such activities as church parades their religious role was fully integrated into the armed forces and sanctioned by the state.

Letters and articles published by non-denominational sources during the war indicate a consensus that chaplains and institutes fulfilled a generally useful role. L. S. Fanning, a recruit at a training camp, wrote that the clergy were changed by life in camp and that straight plain speech of the 'man to man kind' by chaplains 'never failed to hold his hearer's interest.'<sup>224</sup> Nurse Nutsey at the New Zealand hospital in Egypt wrote that Chaplain-Captain MacDonald was 'father to us all ... truly the right man in the right place.'<sup>225</sup> "Anzac No. 2" praised Catholic chaplains, describing them as 'good men' and 'gentlemen of a very high order.'<sup>226</sup> "Dinkim" praised the Protestant chaplains for their lack of denominationalism.<sup>227</sup> J. McRae Nichol, who

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17, 19; "Catholic Field Service Fun," *Tablet*, 29/3/1917, 24; "Our Boys at the Front. Appreciation of Gifts," *Tablet*, 31/5/1917, 34; "Sidelights on the War. A Soldier's Letter from Palestine," *Tablet*, 14/6/1917, 42.

<sup>224</sup> "Life at Camp," *Witness*, 17/11/1915, 50.

<sup>225</sup> "Among the Wounded. New Zealand Hospital. Chaplain's Great Work," *Witness*, 6/10/1915, 54.

<sup>226</sup> "Anzac No. 2," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5.

<sup>227</sup> "Dinkim," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 5.

died during repatriation, encouraged people in New Zealand to ‘pray without ceasing; pray indefinitely; [and] pray earnestly.’<sup>228</sup>

Arthur Bauchop, Charles Begg, Jack [first name unknown], Eric Miller, Thomas Christian and Herbert Hart all left war-time diaries documenting aspects of their life on active service. Contained in these diaries are their comments on religious services and chaplains. They referred to chaplains, church institutes and church parades, and although individual chaplains were sometimes singled out for criticism, there was no general denunciation of chaplains or facilities.<sup>229</sup> Complaints, such as Bauchop’s about Bush-King, were specific in time, place and person, not all-encompassing rejections.<sup>230</sup>

Works published in the post-war period saw some challenge to the view outlined above. Ormond Burton attacked the institution of military chaplains, questioning the chaplains’ commitment to Christian values, and condemning them as ‘pathetic figures.’ He claimed that soldiers were ‘utterly disgusted’ at being forced to attend church parades. Burton believed that individually padres were ‘good men’ but that they had been put in an ‘impossible situation,’ supporting a war when Burton believed the Church should be ‘leading us out of the mess.’<sup>231</sup> Archibald Baxter shared Burton’s view that churches had been co-opted by the state, forced to support an event that was at odds with its teaching. Baxter describes a church parade where the men ‘sigh and murmur’ at a sermon and the Padre ‘seemed to be out of touch with his audience.’<sup>232</sup> However, their views of chaplains should not be accepted uncritically. Baxter was a committed pacifist during the war, while Burton became a pacifist during the post-war period. Their beliefs would surely have coloured their perception of chaplains and the established church, and go some way to explaining Burton’s approval of the Y.M.C.A. and criticism of the army’s Chaplains’ Department. What is important to note is that the institution of military chaplains and chaplaincy was largely accepted during the war by both those who funded their activities and the soldiers themselves. There were no calls for its abolition or serious questioning of their tasks. Churches accepted the burden of funding chaplains’ work

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<sup>228</sup> “A Soldier’s Appeal” by J. McRae Nichol, *Witness*, 17/10/1917, 57.

<sup>229</sup> For examples see 26/11/1917, 16/12/1917 and 16/3/1918, Diary, Oct. 13 1917 – Jan. 13 1919, Jack (PC-0299), Hocken; 1/11/1914 and 31/1/1915, C. M. Begg, Transcript of diary 1914-1915, (AG-497-10), Hocken; 11/3/1917, 12/4/1917, and 22/4/1917, Diary while on active service, 1917, Miller, E., (MS-2493/001), Hocken.

<sup>230</sup> 11/7/1915 and 16/7/1915, Personal diary 1915, Colonel A. Bauchop, (Misc-MS-1152/003), Hocken.

<sup>231</sup> Ormond Burton, *The Silent Division. New Zealanders at the Front 1914-1919*, (Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1935), 283-286.

<sup>232</sup> Baxter, 136-137.

and quarters, as well as the disruption to parish life that clergy leaving or service as chaplains entailed. These were seen as an integral part of their pastoral responsibilities, as well as intrinsic to their patriotic commitment to the war effort.

Modern authors go further than either Burton or Baxter. Eldred-Grigg wrote that soldiers had ‘anger and contempt for clergy.’<sup>233</sup> He used Burton as a source for this statement but seemingly ignored Burton’s remarks that ‘religion did not entirely disappear’ from the armed forces and Burton’s praise for groups such as ‘Brotherhood of Men of Goodwill’ and the Y.M.C.A, non-denominational and anti-clerical organisations with which he surely sympathised.<sup>234</sup> Guy wrote disparagingly about ‘sectarian chaplaincy’ which, he believed, was elevated above ‘worship and ministry,’ aspects of chaplaincy that he felt to be all-important.<sup>235</sup> Davidson took a more nuanced view than Eldred-Grigg, writing that it was institutional Christianity, rather than Christianity *per se*, which angered soldiers, but he also seems to have relied heavily on Burton’s reflections.<sup>236</sup> The comments of individual soldiers in favour of chaplains seem to be overlooked or not given the same weight as those by Burton.

Other historians, both military and social, fail to refer to the work of chaplains, or to the widespread approval, both within the armed forces and back in New Zealand, of their work. Nor is the substantial financial effort made by the churches and people of New Zealand in supporting the work of chaplains and the institutes they ran mentioned in the general histories of this period. Patriotic work may be mentioned, albeit briefly, but the spiritual and patriotic commitment has been removed from the historical record.

Historian Michael Snape has charted a similar chronology within British historiography concerning chaplains.<sup>237</sup> Snape attacks the predominant view of chaplains being ineffectual, largely unloved by the soldiers and irrelevant. Snape argues that this view developed in the 1930s. During this decade, a particular style of Great War fiction and non-fiction evolved which was highly pejorative to chaplains and the organised church. Protestant chaplains tended to be portrayed negatively as ‘washouts’ or ‘skulking padres.’<sup>238</sup> Such descriptions were largely

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<sup>233</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 337-38.

<sup>234</sup> Burton, 286-287.

<sup>235</sup> Guy, 253.

<sup>236</sup> Davidson, *Christianity*, 97.

<sup>237</sup> Michael Snape, “Church of England Army Chaplains in the First World War: Goodbye to ‘Goodbye to All That.’” *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 62, no. 2 (April 2011), 318-319.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 322.

absent in 1920s literature, and, Snape argues, owe much to the anti-clerical views of the authors themselves rather than the predominant view of chaplains during the war.

Immediate commonalities are noticeable between Snape's analysis and the New Zealand context. Authors such as Burton and Baxter were largely disenchanted with organised religion and this is immediately apparent in their writings. Their views and opinions have been adopted seemingly unchallenged by many modern authors, which has coloured modern views concerning chaplains and religion among the soldiers. Most importantly, the opposition to chaplains and organised religion expressed by the pacifist writers is seldom found among the documents written by the soldiers themselves.

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### **Disloyalty, Defeatism and Confidence in Victory**

Patriotism was clearly popular in New Zealand, both among the general population and in the churches, but this is not to deny that there were instances that were construed as disloyalty. Already referred to above is a St. Clair Presbyterian Church parishioner who objected to a patriotic service. However this and similar events within the Protestant churches tended to be isolated. It was quite different within the Catholic Church, where, from February 1917 onwards, Kelly began what many at the time considered a campaign designed to sabotage the war effort, using the *Tablet* as his medium.

Kelly was a firm supporter of Irish independence. He held a highly coloured view of Irish history, interpreting everything that was bad in Ireland as a result of British and Protestant interference. He rejected Home Rule and its supporters as advocating a middle path that left Ireland with the worst of both worlds – no true independence, no Irish sovereignty, but still bound to the Empire and Westminster.<sup>239</sup> Ireland and Irish issues received an enhanced prominence in the *Tablet* once Kelly was appointed editor. It had been common for the *Tablet* to publish updates on Ireland but these became more critical of British policy. The source of these updates also changed, with Irish-based material receiving greater prominence than before.<sup>240</sup> Kelly's views on the war were also at odds with the rest of the Catholic hierarchy.<sup>241</sup> While bishops such as Cleary firmly supported the war effort and New Zealand's war aims,

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<sup>239</sup> Sweetman, "Catholicism," 145-146.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 147.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 142.

Kelly became more critical. Sweetman asserts that the suppression of the *Green Ray*, a Dunedin-based pro-Irish nationalism newspaper, forced Kelly to temper his tone somewhat as he, and others, feared that the *Tablet* would meet a similar fate.<sup>242</sup> This may be true with respect to articles concerning Ireland and Irish issues, but Kelly did not halt his attacks on the war, nor did he alter his overall tone of criticism.

During 1917 the *Tablet* published increasingly defeatist articles and editorials. Kelly refused to accept that the German retreat to the Hindenburg Line represented a British victory, discounting the 14,000 German prisoners taken as ‘no evidence [that] the Allies are doing anything wonderful.’<sup>243</sup> Kelly described the war news as producing ‘nothing but a mood of pessimism and hopelessness among our Catholic families which have given their best and bravest to the cause’ when he debated the German retreat with the Rector of Wellington’s St. Patrick’s College.<sup>244</sup> Kelly reprinted a pastoral letter from the Bishop of Limerick asserting that Britain was reaching the end of its ability to resist Germany and calling for a negotiated settlement.<sup>245</sup> Kelly advocated that there ‘may be some truth in their [Germany’s] claim that they are fighting a war of self-defence.’<sup>246</sup> An editorial published during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battle of Ypres, while expressing belief that the Allies would eventually win, called for a negotiated settlement and praised Bolshevik Russia for insisting on the end of the war with ‘no indemnities, no annexations, no crushing of a people, no blotting off the map of Europe.’<sup>247</sup> The Battles of Gaza and Jutland were described as ‘victories which were never won.’<sup>248</sup> In August 1918, at a time when the German army was in continuous and sustained retreat throughout Belgium and Northern France, leading ultimately to its defeat, Kelly rejected the ‘triumphant’ news coming from the front and argued that Germany was conducting a skilful retreat and successfully delaying the Allied advance. He wrote that Germany was likely to make another advance

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<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 206.

<sup>243</sup> “Current Notes,” *Tablet*, 19/4/1917, 21. This retreat occurred in 1917 and was necessary due to the losses experienced by Germany in the attrition battles of the Somme and Verdun. Many military historians argue that this retreat was evidence of Germany’s military weakness and as much a military defeat of Germany as those suffered in the Battle of the Marne in 1914 and the Hundred Days offensive in 1918. The retreat was accompanied by wholesale devastation as the German armies destroyed buildings, poisoned and blocked wells, ripped up railway lines, blew up bridges, destroyed crops and chopped down trees, creating a wasteland. Civilians living in the evacuated areas were forcibly transported eastwards to ensure they did not remain to be liberated. At the end of the retreat the front line had been reduced by ca. 40 km, requiring 14 fewer German divisions to hold.

<sup>244</sup> Fr J. J. Cullen, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 26/4/1917, 31.

<sup>245</sup> “A Bishop’s Pastoral. An Important Pronouncement,” *Tablet*, 5/7/1917, 7, 9, 11, 13.

<sup>246</sup> Quote from the *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin) in “The New Zealand Tablet,” *Witness*, 25/7/1917, 39.

<sup>247</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 18/10/1917, 25-26.

<sup>248</sup> “The Otago Daily Times and the New Zealand Tablet,” *Tablet*, 21/2/1918, 38.

greater than that made in March and April 1918, and that the war would not end soon.<sup>249</sup> When Germany did sue for peace, Kelly refused to accept that the German army had been defeated. For him, it was the German people who had sued for peace, not the army. There was ‘no reason why Germany ... should not keep the Allies at bay for many years.’<sup>250</sup> Kelly also attacked the Royal Family and other imperial leaders. He condemned British Prime Minister David Lloyd George as a traitor. Sir Edward Carson, leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, was labelled both a traitor and a ‘Prussian.’<sup>251</sup> Queen Victoria was a ‘fat old German woman’ and pro-German.<sup>252</sup> Unsurprisingly, such a long and sustained list of disloyal and defeatist statements did little to endear him to his opponents.

Kelly’s stance had its supporters and its opponents, both within and outside the Catholic church. Sweetman has argued that Coffey had been under some pressure to make the *Tablet* more aggressive on issues of interest to New Zealand Catholics and Ireland in general. There had been a vocal Catholic constituency that argued that the *Tablet* had become too jingoistic, too supportive of the empire and uncritical in its acceptance of Government policies.<sup>253</sup> These people, both clergy and laity, welcomed Kelly’s appointment and the *Tablet*’s change of tone, letters being published supporting the new editorial policy.<sup>254</sup> Coffey supported Kelly’s stance, defending him and the *Tablet* in the *Times*.<sup>255</sup> In January 1918 the diocesan Synod passed a motion recording ‘our appreciation of the ability and spirit with which the New Zealand *Tablet* is at present conducted’ and approving ‘the strong, self-reliant, and self-determined attitude taken up by the present editor of the New Zealand *Tablet*.’ The Synod explained that the ‘daily unfriendliness’ experienced by Catholics was proof that Kelly’s stance was both successful and necessary.<sup>256</sup> In February 1918 the Catholic Federation’s Christchurch Diocesan Council passed a resolution ‘heartily approv[ing] of the policy of the *Tablet*’ and congratulating the ‘Catholics of New Zealand on the brilliancy and ability of its able editor.’<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> *Tablet*, “Current Topics,” 29/8/1918, 15.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, 14/11/1918, 14. Rather surprisingly, Kelly is here echoing the “stab in the back” argument used by German right wing parties, including the Nazi Party.

<sup>251</sup> “Canada on the Treachery of Lloyd George,” *Tablet*, 10/5/1917, 21; 17/5/1917, 30.

<sup>252</sup> “Answers to Correspondents,” *Tablet*, 1/11/1917, 13.

<sup>253</sup> Sweetman, “Catholicism,” 143.

<sup>254</sup> For examples see M. R. Sheahan, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 19/4/1917, 39; Jno Fitzgerald, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 3/5/1917, 51; “To Our Correspondents,” *Tablet*, 10/5/1917, 29; R. S. Ilott, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 14/3/1918, 13.

<sup>255</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 17/11/1917, 6.

<sup>256</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 24/1/1918, 25-26.

<sup>257</sup> “Catholic Federation: Christchurch Diocesan Council,” *Tablet*, 14/2/1918, 10-11.

Despite such ringing endorsements there is substantial evidence that the Catholic polity was not united in its support of Kelly and the *Tablet*. Kelly admitted that he had received letters from subscribers opposing his new policy, singling out the *Tablet's* prominence of Irish issues, its criticism of the war policy and its 'virile' and 'vulgar' attacks on 'Orangemen.'<sup>258</sup> Cadogan argued that the apologetic tone of several of Kelly's editorials, together with his need to justify his editorial style and stance on Ireland and the war, reflects 'pressure' placed on 'Kelly and his sympathisers.'<sup>259</sup> The *Times* published letters asserting that some Catholics were distancing themselves from Kelly and the *Tablet*. "Fairplay" wrote: 'I have a number of Catholic friends, and I am proud to say that not one of them as far as I can gather would applaud the sentiments expressed by the editor of the *Tablet*.'<sup>260</sup> "Pax" wrote: "The majority of the Catholic people do not agree with the sentiments of the so-called organ of the Catholic body.'<sup>261</sup> Prominent Catholics opposed Kelly. Cullen, Rector of Wellington's St. Patrick's College, sent several letters to the *Tablet* taking issue with Kelly's interpretation of war events during 1917.<sup>262</sup> Splits developed within the hierarchy of the Catholic church. Cleary believed that Kelly's outspoken support for Ireland and his criticism of the war opened the church to accusations of disloyalty and openly fuelled sectarian fires. In order to counter the *Tablet*, and provide evidence to New Zealand of an alternative Catholic view, Cleary's Auckland Diocese established *The Month*, a rival Catholic newspaper. Although *The Month* was an Auckland Diocesan newspaper, it was available and read throughout New Zealand, including in Dunedin's Catholic parishes.

There was also considerable opposition to Kelly's views outside of the Catholic church. The *Times* wrote several editorials on the *Tablet's* attitude, taking issue with its support for Irish 'separatism' and its 'vulgar and contemptuous' references to Queen Victoria.<sup>263</sup> The Editor wrote confidently of his belief that the Catholic community did not support the *Tablet*.<sup>264</sup> Kelly had been editor of the *Tablet* for just nine issues when the Solicitor General recommended to

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<sup>258</sup> "To Our Correspondents," *Tablet*, 10/5/1917, 29.

<sup>259</sup> Cadogan, 69.

<sup>260</sup> "Fairplay," letter to the editor, *Times*, 23/2/1918, 10.

<sup>261</sup> "Pax," letter to the editor, *Times*, 17/11/1917, 8.

<sup>262</sup> J. J. Cullen, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 26/4/1917, 31; Dr J. J. Cullen, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 7/6/1917, 9.

<sup>263</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 17/11/1917, 6; *Ibid.*, 19/11/1917, 4.

<sup>264</sup> Reply to "Pax," *Times*, 17/11/1917, 8.



the Government that the *Tablet* should be shut down and Kelly charged with sedition.<sup>265</sup> The *Tablet* was condemned in Parliament and William Nosworthy, the Member for Ashburton, called for it to be suppressed.<sup>266</sup>

The *Tablet* continued to make some patriotic statements, albeit qualified, indicating that Kelly was reluctant or unable to make a complete break. Patriotism was described by Kelly as ‘from God,’ but he immediately qualified his statement by adding ‘when it is bounded by truth and charity.’<sup>267</sup> The part played by Catholics in volunteering for the war was lauded.<sup>268</sup> This may have been recognition on Kelly’s part that readers were still, by and large, supportive of the war or at least unwilling to actively oppose it when their sons and brothers were absent fighting. Kelly could have removed all patriotic sentiment from the *Tablet*, yet the fact that he did not suggests acceptance that a significant proportion of the readers of the *Tablet* expected such statements from their newspaper. Removing all references to patriotism would have called into question the reasons so many Catholics from New Zealand, the Empire and allied countries such as France and Italy continued to support and fight the war.<sup>269</sup> He may also have published the bare minimum of expressions of support for the war in reaction to the calls for the *Tablet*’s suppression.

This evidence indicates that it is unwise for historians to talk too boldly about a “Catholic” view without acknowledging the possibility of divergent views within Catholicism. Perhaps the example of Coffey best sums up this conundrum. Coffey was a supporter of Irish nationalism and therefore has been identified by historians as being with the “Kelly-camp.” Yet, on Intercession Sunday in 1917, he led prayers for the welfare of the King and the Empire.<sup>270</sup> While it is accurate to state that Kelly represented a constituency within the Catholic church, this is not the same as stating that that was the only constituency. Multiple, and occasionally very complex, opinions did exist and were expressed.

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<sup>265</sup> Rory Sweetman, “Waving the Green Flag in the Southern Hemisphere: the Kellys and the Irish College, Rome,” in *The Irish College, Rome and its World*, eds. Dáire Keogh and Albert McDonnell (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 222-223.

<sup>266</sup> “The New Zealand Tablet,” *Witness*, 25/7/1917, 39.

<sup>267</sup> “The Path of Duty,” *Tablet*, 28/2/1918, 26.

<sup>268</sup> James Coffey, “Catholics and the War. Why Exemptions are Claimed for Priests, Students and Religious Teachers,” *Tablet*, 20/9/1917, 10-11.

<sup>269</sup> Davidson, “Churches and Death,” 452.

<sup>270</sup> Cadogan, 67.

## Presbyterianism's Belief in Victory

The *Outlook* and Presbyterianism were unequivocal in their advocacy of the war and belief in ultimate victory. From the very start of the conflict the *Outlook* looked forward to [the] complete and overwhelming victory of the Allies.<sup>271</sup> The *Outlook* remained steadfast in its commitment to victory, even when it became apparent that the war would be long and costly of life and capital. The *Outlook*'s 3 August 1914 editorial read: 'We indignantly disown the idea of peace at any price; we pray for victory to the Allied arms, even should such victory entail the indefinite prolongations of a dreadful and a deadly war.'<sup>272</sup> The failed hopes of 1917 were acknowledged within the *Outlook*, but belief in ultimate victory continued. At all times the editor acknowledged the intimate involvement of God in the war and advocated that readers 'have faith in God' to sustain them until victory was won.<sup>273</sup> Indeed, this was the title of editorials during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battle of Ypres and during the German March and April 1918 offensives.<sup>274</sup> In the hiatus between the end of the German offensive and the beginning of the Allied counter-offensive, the *Outlook* advocated 'courage, courage, courage,' and expressed enduring faith 'that the cause of Right will ultimately triumph.'<sup>275</sup>

Many Presbyterians shared the *Outlook*'s viewpoint on eventual victory. The first flush of war fever saw Presbyterian organisations passing resolutions affirming confidence in victory. The Church Life and Work committee's report to the 1914 General Assembly read:

We fervently pray that the inheritance of our children may be the peace which comes to the men of good-will. Until that spirit of good-will animates the greater part of mankind, we may make up our minds that no peace is possible for us – nothing but 'Blood red war, with a heart of fire,' in whatsoever form it may come.<sup>276</sup>

Sermons delivered to packed congregations expressed confidence in ultimate victory. Dickie, preaching in Knox Church, said: 'Clemency to Germany now would be as great a blunder and as great a crime as was Ahab's treatment of Benhadad. If we do not conquer Germany now a worse fate than that of Belgium and northeast France is in store for the whole British Empire.'<sup>277</sup> In private correspondence to Gibb, Dickie expressed the view that 'peace now, as

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<sup>271</sup> "The Church and the World: The War Spirit," *Outlook*, 25/8/1914, 3.

<sup>272</sup> "War and Peace – a Chronicle and a Comment," *Outlook*, 3/8/1915, 3.

<sup>273</sup> "Have Faith in God. The Fighting on the Western Front," *Outlook*, 2/10/1917, 5.

<sup>274</sup> "A Time to Have Faith: 'Now Abideth Faith, Hope, Love,'" *Outlook*, 21/5/1918, 3.

<sup>275</sup> "Courage! Courage!! Courage!!! Three vital and Essential Necessities," *Outlook*, 11/6/1918, 3; "The Biggest Battle of the War. 'Fight the Good Fight of Faith,'" *Outlook*, 18/6/1918, 3.

<sup>276</sup> Report of Church Life and Work committee, PCNZ, *Proceedings 1914*, 57-58.

<sup>277</sup> "A Stinging Sermon. The Kaiser and the President," *Witness*, 16/6/1915, 79.

at any time before Germany is crushed, means the death-knell of Democracy and Liberty and International Law and the Xtn [Christian] civilisation of Europe.<sup>278</sup> Gibb, preaching in Wellington, said: ‘Let us confront our great and dreadful task. Let us commit our way unto the Lord. If in the discharge of this high duty we must die, then let us die, but never shall we surrender.’<sup>279</sup> Mornington’s congregation was told by its minister that ‘the preservation of human rights and liberties’ was ‘worth the price.’<sup>280</sup> The General Assembly annually passed resolutions endorsing the prosecution of the war. In 1916 their resolution read: ‘There can be no real or stable peace unless the military power of the Central Empires is shattered on the field of battle.’<sup>281</sup> In 1917 its resolution again affirmed the church’s belief in ultimate victory.<sup>282</sup> Congregations endorsed this call. The Managers of St. James’ Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin, passed a motion affirming their ‘unspeakable confidence’ in ‘the ultimate and complete victory for righteousness, peace and liberty.’<sup>283</sup>

### **Belief in Victory Outside the Churches**

Statements contained within the *Outlook* and the *Envoy*, together with those by Presbyterian and Anglican clergy and their parishioners, had their equivalents in the non-denominational press and in the opinions of men and women outside of the church. In May 1915 the editor of the *Times* wrote: ‘To such a war there can be no satisfactory termination short of the crushing of Germany.’<sup>284</sup> During the Somme offensive of 1916 he wrote: ‘We all desire for peace and crave peace, but it must be a peace that carries with it an assurance that we shall have no future cause to be apprehensive of the arrogant militarism of Germany.’<sup>285</sup> In August 1917 he wrote: ‘Only an Allied victory can bring a peace on terms that will make it enduring,’ and in September 1918, during the Hundred Days Offensive, he wrote that war would be continued until ‘German militarism is rendered permanently impotent,’ calling for ‘steady nerves’ and ‘readiness to make continued endeavours and sacrifices for the sake of freedom and human

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<sup>278</sup> Letter, Dickie to Gibb, 25/5/1918, Geoff King Collection, PCANZAO.

<sup>279</sup> “Intercession Day in Wellington – Stirring Sermon by Rev Dr Gibb,” *Outlook*, 24/8/1915, 4.

<sup>280</sup> “The Church and the War,” *Outlook*, 15/1/1918, 18.

<sup>281</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1917*, 30.

<sup>282</sup> G. King, 205-206.

<sup>283</sup> Minutes 8/6/1916, Managers’ Minute Book 1906-19, St. James’ Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin (BB 4/9), PCANZAO.

<sup>284</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 4/5/1915, 4.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 30/9/1916, 6.

civilisation.<sup>286</sup> *Truth* supported continuing the war until victory, though the newspaper was perhaps overall more critical of the large number of casualties that proved necessary to achieve it.<sup>287</sup>

The *Times* editor's opinions were echoed by that newspaper's columnist "Civis." "Civis" was not 'disconcert[ed]' by the Italian defeat of the Piave, as British 'doggedness' would see the Allies through to victory.<sup>288</sup> He called on 'Ma Heaven' to be 'unkind to all pacifist counsel,' labelling those who favoured peace without victory 'traitors.'<sup>289</sup> And like his editor, "Civis" was optimistic about the end of the war, writing on the fourth anniversary of the start of the war that 'we open the fifth year of the war in good heart,' the Empire's armed forces standing 'shoulder to shoulder and facing the right way towards the enemy' with France.<sup>290</sup> Letters to the editor supported these statements in similar vein. "Fight the Good Fight" described the war situation as one in which the Empire was 'at fatal grips with the enemy,' who was trying to 'destroy us as a nation.'<sup>291</sup> Clearly the will to prosecute the war to eventual victory was not confined to just the churches' newspapers or church organisations.

It is possible to interpret the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches' call for prosecuting the war to eventual victory as a means of countering war-weariness in New Zealand's population. There is some merit in this view. Fairburn asserts that from 1916 onwards New Zealanders found it difficult to 'do their bit' for the war effort and that war weariness set in.<sup>292</sup> McKinnon also believed there was wide-spread war-weariness from 1917 onwards, using the reaction of New Zealanders to the United States of America's entry into the war, and the substantial losses at the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battle of Ypres, followed by the reduction in New Zealand's reinforcement rate, as evidence.<sup>293</sup> Eldred-Grigg argues that the entry of the USA into the war was seen as a turning point by many New Zealanders who began to advocate for a reduction in the Dominion's war

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<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 22/8/1917, 4; 7/9/1918, 6. The 'Hundred Days' is the period running from August to November during which the Allied armies fought a series of battles on the Western Front. German forces were pushed back beyond the Hindenburg Line, large areas of Belgium and France liberated, and over 386,000 German soldiers taken prisoner and a further 700,000 killed or wounded. The offensive ended with the defeat of the German army and the German Empire requesting an armistice.

<sup>287</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 30/12/1916, 1.

<sup>288</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 3/11/1917, 4.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 17/11/1917, 4.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/8/1918, 4.

<sup>291</sup> 'Fight the Good Fight,' letter to the editor, *Times*, 14/2/1917, 6.

<sup>292</sup> Miles Fairburn, "The Farmers Take Over," in *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Keith Sinclair, (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1996), 199.

<sup>293</sup> Malcolm McKinnon, "New Zealand in the World 1914-1951," in Sinclair, *Oxford Illustrated*, 241.

effort. He believes that by August 1918 all but the most conservative New Zealanders were war-weary and favoured peace at almost any price.<sup>294</sup> Richard Kay argued that from October 1917 Prime Minister Massey began to favour reducing New Zealand's military commitment. Kay also asserts that Massey 'detected "a great deal of uneasiness" in New Zealand.'<sup>295</sup>

Yet Kay's, Fairburn's and McKinnon's arguments should not be over-emphasised, and that of Eldred-Grigg is overstated. It would have been strange if New Zealand did not experience some form of war-weariness, given the scale of New Zealand's losses in 1915, 1916 and especially 1917, the soaring cost of living, and the introduction of conscription. Victory was seemingly distant, and the hopes of 1917 had failed to come to fruition. The disastrous consequences of the offensive of October 1917, including the long casualty lists, were published over a period of just a few weeks, rather than the months of reporting on the Gallipoli or Somme campaigns. These were all bound to have some effect on the people. Kelly's campaign against the war can perhaps be interpreted in this light, voicing the views of a section of the population, albeit small, that was increasingly disillusioned with the war effort. What needs to be remembered is that war-weariness was not widespread, either within the churches or New Zealand society in general. The vast majority of New Zealanders, regardless of their socio-economic status or denominational affiliation, remained committed to eventual victory and the continued prosecution of the war.

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Patriotic work amongst the people of Dunedin was a popular undertaking, and the involvement of the Church was widespread and sustained. While volunteering for active service was seen as the height of patriotism, among those for whom volunteering was not possible, patriotic support was the next best thing, and continued in a wide variety of ways throughout the war. Giving, through money, time or goods, was a concrete and visible sign of an individual's support for the collective war effort.

The overwhelming majority of Anglicans and Presbyterians, be they clergy or laity, maintained a positive view of the Empire. In contrast, some Catholics found in the *Tablet* a medium to voice their displeasure at some aspects of imperialism. However, it would be incorrect to say that Catholicism was uniformly unpatriotic. The language of patriotism pervaded much of daily

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<sup>294</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 353, 386.

<sup>295</sup> Kay, 203.

life, publicly and privately. It was used by writers in the *Envoy*, *Outlook* and *Tablet*, by the priest in his sermon, and by the church in public meetings. Importantly, it was not just the language of the clergy. Church organisations used it at their meetings, both in publicity and as a topic for discussion. Each denomination saw it as important to maintain support for the Dominion's, the Empire's, and the Allied war effort. From the start of the war denominational newspapers, clergy, and parish organisations built support for the war through a patriotic stance.

Patriotism was also demonstrated by all churches through their support of chaplains and denominational institutes at military camps. Support was also provided, both in New Zealand and overseas, by the Government, the military authorities and the overwhelming majority of New Zealanders. There was no sustained or serious questioning of this role from within or outside the churches. The widely-based support for the role of churches in such imperial events as Kitchener's memorialisation was further evidence of the strength of patriotic feeling in the nation.

Importantly, at no point was the churches' role in Dunedin's patriotic endeavours seriously questioned, either internally or externally. Clergy, church newspapers, church groups and members all largely supported these efforts. The views and opinions articulated within the churches were echoed by those expressed outside, be they at public meetings, patriotic demonstrations, patriotic organisations, or within the press. There was considerable commonality between the two, providing further evidence of the widespread integration of religion and religious thought within Dunedin society. Kelly may have tried to question the patriotic commitment, but he spoke to just a small constituency within Catholicism, and little evidence has been discovered of similar constituencies within Presbyterianism and Anglicanism. The vast majority of Dunedin's Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches were committed to the war effort, a commitment they shared with the rest of New Zealand.

## Chapter 4: Recruiting

### “Onward Christian Soldiers”<sup>1</sup>

The outbreak of war in August 1914 found New Zealand well prepared in military planning terms. New Zealand’s Defence Acts had created a pool of men who had received some military training, as well as providing the Ministry of Defence with accurate information on their ages and places of abode. Rifles, artillery, ammunition and other equipment had been stockpiled for easy distribution to the first wave of men who were mobilised. The maximum size of any military commitment had been planned, expected casualty rates anticipated and a rate of replacement determined. The Ministry had prepared for an expeditionary force, and, in consultation with the Committee for Imperial Defence, had planned for it to be dispatched to Egypt to help defend the Suez Canal.<sup>2</sup> Only one issue held back the dispatch of these men. Compulsory military service applied solely to service within New Zealand’s Territorial Army - no man could be sent abroad without his consent. Consequently all men of the Main Body and the first 22 Reinforcements were volunteers. Over the next 28 months considerable energy by all sectors of the government and society would be expended on convincing men to enlist for service abroad.

The Anglican and Catholic Dioceses of Dunedin, Dunedin Presbytery, and their respective congregations and parishes, together with their national structures, organisations and committees, officially and actively supported New Zealand’s recruiting effort from the beginning of the war. Sermons, articles and poems in the denominational press and speeches at recruiting rallies and public meetings were all used to convince men to enlist. Clergy used all their skills in oratory and writing to deliver the message, and church organisations and committees at the parish and congregational, regional and national level largely supported the recruiting effort.

The enlistment message was one which enjoyed the broad support of the vast majority of New Zealanders, regardless of whether they were inside or outside the church. Laity largely supported the clergy and reinforced its views, not seeing any incongruity in clergy preaching its enlistment message, sitting on recruiting committees or making public addresses to men and

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<sup>1</sup> The words to ‘Onward Christian Soldiers’ were written by Sabine Baring-Gould in 1865 and the music was composed in 1871 by Arthur Sullivan.

<sup>2</sup> Pugsley, 51-52.

women at recruiting rallies. Efforts by New Zealand churches to encourage men to enlist were welcomed by the Government. At no point did churches encounter significant resistance to their involvement in recruiting for the war effort, whether outside or inside their respective denominations. What people within the churches said and did was widely replicated in the non-denominational press, public meetings and service organisations, again demonstrating the intermingling of religion into society.

The “objector question,” those men who refused to enlist on conscientious or religious grounds, provides further evidence that a largely common attitude permeated New Zealand. The views expressed within the churches, whether in meetings, in the denominational press, by clergy or by lay members, were similar to those being expressed outside of the church. Differences in degree existed, but overwhelmingly the attitude and opinions were common to all New Zealanders.

The introduction of conscription in 1916 did raise questions regarding the enlistment of clergy. The various positions adopted by the different denominations enjoyed popular support from their respective memberships, though they differed markedly from one another and, at times, from attitudes found outside the church environment.

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### **Voluntary Recruitment**

The Ministry of Defence and Permanent Force had compiled detailed plans for managing the recruitment, training and despatch of New Zealand’s army. These plans called for a force of 30,000 trained men, a proportion of which could be despatched outside New Zealand and the remainder to stay in New Zealand for home defence. Annual replacements of some 65% to 75% of the establishment of any force deployed overseas were planned. It was expected that the immediate force of 30,000 would come mainly from those men who had received training as part of the New Zealand Territorial Army, compulsory military training having been in force since 1911. Men who volunteered for service abroad had their details recorded and were then ordered to return to their occupations until such time as they were needed. This detailed planning meant that New Zealand was able to recruit and sustain units that could be reinforced and maintained for many years. It avoided the unchecked and unplanned expansion that



affected Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom and resulted in considerable problems in maintaining reinforcements in those countries.<sup>3</sup>

Compulsory military service had been part of life for New Zealand men from 1911. Service in an expeditionary force outside national borders, however, was limited to men who volunteered, an approach to enlistment common across the United Kingdom and the Dominions. Considerable effort would consequently be put into convincing men that they should enlist in the N.Z.E.F.

Some authors have argued that there was little enthusiasm to enlist in August 1914. Eldred-Grigg claims that it is a 'myth' that men of military age 'rushed to join the army,' citing the fact that only 14,000, or just 6-7% of men of military age, enlisted during August 1914.<sup>4</sup> Graham Hucker's examination of New Zealand's reaction to the outbreak of war provides a more nuanced and even-handed investigation, concluding that there were several different reactions to the outbreak of war, ranging from enthusiasm through apathy to opposition, but that these opinions were subsumed into an overall determination to fight and defeat Germany once the reality of war was accepted.<sup>5</sup> Baker wrote that adults and youths had very different reactions, the former expressing apprehension while the latter were more enthusiastic.<sup>6</sup> Belich, in *Paradise Reforged*, argued that there was 'resistance to ... volunteering' and that this resistance was 'greater than legend allows.'<sup>7</sup>

It is certain that a range of emotions was experienced by New Zealanders when war was declared, and this may have influenced individual men when they were deciding to volunteer. What cannot be denied is that New Zealand experienced little difficulty in recruiting and despatching the Main Body and maintaining the flow of reinforcements through voluntary recruiting for the next ten months. Events such as the German naval attacks on British coastal towns, the Gallipoli landings and the sinking of R.M.S. *Lusitania* provided periodic spikes in volunteer numbers.<sup>8</sup> Seasonal changes to employment also affected recruiting statistics. Many

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 95.

<sup>5</sup> Graham Hucker, "'The Great Wave of Enthusiasm': New Zealand Reactions to the First World War in August 1914 – a Reassessment," in *New Journal of History*, Vol 43, No 1 (2009), 67.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, 64.

<sup>7</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 99.

<sup>8</sup> RMS *Lusitania* was a passenger liner en route from New York to Liverpool when she was torpedoed and sunk on 7 May 1915 by the German submarine U 20. 1,198 out of her 1,959 passengers and crew were killed, causing outrage in Allied countries and a considerable spur to enlistments in the UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand.

agricultural workers were committed at the outbreak of war but became free to enlist during summer and autumn. The Defence Department's policy of returning volunteers to civilian life until needed almost certainly had an impact on recruiting figures. Men who wished to enter camp immediately travelled to Australia where they were able to join an Australian formation without delay.<sup>9</sup> Phillips and Pugsley have put the number of men who were returned to work following volunteering as high as one-third and one-quarter respectively.<sup>10</sup> Even when the rate of volunteers declined, the government was secure enough in its projections that it committed to increasing the deployed force by two battalions.<sup>11</sup> Oliver wrote that volunteering remained 'high' until the end of the war.<sup>12</sup> Oliver's meaning is not clear, since from the introduction of conscription in 1916, the ability to volunteer was severely curtailed. This is not to argue that effort did not need to be put into recruiting; the conclusion is rather that claims that New Zealanders had to be coerced into volunteering are without firm foundation.

### **Churches and Recruiting**

To maintain the flow of recruits, public and private organisations throughout New Zealand became involved in the recruiting effort. This was a just war being fought to defend Christian civilisation and consequently churches needed little convincing to participate. Mainstream churches and the bulk of their clergy and their parishioners were, from the very start of the war, highly visible in the recruiting effort. Lineham has argued that some members of the clergy acted virtually as recruiting sergeants. He singles out prominent Presbyterian minister Gibb and Anglican vicar William Gillam for special mention, though the attitudes of these two men were similar to the majority of clergy of these and other denominations.<sup>13</sup>

The denominational press had a high profile in the recruiting effort. The *Envoy's* editor declared his position unequivocally in October 1914. He wrote: "To all able bodied men the call is "to arms" in defence of the Empire."<sup>14</sup> His stance was not short-lived, nor was it one

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<sup>9</sup> Baker, 32-33.

<sup>10</sup> Hucker "The Great Wave of Enthusiasm," 64.

<sup>11</sup> Baker, 26.

<sup>12</sup> Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*, 171.

<sup>13</sup> James Gibb was a Presbyterian minister who arrived in New Zealand in 1886. He ministered in parishes in Dunedin and Wellington and was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1901. William Eugene Gillam was an Anglican priest born in Great Britain. He arrived in New Zealand in 1879 and served in parishes in the Christchurch, Wellington, and Auckland Dioceses. He also served as a chaplain to the forces and a chaplain on the hospital ships *Maheno* and *Marama*. Lineham, "First World War Religion," 470.

<sup>14</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, October 1914, 250.

made in isolation. It was to be a constant refrain within the Anglican Church for the duration of the voluntary recruiting period. His call was echoed by the editor of the *Outlook*, who wrote:

But, after all, the greatest gift a man can bestow on the state is himself. ... The source of a nation's greatness is not ultimately in its armaments, but in the men behind the guns. ... God send us in ever increasing numbers patriots that will offer to their country lives made pure and kept pure by the grace of Christ ...<sup>15</sup>

Both churches were mindful of the need to maintain the flow of reinforcements, advocating more volunteering even before New Zealand forces saw action. In January 1915, the *Envoy* editorial read:

The existence of our great Empire is threatened, the enemy, wrathfully intent on the destruction of our national institutions and the abrogation of the freedom for which our ancestors fought and bled, is thundering at our gates. ... Not all may go; but all who lack the spirit and the will to go should count that lack their shame. Men are wanted; men to man the ramparts, and keep the foe without ... men and still more men to round him up and crush his might, to strike his heart with fear, and leave him trembling.<sup>16</sup>

This editorial was followed by rebuttals to many of the excuses given by men for not enlisting. Not only were men to be encouraged to enlist, but would-be recruiters were provided with the means to refute arguments of men reluctant to enlist.

The *Outlook* and the *Envoy* maintained that women should encourage men to enlist, and urged female readers to apply pressure to this end. The poem *To the Women of the Empire* included the lines: 'You [women] send them forth, your husbands, sons, and brothers, on active service in a foreign land.'<sup>17</sup> Future happiness and companionship was used as a powerful motivator. Men were told that women would spurn them, now and after the war, if they did not enlist.<sup>18</sup> The *Envoy* asked its readers to pray for those 'made in the form of a man' but lacking 'sufficient manly spirit to take them to the front.'<sup>19</sup> Prayer, it was hoped, would strengthen them and give them the courage to enlist. A poem published in the *Envoy* encapsulated a common attitude: men who refused to enlist brought sorrow, pity and dishonour on their family.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Editorial," *Outlook*, 18/8/1914 4-5.

<sup>16</sup> "Recruiting," *Envoy*, January 1915, 2.

<sup>17</sup> "To the Women of the Empire" by "ARG," *Envoy*, February 1915, 56.

<sup>18</sup> "Recruiting," *Envoy*, January 1915, 2.

<sup>19</sup> [Untitled], *Envoy*, February 1915, 50.

<sup>20</sup> "There are those whom in our anguish we can pity / Whose sorrow is more tragic than our woe / Not the mothers whose sons lie on the death-field / But the mothers who have sons that dare not go." "Motherhood," *Envoy*, February 1915, 49.

The *Outlook* used similar arguments and methods of suggestion. Poems such as *The Call* and *Our Boys* appealed to men to enlist.<sup>21</sup> *Our Boys* praised women who had not stood in the way of their son or companion enlisting, and asserted that a woman's greatest fear was not that the man would be killed, but that he would sin while on active service.<sup>22</sup> Sermons referred to letters from mothers who had sons at the front, and letters from chaplains praising volunteers were printed. The *Outlook* condemned the "shirker" as a coward and a traitor, fit only to live 'where the German flag flies,' but never to be protected by the 'flag of Britain.'<sup>23</sup>

The *Tablet* published many patriotic poems by Dunedin poet Harold Gallagher. His poems featured lines such as:

When duty sounds the trumpet, who shall pause  
To give his life and blade for King and cause?<sup>24</sup>

and on the subject of a father learning of his son's death, 'Duty called thee and I bade thee go.'<sup>25</sup> The *Tablet* did examine the reasons why men may be reluctant to enlist. *The Shirker* was a short story in which the protagonist was condemned for not enlisting. As the story develops it is revealed that he had an invalid mother and he was her only means of support. Ultimately, he rushes to enlist when his patriotic employer offers to support his mother. The underlying message was that not all shirkers were cowards – some were prisoners of circumstance. This nuanced view was largely missing in the *Outlook* and the *Envoy*, suggesting reluctance on the part of the *Tablet* to endorse the recruiting effort as wholeheartedly as the two Protestant publications. However it did not stop the *Tablet* from condemning the true "shirker" or "coward" and advising all men to enlist if possible.<sup>26</sup>

The onset of the Gallipoli campaign had two immediate effects: enlistment in the N.Z.E.F. experienced a surge and the need for replacements increased.<sup>27</sup> Churches supported moves by the Defence Department to maintain the flow of enlistments. Two letters published in the *Envoy* in June and July 1915 demonstrate the attitude towards men who had not enlisted, and

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<sup>21</sup> "The Call" by G. L. Begg featured lines such as "To arms! To Arms! Clear sounds the call" and "It comes to sons whose loyalty / Is steadfast brave and strong," "The Call," *Outlook*, 27/10/1914, 18.

<sup>22</sup> "We who remain, with trembling, pray / 'God keep the boys we love from sin!' / that is our dread! – not armies great / not weapons monstrous, deadly keen." "Our Boys," by JAMcK, *Outlook*, 8/12/1914, 30.

<sup>23</sup> "For Home and Country," by JMSK, *Outlook*, 21/12/1915, 13.

<sup>24</sup> "War," *Tablet*, 4/2/1915, 19.

<sup>25</sup> "Sacrifice," *Tablet*, 23/9/1915, 19.

<sup>26</sup> "The Shirker," *Tablet*, 9/12/1915, 9.

<sup>27</sup> The two brigades concerned were the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, an infantry formation with four battalions, and the New Zealand Mounted Rifle Brigade, a mounted infantry formation with four regiments.

the appeal to the would-be soldiers' sense of patriotism and defence of New Zealand and the Empire. The first read:

We are expecting the reinforcements any day now, but I don't think I know any of them. We have just read some of the Dunedin papers, and saw what a job they had getting them, and you can tell —— and —— [his two brothers] and tell them to tell —— and —— [friends], I'm ashamed of them for not joining; also ask if they have had any white feathers sent to them.<sup>28</sup>

The second:

It is nice to know you are all proud of me, but really all able bodied men can't do much less than enlist these days. In fact it is a privilege to be alive these times. When one realises that our existence as a separate nation is at stake, and tries to imagine what things would be like should we not eventually come out victorious, it is impossible to do otherwise than enlist. Life will not be worth living otherwise.<sup>29</sup>

Once again, peer and familial pressure, patriotism and national defence were used to motivate men to enlist. The message was clear: all who could enlist should, and those who did not were cowards. Letters published in the *Tablet* from serving soldiers to their families extolled the virtues of active service and downplayed the danger. Clarence Ward wrote to his father:

I will never regret joining the Main Expeditionary Force. None of the others got in the work we did. It is getting on for ten months since I joined the main body. It has been a marvellous experience, and, though it is a hard life – very hard, to say nothing of the danger – I could not have remained at home while the war is on.<sup>30</sup>

Presbyterian clergy preached recruiting sermons. Clergy argued that it was a man's duty to his country and to his God to enlist. This was John Dickie's theme when he preached at Knox Church in June 1915. Dickie's opinions were shared by other Presbyterian ministers in New Zealand. William Day's preached in a similar vein at Whangarei in April 1915.<sup>31</sup> Gibb made the point bluntly in August 1915. In a sermon reprinted in the *Outlook* he said:

The day has come when every man of the right age and physically fit, unmarried first, but married men, too, should volunteer for the service of their country. ... 'Here I am,' let each man say, 'Send me when the hour strikes at which my service is required.'<sup>32</sup>

Gibb's last line neatly echoes the Prophet Isaiah when, in response to a call from God asking 'Whom shall I send?' Isaiah replies, 'Here am I. Send me.'<sup>33</sup> Such linkage would not have been

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<sup>28</sup> The blank spaces for names were in the original publication. "The War," *Envoy*, June 1915, 196.

<sup>29</sup> Edward Roberts, letter to unknown recipient 29/4/1915, printed in *Envoy*, July 1915, 225.

<sup>30</sup> Clarence Ward, letter to his father, *Tablet*, 29/7/1915, 47.

<sup>31</sup> "A Stinging Sermon. The Kaiser and the President," *Witness*, 16/6/1915, 79; Editorial "The Topic: The War: Why Has God Permitted It?" *Outlook*, 22/6/1915, 16.

<sup>32</sup> James Gibb, "Intercession Day in Wellington," *Outlook*, 24/8/1915, 4.

<sup>33</sup> Isaiah 6:8.

lost on the people listening in the pews and those who read the text in the *Outlook*. The call from the authorities to volunteer was likened to that from God and the only legitimate response was to enlist.

Catholic clergy similarly preached the enlistment message. Rev. W. Corcoran, speaking at the farewell party for Lieutenant P. Spiers, ‘congratulated Spiers for having volunteered.’<sup>34</sup> Coffey wrote: ‘Personally, I have known of very many of our clergy who have frequently told their congregations that all eligible young men should enlist.’<sup>35</sup> Similar views were expressed outside Dunedin. At a Solemn Mass for peace in August 1914, Cleary, Bishop of Auckland Diocese, voiced his pride ‘to see so many young Catholic men amongst those who had offered their services to the Empire.’<sup>36</sup> In 1915 Archbishop Redwood ‘forcibly’ pointed out to all ‘members of the British Empire’ that they should ‘aid the noble cause by every means in their power – by men, money, self-sacrifice, economy, and prayer,’ and a month later preached that ‘the young old enough to enlist should go to the war.’<sup>37</sup> These views are significant as they came from clergy of both English and Irish extraction, as well as religious, in this case Marist, and secular priests, indicating a broadly united view within Catholicism at this time.

At the local level parishes and congregations largely supported the church’s efforts at recruiting. A regular part of the *Envoy* was the parish notes section. The names of men who had volunteered were published each month, honouring their decision to enlist. Four parishes featured prominently in this regard.<sup>38</sup> Parents who had many sons serving with the army, such as the Fullers of Caversham, were singled out for praise. The Holy Innocents Woodhaugh notes recorded that every ministry student resident at Selwyn College had volunteered for

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<sup>34</sup> “Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 15/1/1915, 34.

<sup>35</sup> Coffey, letter to the Editor of the *Evening Star*, reprinted in *Tablet*, 21/10/1915, 31.

<sup>36</sup> “Diocese of Auckland,” *Tablet*, 20/8/1914, 31.

<sup>37</sup> “Wellington Archdiocese,” *Tablet*, 12/8/1915, 26; “New Catholic Presbytery at Methven,” *Tablet*, 2/9/1915, 17.

<sup>38</sup> The four parishes were Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, St. John’s Waikouaiti, St. Peter’s Caversham and St. John’s Roslyn. Notes from Holy Trinity Port Chalmers record the names of seven men who enlisted in November 1914, and four more in March 1915. “Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers,” *Envoy*, November 1914, 313 and “Holy Trinity, Port Chalmers,” March 1915, 98. The St. John’s Waikouaiti notes record that three men enlisted in October 1914, four men in October 1915, and that socials were given for the men who were leaving for the front in January 1916 and March 1916. “St. John’s, Waikouaiti,” *Envoy*, October 1914, 279, “St. John’s, Waikouaiti,” October 1915, 339, “St. John’s, Waikouaiti,” January 1916, 29, and “St. John’s, Waikouaiti,” March 1916, 91. The St. Peter’s Caversham notes record that Mr and Mrs Fuller had six sons at the front in August 1915, “St. Peter’s, Caversham,” *Envoy*, August 1915, 268. St. John’s Roslyn’s notes record that ‘some young men from the parish have joined the expeditionary forces’ in September 1914. “St. John’s, Roslyn,” *Envoy*, September 1914, 226.

service.<sup>39</sup> Indeed, Selwyn College was forced to close for several years, all theological students having been encouraged by the Primate and the Warden to volunteer for active service. The inference in publishing the names of the volunteers is clear. These men deserved respect and honour from those who remained in New Zealand. Their families were to be congratulated for not standing in their way. The negative aspect of this is also implicit: those men who could go, but refused, were dishonourable.

The Presbyterian Church did not routinely publish in the *Outlook* the names of those who enlisted. However, at the congregational level there was widespread support from the parishioners and church organisations for the church to encourage men to enlist. Parish organisations would refer to men who had enlisted at meetings and in annual reports.<sup>40</sup> Congregations and church organisations would hold official functions to farewell men departing for camp or who had returned on final leave before deployment abroad.<sup>41</sup> Parish committees would report on the number of enlistments from the congregation, and this information was communicated to the congregation through reports and meetings. The Bible Class Union reports to the 1915, 1916 and 1917 General Assemblies expressed the committee's firm belief that all who could enlist should do so, as well as their pride in the extent to which men had volunteered for active service.<sup>42</sup> The First Church Session passed a special minute of appreciation when E. A. Duncan enlisted, refused to accept his resignation from the Session, instead giving him leave of absence.<sup>43</sup> Reports to annual congregational meetings would invariably contain updates on the numbers of men who had volunteered.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> "Holy Innocents, Woodhaugh," *Envoy*, June 1915, 200.

<sup>40</sup> For examples, see First Church Men's Club Annual Report 1916, Men's Club Minute Book 1911-1916, First Church of Otago, PCANZAO BG 7/1 1990/90; "Time and Tide" re the Young Men's Bible Class from Mornington Presbyterian Church, *Outlook*, 31/10/1916, 5; "Time and Tide" for Bible Class from Opoho Presbyterian Church, *Outlook*, 31/10/1916, 5.

<sup>41</sup> For examples see Minutes 16/6/1915 and 17/7/1917, Session minutes 1906-1921, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BI 7/2), PCANZAO; "Time and Tide" in *Outlook*, 31/10/1916, 5.

<sup>42</sup> "The very best of our young manhood has gone, and, while doubtless the work of classes has been interfered with by such an exodus, yet your committee would not wish to recall one of them; rather would it urge upon all who can go, but who so far have not enrolled, to send in their names." PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 123; PCNZ, *Proceedings 1916*, 121; PCNZ, *Proceedings 1917*, 106.

<sup>43</sup> 'This Session wishes also to express its high appreciation of the sacrifice you have made in joining the fighting forces of the Empire, and prays God that you may soon return in peace and honour and safety to your home and to the service of the church and the community to which you belong.' Letter. Session Clerk to Mr E. A. Duncan, 11/8/1916, Session letter book (outwards) 1903-1922, First Church of Otago (AI 8/1 99/90/155), PCANZ.

<sup>44</sup> "The Year's Work. At the Annual Meeting," *Outlook*, 24/8/1915, 25; Report to Annual Congregational Meeting, 11/8/1915, Session minutes 1906-1921, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BI 7/2), PCANZAO; 1915 Congregational AGM, Session Minutes 1901-1929 (BE 3/7 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO; 1916 AGM, Deacons'

The feelings of the congregations are encapsulated in the report to the South Dunedin annual general meeting, in which the minister spoke of his 'profound admiration' for those men who had volunteered.<sup>45</sup>

The C.E.M.S. backed the Anglican Church's recruiting efforts. At both parish and national levels, its message was explicitly stated in 1914: 'The burden of justification rests not on the call to go out, but on the desire, if it exists, to stay behind.'<sup>46</sup> Once more, the default position of the church is evident. So all-encompassing was the commitment to recruiting that in February 1917 Fitchett declared that he 'regarded the preaching of the church as the best recruiting agency in the country.'<sup>47</sup>

Catholic organisations, too, backed the call for men to enlist and celebrated their decision. The Fifth Bulletin of the Catholic Federation recorded that it was 'very pleasing to note that the number of Catholic young men offering themselves for active service in the reinforcements still continues up to the former standard.'<sup>48</sup> The Federation's Dominion Executive recorded its pride at 'the large proportion of Catholics in the firing line' at its 1915 annual meeting and the President in 1916 said that the numbers of men who had enlisted was a credit to the church.<sup>49</sup> Organisations such as the Marist Brothers and Christian Brothers Old Boys' Associations recorded both the numbers of enlistments and those who had been killed on active service, paying homage to these men at their meetings. Catholic social organisations, such as the harrier and football clubs, were proud of their members' record in enlisting and recorded their pride at their meetings.<sup>50</sup> The St Joseph's Cathedral Ladies Club hosted farewell functions for men leaving Dunedin. The men, together with their friends and families, were entertained by members of the club and the parish. Priests attached to the cathedral would officiate at these

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Court minutes 1914-22, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (BB3/6 4PZ), PCANZAO; 1917 Kirk Session report, Annual reports and balance sheets 1910-1919, St. Clair Presbyterian Church (BB6/5), PCANZAO.

<sup>45</sup> "The Year's Work," *Outlook*, 26/10/1915, 25.

<sup>46</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion," 470.

<sup>47</sup> "Military Service Boards. Sitting in Dunedin. General Cases," *Witness*, 7/2/1917, 21.

<sup>48</sup> "Bulletin No. 5," *Tablet*, 14/1/1915, 27.

<sup>49</sup> "Catholic Federation. Annual Meeting of Diocesan Council," *Tablet*, 2/9/1915, 23.

<sup>50</sup> The 1916 AGM of the St. Joseph's Harriers recorded: 'We are proud of those who are gone, and it is safe to say that when the history of this war is written, the names of many of our club-mates will be inscribed on the roll of honour.' "Annual General Meeting of St. Joseph's Harriers," *Tablet*, 6/4/1916, 29. The 1915 AGM of the Dunedin Christian Brothers' Football Club read: 'The committee are proud of the fact that the club is represented in the Expeditionary Force' and its 1916 report recorded the chairman's 'admiration for the manner in which the members of the club had responded to the call of king and country.', "Christian Bros.' Football Club, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 8/4/1915, 19; "Football. Christian Brothers' Football Club, Dunedin," *Tablet*, 13/4/1916, 23.



functions, present gifts to the departing men and make farewell speeches, the evenings usually being punctuated with musical items before coming to a close with the national anthem.<sup>51</sup> These functions were held with the explicit sanction and support of the church and were reported in the *Tablet*.<sup>52</sup>

The Catholic church vigorously defended its enlistment record. Much was made of the fact that one third of the 1,400 men who occupied Samoa in August 1914 were Catholic, and bravery medals awarded to Catholics, whether from New Zealand or other parts of the Empire, were well documented in the *Tablet*.<sup>53</sup> Many enlistments of Catholics were recorded in the *Tablet*, as were details of the functions sponsored by the Catholic church to mark their departure to camp or overseas.

### **Recruiting Messages Outside the Church**

It is clear that in preaching their enlistment message the churches, congregations and church organisations were reflecting the prevailing mood of New Zealand society. Among a number of newly-formed community organisations was the Anti-Germany League, founded by Lady Stout. It gained 1,500 members within just three months and dedicated itself to boycotting all things German. The Women's National Reserve drew up lists of women who were willing to take the place of men who had volunteered and to provide a corps of willing workers to enable men still in New Zealand to enlist.<sup>54</sup> From early 1915 women began white feather campaigns in some New Zealand centres, while mothers were targeted in the hope that they would encourage their sons to enlist.<sup>55</sup> Recruiting committees and organisations focussed on the duties of citizenship, arguing that enlisting to fight when the country and the Empire were threatened was one of these duties.

Many New Zealanders believed that the defence department's enlistment rules, particularly the practice whereby volunteers frequently just had their details noted and were then sent away

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<sup>51</sup> Gifts were usually a soldier's writing outfit, soldier's diary or a wristwatch. For examples see "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 3/9/1914, 35; "Diocese of Dunedin," 4/11/1915, 36; "Diocese of Dunedin," 1/6/1916, 31; "Diocese of Dunedin," 24/8/1916, 31; "Diocese of Dunedin," 19/10/1916, 36; "Diocese of Dunedin," 11/1/1917, 35; "Diocese of Dunedin," 21/6/1917, 32; "St. Joseph's Ladies' Club, Dunedin," 22/11/1917, 28.

<sup>52</sup> For examples see "Diocese of Dunedin," *Tablet*, 19/4/1917, 35; "St. Joseph's Ladies Club," 4/10/1917, 10; "Diocese of Dunedin," 18/10/1917, 27; "St. Joseph's Ladies' Club, Dunedin," 22/11/1917, 28; "St. Joseph's Ladies' Club," 10/1/1918, 76.

<sup>53</sup> "Catholics and the War," *Witness*, 1/8/1917, 41; "Catholics and the War," *Tablet*, 21/10/1915, 31; "Sidelights on the War. Three Catholics VC's," 1/6/1916, 20; "Diocese of Dunedin," 25/1/1917, 36.

<sup>54</sup> Baker, 27.

<sup>55</sup> Olssen, "Waging War," 302; Baker, 23.

until they were needed, were actively working against the interests of the country and the Empire.<sup>56</sup> The campaigns against “shirkers” and “cowards” carried out in the denominational press and church organisations were no different from what occurred in the secular world outside the church. Women’s organisations were encouraged to campaign against eligible men who had not enlisted. In Dunedin, elderly women were accused of blocking footpaths and assailing young men. Employers were encouraged to discharge eligible men as a means of forcing them to enlist. Local and central government dismissed men of military age to encourage them to enlist. These campaigns had some success, though the men that they produced were often stigmatised as being the most weak-willed due to the fact they had buckled to such pressure, and therefore were not the best soldierly material.<sup>57</sup>

The *Times* was a firm supporter of voluntary enlistment. It praised the ‘magnificent’ response to the call for volunteers which had been answered in the ‘right manner.’<sup>58</sup> Like the denominational newspapers it called for more recruits even before the losses during the Dardanelles campaign.<sup>59</sup> The men of the Sixteenth Reinforcements were praised as the editor recounted their ‘subordination of selfish interests to a sense of duty.’<sup>60</sup> Correspondents were supportive of the enlistment message. W. D. Mason wrote that one volunteer was worth ten pressed men.<sup>61</sup> Robert Fraser similarly called for all to enlist.<sup>62</sup> “WT,” a correspondent to *Truth*, believed that the flow of volunteers would preclude the need for conscription.<sup>63</sup> G. M. Thomson, a Knox Church elder, supported pressurising men to enlist, as did “Watching Shirkers,” who wanted all public bodies to adopt policies to force men to ‘do their share.’<sup>64</sup>

Some newspapers rejected the pressure that was being placed on men to enlist. *Truth*, referring to recruiting efforts in Dunedin, recounted stories of men who had been told to enlist when searching for work. *Truth* criticised all who led recruiting rallies, including the ‘clap-trapping cleric,’ ‘the meddlesome fossil,’ ‘old male fogies’ and ‘wizened, childless dames.’<sup>65</sup> However,

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<sup>56</sup> Baker, 34.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-52.

<sup>58</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 16/12/1914, 4.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/5/1915, 4.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 19/8/1916, 6.

<sup>61</sup> W.D. Mason, letter to the editor, *Times*, 12/9/1914, 10.

<sup>62</sup> Robert Fraser, letter to the editor, *Times*, 21/8/1915, 9.

<sup>63</sup> “WT,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 16/10/1915, 8.

<sup>64</sup> G. M. Thomson, letter to the editor, *Times*, 6/3/1915, 11; “Watching Shirkers,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 9/6/1915, 8.

<sup>65</sup> “Recruiting in Dunedin: Weeds and Women Wait for Warriors. Single Men Denied Situations,” *Truth*, 26/6/1915, 8.

this should not be taken as evidence that *Truth* opposed men enlisting, nor that it did not endorse the war effort. It repeatedly took up the cause of men who had ceased their employment and enlisted, only to be told that they should await call-up from the Defence authorities and were consequently left destitute.<sup>66</sup> *Truth*, maintaining that ‘every available fighting man’ was required ‘at the front,’ investigated complaints concerning the conditions at Trentham camp and pronounced the camp a ‘good training quarter for such warriors.’<sup>67</sup> It mounted a long and concerted campaign against conscription, arguing: ‘Everywhere we find recruiting proceeding apace ... on the whole, nothing justifies Conscription.’<sup>68</sup> It believed in voluntarism, rejected conscription, and supported recruiting.

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### **Recruiting Rallies**

The outbreak of war spurred the creation of recruiting committees throughout New Zealand. Dunedin’s Recruiting Committee was a sub-committee of the O.P.G.W.A., and its members were drawn from local government, prominent citizens and clergy. It forged a strong bond with Dunedin’s churches, particularly the Protestant churches, and Protestant clergy were very active in the organising and staging of the city’s recruiting efforts. These bodies reflected a strong belief that all men who could enlist should do so, and that volunteering was a quintessential British trait.<sup>69</sup>

Dunedin’s recruiting rallies were held in public places, usually the Octagon or large halls and theatres, though smaller rallies were held in borough centres. These meetings were chaired by well-known public figures and followed a similar format. They would begin with patriotic songs, after which prominent men, often clergy and military officers, would deliver rousing patriotic speeches and justifications for the war and volunteering. School, military or community bands frequently performed and played patriotic and military music. Invitations to men of military age to come forward and enlist were extended towards the end of the meeting. Army recruiting agents would take the volunteer’s contact details and the meeting would end

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<sup>66</sup> For examples see “The Rules of Recruiting,” *Truth*, 5/6/1915, 8; “Red-Tape in Recruiting,” 10/7/1915, 7; “New Zealand Reinforcements,” 9/10/1915, 4.

<sup>67</sup> “Truth at Trentham,” *Truth*, 9/1/1915, 5.

<sup>68</sup> “Soldiers by Compulsion,” *Truth*, 6/5/1916, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Baker, 31-32.

with more patriotic songs and the national anthem.<sup>70</sup> There were hundreds of such meetings in Dunedin and its suburbs, and thousands across New Zealand, between 1914 and 1916.

In late 1915 and early 1916, great efforts were made to obtain more recruits. The casualties of the Dardanelles campaign had to be replaced and the government had increased New Zealand's infantry commitment from one brigade to a full division, in addition to a mounted rifles brigade.<sup>71</sup> Over one hundred per cent of the established strength of these formations was needed each year in reinforcements. At the same time, the pool of men of military age willing to volunteer was becoming smaller. The Government, however, was determined not to abandon the voluntary system if at all possible, and committed itself to a series of nationwide recruiting drives.

21 March 1916 was designated Day of Recruiting and featured one of Dunedin's grandest and most impressive recruiting rallies of the war. The Albany Street school band and returned soldiers led a large procession around central Dunedin. Represented in the procession were the Women's Patriotic Society, the Red Cross, St. John's Ambulance, Women's National Reserve, the Overseas Club and the Otago Women's Club. Boy Scouts and pupils from almost every Dunedin school followed those groups. Despite bad weather, large crowds turned out to view the parades and cheer the marchers on. That night, four separate rallies were held – on the Town Hall steps, at the Stuart Memorial, at the corner of Moray Place and Princes Street, and at the fountain. By the end of the day, some 150 men had come forward.<sup>72</sup> A similar event was held in early April. Large crowds were addressed by clergy at rallies held on the Town Hall steps and at Cargill's Corner. Sixty men came forward but only twenty-two were found to be medically fit.<sup>73</sup> The pool of suitable and willing young men in Dunedin was fast approaching exhaustion, a situation mirrored throughout New Zealand. This rally effectively marked the end of the voluntary recruiting movement in New Zealand. Sporadic rallies would be held until

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<sup>70</sup> For examples of recruiting rallies see: "High Feeling in Dunedin," *Times*, 7/8/1914, 8; "Patriotic Meeting. Enthusiasm in Dunedin," *Times*, 27/11/1914, 6; "Patriotic Meeting. Rally at South Dunedin," *Times*, 4/12/1914, 7; "The Recruiting Meetings," *Times*, 22/5/1915, 5; "The Call for Volunteers," *Times*, 1/11/1915, 2; "Another Recruiting Rally," *Times*, 27/11/1915, 4.

<sup>71</sup> The initial NZ commitment was for one infantry brigade and one mounted rifles brigade. The New Zealand Division had three infantry brigades, each of four battalions, as well as headquarters staff, artillery, divisional cavalry, pioneers, etc. The commitment to maintain a Mounted Rifles brigade remained, and its three Mounted Rifles regiments had to be maintained at strength. Later, a fourth infantry brigade was created, but this served only as a feeder formation, the men being sent from that brigade to one of the three brigades that made up the New Zealand division.

<sup>72</sup> "New Recruiting Scheme. A Great Day in Dunedin," *Witness*, 29/3/1916, 29.

<sup>73</sup> "Recruiting Campaign. Saturday's Big Effort," *Witness*, 5/4/1916, 52.

the end of the war, but the introduction of conscription removed the need for dramatic displays and convincing speeches to entice men to volunteer.

Protestant clergy were prominent at most of these recruiting rallies. Not only did their presence on the recruiting platform add credibility to the widespread belief in a just and sacred war, but they were men who were skilled in oratory and persuasion. Anglican clergy, including Fitchett, Nevill, Mortimer and Bush-King, and Presbyterian ministers Daniel Dutton, Balfour, Edward Axelson and John Miller all made speeches at rallies.<sup>74</sup> Bush-King, by virtue of his experiences in the Dardanelles campaign, was an especially popular speaker, holding public lectures and interviews with journalists about the campaign. His public lectures combined speaking about the military campaign with recruiting rhetoric, and at one meeting he called for one hundred men to come forward, suggesting that they be called 'Bush-King's own,' receiving loud applause from the crowd.<sup>75</sup> At one rally Fitchett claimed that sixty per cent of the men then in training at Trentham camp were Anglicans.<sup>76</sup> Presbyterian congregations were very willing for their halls to be used as venues for rallies.

Catholic clergy were seldom present on the recruiting platform but it is unclear why. Coffey acknowledged that he had been asked to appear at a recruiting rally but had declined due to there being 'others in town better qualified than I was to do it.' He maintained that he had 'never refused to do what I have been asked to do.'<sup>77</sup> Such reticence is unusual, as Coffey would have been used to addressing crowds from many different backgrounds and organisations. It also does not explain why other Catholic clergy did not take part in recruiting rallies. The obvious inference that Catholic clergy did not support the nation's recruiting efforts is incorrect. There are many examples of sermons, speeches and talks to congregations or Catholic organisations in which clergy overwhelmingly supported enlistment and endorsed the duty of all able bodied Catholic men to enlist. In addition, Catholic parishioners and their parish organisations supported enlistment and expressed pride in those men who had enlisted. It may have been that Catholic clergy were reluctant to appear alongside their Protestant counterparts and therefore grant an implicit recognition of equality between creeds. Cadogan

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<sup>74</sup> Anglican clergy were prominent from the outbreak of war until about the middle of 1915. For the twelve month period from June 1915 to June 1916, it was more likely that Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist clergy would be present at rallies than Anglican clergy. Presbyterian clergy were usually present at all recruiting events.

<sup>75</sup> "Life at Anzac. Lecture by Chaplain-Captain Bush-King," *Witness*, 1/12/1915, 66.

<sup>76</sup> "Passing Notes," *Witness*, 16/6/1915, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Coffey, letter to the editor of *Star*, reprinted in *Tablet*, 21/10/1915, 31.

argues that the exclusivity of Catholic dogma could also have served to prevent any form of implied ecumenicalism that joint membership of the platform would have entailed. He argues for a community that tried to separate itself from the rest of New Zealand society, with this exclusivity being led by clergy disinclined to mix with other creeds, an approach that extended to not participating with Protestant clergy in recruiting rallies.<sup>78</sup>

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Many historians have discussed what motivated men to enlist in the N.Z.E.F. Gwen Parsons identified several different reasons, including thirst for adventure, patriotism, pressure from friends and colleagues, and the promise of a steady wage and reasonable living conditions, whatever the inherent risk of the occupation.<sup>79</sup> Brooking also touched on the sense of adventure and peer pressure as being powerful causes for enlisting.<sup>80</sup> Belich referred to the sense of adventure, a desire to see the world and to be “doing something.”<sup>81</sup> Among other reasons, Eldred-Grigg stressed the ‘cults of militarism and imperialism’ that he believed had been taught ‘aggressively’ in schools and ‘stressed’ by both the Reform and Liberal parties, implying that men had been indoctrinated.<sup>82</sup> Phillips’ examination of the “martial” and “manly” qualities of New Zealand provides a more nuanced explanation. Phillips wrote that many men desired to prove themselves and put into practice the martial qualities New Zealand men had been told they possess.<sup>83</sup> Baker refers to the pressure placed on men to enlist by employers and social clubs, removing any “safe” area from those resistant to the enlistment message. Loveridge’s doctoral study contains a helpful analysis of the extent of coercion among volunteers. He focuses on the number of volunteers vis-à-vis conscripts, around three to one, and the fact that around 26,000 men volunteered during the conscription period, suggesting that coercion may not have been as prevalent as previously believed: thousands of men willingly enlisted rather than face the possibility of a long wait before their conscription.<sup>84</sup> These were not the actions of men wanting to avoid active service, nor those of men who were subject to coercion.

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<sup>78</sup> Cadogan, 13-15, 25.

<sup>79</sup> Parsons, ‘Derelicts of the War?’ 37.

<sup>80</sup> Brooking, 98.

<sup>81</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 99.

<sup>82</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 97.

<sup>83</sup> Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country. The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History* (Australia: Penguin, 1996), cited in Brooking, 98.

<sup>84</sup> Loveridge, 21.

These various motivational factors were all present within and outside of the churches, and seemingly pervaded all of New Zealand society. Examination of the denominational press, sermons, and the written and spoken words of clergy and church members reveal a culture which used appeals to patriotism, adventure, and duty to family and friends to convince men to enlist. Negative reinforcement was also used whereby men were criticised and attacked for not enlisting, though these should not be overemphasised and have perhaps been overstated by past historians. Similar appeals and motivations were found in the non-denominational press. The arguments used by clergy within an unambiguous church context, such as a sermon or article in a denominational newspaper, were the same as those used in non-church contexts, such as public recruiting meetings. There was no need for the arguments to be modified to fit different audiences, for the audience held broadly similar views, whatever the setting.

What is principally lacking from the historiography, except in the case of a few authors, is an acknowledgement that churches provided powerful support to the state in communicating the enlistment message. Baker mentions the role of the church sparingly, while Lineham, Breward and Davidson are among the small number who have discussed it. In fact the churches preached enlistment week after week, affirming their message with their implicit moral authority. This message was intrinsically connected with the churches' belief that the war was just, sacred and holy. In such a war the church had to support the enlistment message – after all, the soldiers were fighting in a just war on the side of God against His enemies. It was an important element in convincing men to enlist, one that was independent of the state yet ready and willing to lend its voice to the state's lead. The issue deserves more examination.

### **Conscription**

In 1916, New Zealand introduced conscription. Events during the war had provided several boosts to voluntary recruiting. In 1915 it had even been mooted that conscription would not be needed. However, by the end of that year it was clear that the number of volunteers was declining. Recruiting rallies were regularly receiving just a handful of men coming forward, and at some no men would volunteer. The medical requirements for recruits were relaxed again and again, yet men continued to be found medically unfit for active service. Such extravaganzas as the parades of March and April 1916 were clearly attracting only a small proportion of the numbers needed. This decline, combined with the expansion of the Dominion's war effort, sealed the fate of voluntary recruiting. The reinforcement rate needed was now twenty per cent of the deployed force every two months, unsustainable without conscription.

The journey to New Zealand's introduction of conscription started in November 1915 when Parliament passed the National Registration Act, requiring all men of military age to register and indicate their willingness to serve in the army. Sixty percent of registrants indicated that they would volunteer if needed, but, when summoned, over two-thirds refused to come forward. Defence Minister James Allen was forced to accept that the only means of sustaining the Dominion's war effort was through conscription.<sup>85</sup> Prime Minister Massey first announced that conscription would be introduced in March 1916 and the Military Service Bill was passed into law on June 10. This act automatically enlisted all males aged 20 to 45. Unmarried men, widowers and those married since 1 May 1915 were placed in the 1<sup>st</sup> Division, the first pool from which recruits would be drawn. All others were placed in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Division, which would only be called upon when the 1<sup>st</sup> Division was exhausted. Only four members of parliament voted against the bill at its third reading – three from the Labour Party and one Independent Liberal.<sup>86</sup> Voluntary enlistment was still permitted but conscripted men would make up the balance of each military district's quota.<sup>87</sup> The first ballot of men was held in November 1916. From that date the proportion of conscripts within each reinforcement increased, reaching 75% by the second half of 1917.<sup>88</sup>

Introducing conscription became increasingly popular with the New Zealand public as the war progressed. At the start of the war it had been felt that voluntary enlistment would be sufficient to provide enough recruits. It corresponded to what many people believed to be an essential component of their British heritage and men were seemingly coming forward in sufficient numbers. Compulsion was thought to be fundamentally unBritish. There was also resistance to being the first part of the Empire to introduce compulsion for service overseas.<sup>89</sup> These beliefs came under attack as the war continued. Recruits were becoming more and more difficult to find, and many who did come forward were being rejected on medical grounds. Questions were asked about the benefits of a system where those considered the most patriotic, the most dutiful, and the most committed to the war were being sent to the front and suffering wounds or death, while the "shirker," who self-evidently lacked these qualities, remained behind. Fears were also raised that underage youths were being allowed to enlist in

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<sup>85</sup> John Martin, "Blueprint for the Future? 'National Efficiency' and the First World War," in Crawford and McGibbon, 518.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 518-19.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 519.

<sup>88</sup> Drew, 9; Martin, 519.

<sup>89</sup> Baker, 31-32.



order to meet recruiters' quotas. Conscription would end the perceived and actual unequal recruiting demands placed on the military districts. From August 1914 to June 1915 the Otago Military District was expected to furnish the same number of men as the Auckland Military District, despite the population disparity. Changes to this system in June 1915 resulted in complaints that Auckland was being denuded of military-aged men at a faster rate than other areas.<sup>90</sup>

Some people began to question the loyalty of certain socio-economic and religious groups. In September 1915 James McCombs, Social Democrat and Member of Parliament for Lyttelton, used statistics to "prove" that 68% of the 4<sup>th</sup> Reinforcements had been "workers" and 19% had been "farmers." He argued that only 47% of the workforce were "workers" whereas 29% were "farmers," indicating that "workers" were enlisting at a far higher proportion than others. It is likely that his figures were incorrect and the categories somewhat elastic, but they highlighted a sense of bitterness held by some at the perception that "workers" were bearing the brunt of the war effort while "farmers" shirked their duty and were getting rich off war profits.<sup>91</sup> Voluntarism had created divisions in society that compulsion, many believed, would preclude while ensuring that fairness prevailed.<sup>92</sup>

It took some time for the nation to reconcile itself to the introduction of compulsion. Baker argued that some groups had been more willing to consider it than others, writing that it was the ordinary citizens who first began to advocate conscription, long before a consensus emerged in government.<sup>93</sup> An examination of the *Times* backs up this assertion, with letters to the editor indicating a clear swing in favour of conscription while editorials continued to argue for voluntarism. Letters arguing for compulsion began to be published from June 1915.<sup>94</sup> Despite a tentative discussion of the subject in an editorial that month, it was not until December 1915 that that newspaper unequivocally endorsed compulsion. It argued that there were only a few people who opposed conscription, that compulsion was not undemocratic and that its introduction would be 'the outcome of the free working of the democratic institutions of the Dominion.'<sup>95</sup> These points would seem to support Oliver's argument that conscription

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<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>91</sup> In 1916 the Social Democrat Party merged with the United Labour Party to become the New Zealand Labour Party. Baker, 54.

<sup>92</sup> Martin, 519.

<sup>93</sup> Baker, 44-45.

<sup>94</sup> Alexander May, letter to the editor, *Times*, 9/6/1915, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 15/12/1915, 4.

was not necessary and was only introduced because the ‘conscience of the majority’ was ‘outraged’ at the thought that some men were refusing to serve.<sup>96</sup> This, however, is not true. Numbers of volunteers were declining, a large pool of New Zealand men who would not volunteer under any circumstance had been uncovered and New Zealand’s military commitment was in danger of withering if adequate reinforcements could not be found. Conscription was necessary if the Dominion was to maintain its military forces. Without conscription New Zealand’s commitment would have fallen short by some 25%.

New Zealand’s government was determined that conscription should not be adopted until all other possible avenues had been explored.<sup>97</sup> Ever larger and more elaborate recruiting efforts were launched in an attempt to attract those who had not yet enlisted, and the National Registration Act was passed. The national recruiting board was the last attempt at voluntary recruiting. Its intention was to appoint representatives to approach those who had not yet enlisted and ask them directly if they were prepared to do so. The intention was similar to Britain’s Derby scheme, and superficially had the support of local government and unions. In practice, the scheme was a failure and had minimal impact on enlistment. By early 1916 it was clear that this last attempt would fail, and the government introduced the Military Service Bill.<sup>98</sup> Politicians, when debating the Military Service Bill, referred to the overwhelming proportion of New Zealanders who backed conscription. Richard Moore believed 90% of New Zealanders supported the Bill, John Barr believed the number to be 95%, and Alfred Newman said ‘I believe that ... the bulk of the people believe it is absolutely necessary.’<sup>99</sup>

Belich has argued that there was greater resistance to the introduction of conscription ‘than legend allows.’<sup>100</sup> Putting aside the exact definition of the “conscription legend,” his statement seems to be that there was more widespread opposition to conscription than previously acknowledged. This is rejected by other historians, including Baker and David Grant. These two have argued that the government prevaricated over the introduction of conscription for far longer than was strictly necessary.<sup>101</sup> Their research indicated that workers’ and farmers’

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<sup>96</sup> Oliver, *The Story of New Zealand*, 169.

<sup>97</sup> Baker, 42-43.

<sup>98</sup> Drew, xx.

<sup>99</sup> Alfred Newman was Member for Wellington East, John Barr and Richard Moore were members of the Legislative Council. Parliamentary Debates 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 19<sup>th</sup> Parliament, Wellington 1916, Govt printer, 884-887; Parliamentary Debates 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 19<sup>th</sup> Parliament, Wellington 1916, Govt printer, 902-903; Parliamentary Debates 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 19<sup>th</sup> Parliament, Wellington 1916, Govt printer, 498-500.

<sup>100</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 99.

<sup>101</sup> Grant, *Field Punishment No. 1*, 22; Baker, 95.

unions, community organisations, chambers of commerce, patriotic associations and local government groups all passed resolutions in favour of introducing conscription in late 1915 and early 1916.<sup>102</sup> Many of these groups shared leaders and members, but their membership represented a large cross-section of the community.<sup>103</sup> Private citizens were, in public at least, largely in favour of its introduction. The labour movement itself was fragmented. Organised and vocal opposition to the bill came from just one group – radical labour. It was the Government’s fear of this group, particularly coal miners and wharf workers, together with the disruption to the Dominion’s economy they could cause, that contributed to its reticence. The *Maoriland Worker* threatened nationwide industrial strife.<sup>104</sup> Memories of the disruption caused by the 1913 strikes were fresh in the minds of New Zealand’s politicians, who feared a return to those conditions in the midst of war. The differing philosophies of workers’ rights, coupled with pragmatism, ‘generated friction with union leaders, who often prioritised regional grievances and loyalties.’<sup>105</sup> Self-interest among labour meant that some unions withdrew their vocal objection to conscription once the government guaranteed them exemption from the Military Service Act.<sup>106</sup>

### **Conscription and Parliament**

Few historians have discussed in depth the significance of the numbers in the three votes in Parliament on the issue of conscription.<sup>107</sup> An examination of the figures hints at the possibility that the vote was not as clear-cut as hitherto believed. Only 58 out of 80 members cast their vote on the second reading of the bill, and this decreased to 52 at the third reading. The number of those openly opposing the bill was very small – just five at the second reading and four at the third – ensuring an overwhelming majority for conscription. However, the fact that 28 members had not been present and had not made proxy arrangements for the third reading could be interpreted as indicating a greater level of opposition by the Dominion’s elected leaders. It is also possible that this reflected the belief that the matter was a foregone conclusion and that the government did not need to ensure that all members who supported

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<sup>102</sup> Randal Burdon, *The New Dominion: A Social and Political History of New Zealand 1918-39* (Wellington: A. H. and A. W. Reed, 1965), 9.

<sup>103</sup> Baker, 96-97.

<sup>104</sup> P. S. O’Connor, “The Awkward Ones – Dealing with Conscience 1916-1918,” *New Zealand Journal of History*, 8, no. 2 (1974): 118.

<sup>105</sup> Loveridge, 56

<sup>106</sup> Littlewood, 2.

<sup>107</sup> Baker, 85, 87, 89-90.

the bill were present. Six members who had not cast a vote at the second reading did so at the third, and one member, Henry Thacker, changed from opposing the bill at its second reading to supporting it at its third.<sup>108</sup> When the voting records of the second and third readings are combined it means that 57 out of the Dominion's 80 members of the House of Representatives voted for conscription, four against and nineteen members refrained from casting any vote. The two-thirds of the House of Representatives who voted for conscription over the two readings represented an overwhelming number and a crushing victory over those who opposed it, yet the motivations of the nineteen members who abstained from the vote warrant further investigation.<sup>109</sup>

Some Parliamentarians used religious language and Christian belief to justify their support for the Military Service Bill. During the parliamentary debates, Gilbert Carson referred to the 'glorious deeds of our boys ... who have made the ultimate sacrifice ... never to be awakened until they hear the trump of God on resurrection morn.'<sup>110</sup> Later, he used events recounted in the Biblical Book of Judges as an analogy to refer to possible future treatment of men who did not enlist to fight – these men would be cursed by God.<sup>111</sup> Some parliamentarians had argued that the reason for a decline in volunteers was the soldiers' low level of pay. John Barr argued that men were motivated by '... a far higher and nobler principle than that of mere advantage or selling themselves for a few pieces of silver,' clearly alluding to the righteousness of the British cause and Judas' betrayal of Christ.<sup>112</sup> Leonard Isitt argued that all New Zealand men were under a 'moral conscription,' using the words of Isaiah 6:8, 'Here I am, send me,' to justify his belief.<sup>113</sup>

This use of religious language is important, as it indicates again the pervasiveness of religion within New Zealand society. It was not just a case of some men referring to God in a speech. Biblical passages and analogies were used to justify the state's actions in compelling men to fight. It indicates a continuation of arguments used to convince men to enlist – the Bible and religious language could be used to compel as well as cajole. Importantly, these arguments

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<sup>108</sup> Henry Thacker was the Member of the House of representatives for Christchurch East.

<sup>109</sup> Parliamentary Debates 2<sup>nd</sup> Session 19<sup>th</sup> Parliament, Wellington 1916, Govt printer, 647, 786.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 895. Carson was a Member of the Legislative Council from 1914 to 1921.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 898.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 901. Barr was a Member of the Legislative Council from 1907 to 1930.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 537-542. Isitt was the Member of the House of Representatives for Christchurch North from 1911 to 1925, then a Member of the Legislative Council until 1937. He was an Independent during the wartime Government.

would not have been used if they had not resonated with, and been understood by, both the men in Parliament and the wider community of voters.

### **Conscription and the Anglican Church**

It is difficult to ascertain the Anglican Church's views regarding conscription. The *Envoy* made very little mention of it and there seems to have been scant debate or discussion about it within the general or diocesan synods or parishes. Those few people who did record a view favoured its introduction. The *Envoy* first referred to conscription in November 1915, a significant time as this was when the National Registration Act came into force. The editor accepted that compulsion was a term 'harsh and ugly in our ears,' but the time had come for its introduction. He believed that New Zealand's men must be prepared to fight and justified this by arguing that people who possessed freedom should be prepared to defend this by fighting, concluding that 'it is a matter of justice, and the time has come, nay it is long past, when the state should apply the principle of compulsion.'<sup>114</sup> Edmund Nevill made similar arguments. He attacked anti-conscriptionists, arguing that 'national service is founded on absolute justice' and that national defence was 'a right of service and a duty of defence.' Churchill Julius, Bishop of Christchurch, had advocated conscription at the 1915 C.E.M.S. conference, arguing, 'We shall never carry through this war, in my judgement, without conscription.'<sup>115</sup> These men had resolved that conscription was necessary in order to defend the country and the Empire, and had done so far in advance of the Government's decision on the matter. The 1916 General Synod, at which both clergy and laity voted, passed a resolution in urging the government to adopt conscription.<sup>116</sup> Clearly their views support the conclusions formed by Grant and Baker, discussed above (p. 161).

The lack of any letters in the *Envoy* on the subject of conscription, or of any records of discussion within church organisations, makes it difficult to ascertain the views of Anglican parishioners. Baker's and Grant's conclusions, together with reports from the major daily newspapers, suggest that it is likely that a large majority of Anglicans would have expressed some measure of support. Any opposition that did exist came from elements on society's fringe. Pacifists and anti-conscriptionists seem to have had little official support from within

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<sup>114</sup> "Conscription," *Envoy*, November 1915, 349.

<sup>115</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 4/1/1916, 4.

<sup>116</sup> "Limelight," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 20/5/1916, 8.

the church and consequently it would be reasonable to believe that they had little support among the Anglican Church's lay membership.<sup>117</sup>

### **Conscription and the Presbyterian Church**

There is considerable evidence concerning the Presbyterian Church's attitude towards conscription. It was exactly one month after the Gallipoli landings that the *Outlook's* editor first commented on conscription, arguing that despite the 'splendid response' of volunteers the 'extraordinary times' that were being experienced made 'the adoption of some system of national conscription not only desirable, but essential.'<sup>118</sup> The inevitability of conscription was a theme the editor returned to several times in the twelve months prior to the Military Service Act becoming law. Conscription was seen as a means of securing the necessary number of men to maintain New Zealand's commitments, as well as ensuring equality of sacrifice. Only conscription could compel the "shirkers," "wasters" and "loafers" to do their "duty."<sup>119</sup> By April 1916 the editor was arguing against voluntary recruiting as a means of maintaining the army:

What is the reason that men are virtually under the influence of a specious enthusiasm or an artificially contrived emotion, being dragged out and forced to do their duty? Better by far straight out compulsion than to dub this sort of thing the 'last hope of voluntarism.'<sup>120</sup>

Many Presbyterian clergy seem to have favoured introducing conscription from an early stage of the war. Over the course of the conscription debate, the *Outlook* published sermons, articles, and poetry by clergy supporting the introduction of conscription.<sup>121</sup> Dickie believed in the right of the state to force men to do their duty if they would not do so of their own accord, preaching to this end in Knox Church in June 1915.<sup>122</sup> Miller, at a Caversham recruiting meeting, said that he would 'plum' for 'British conscription' if it became necessary.<sup>123</sup> Australia's rejection of conscription was criticised by Archibald Armstrong, Minister of Picton

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<sup>117</sup> Baker, 96-98.

<sup>118</sup> "War and Peace: a Chronicle and a Comment," *Outlook*, 25/5/1915, 4.

<sup>119</sup> '... we should incline to welcome compulsion if only for the sake of teaching the parasitic hordes who fatten ignobly upon what ought to be a noble sport that there is a more cleanly and righteous life to be found than perpetual wallowing in the sty of gambling and drinking to which they have too long habituated themselves.' Editorial, *Outlook*, 11/1/1916, 3; Editorial, *Outlook*, 30/5/1916, 5.

<sup>120</sup> "The Church and the War: A Chronicle and a Comment," *Outlook*, 4/4/1916, 4.

<sup>121</sup> For examples see Rev D. Smith, "The Conscientious Objector," *Outlook*, 13/3/1917, 28-29; Rev Dr Robert Erwin, "The Conscientious Objector. Discussion by the Christchurch Presbytery," *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 7-8.

<sup>122</sup> "A Stinging Sermon. The Kaiser and the President," *Witness*, 16/6/1915, 79.

<sup>123</sup> "The Recruiting Meetings," *Times*, 22/5/1915, 5.

Presbyterian Church, in a poem published by the *Outlook*. Armstrong argued that Simon, who was forced by Roman soldiers to carry Christ's cross for a time, was an 'honourable conscript.' Australians were portrayed as having refused to pick up their cross and breaking faith with those who had volunteered and been killed on active service – they had turned their back on 'a glorious heritage.'<sup>124</sup> The strong emotion evoked by this poem indicates the passion with which some New Zealanders greeted Australia's vote, as well as a firm belief in the need to introduce conscription into New Zealand. *Outlook* correspondents indicated that more clergy than just those published were preaching the need for conscription.<sup>125</sup>

It is more difficult to ascertain the extent to which the congregations of the Presbyterian Church supported conscription.. The existence of an anti-compulsion constituency was acknowledged by the *Outlook* when its editor discussed Australia's first conscription referendum. He acknowledged the men and women who 'seriously questioned whether in the long term a policy of compulsion will prove in the best interests of the Empire and the world at large' and compared these people with those who 'disliking the principle underlying military compulsion accept it as one among many unpleasant things rendered necessary by the exigencies of war, and who believe that compulsion is essential to victory' and those who 'believe in the principle of compulsion heart and soul, and who glory in the war as bringing out all that is best and noblest in the manhood of the Empire.'<sup>126</sup> Baker's and Grant's arguments are clearly supported by the tone of the *Outlook*'s editorials.

The differing views over conscription were publicly aired in 1916 when Christchurch Presbytery passed a series of resolutions concerning conscientious objectors. These articles and letters provide information on individuals' attitudes towards conscription, and provide an interesting insight into the views of Presbyterians on the matter. During the pre-war period Christchurch had had the greatest number of objectors to the New Zealand Defence Acts, and several wartime anti-conscription organisations were based in that city.<sup>127</sup> Christchurch Presbytery, over the course of a series of motions concerning conscientious objectors, confirmed both the rightness of the Government's decision and the necessity of conscription

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<sup>124</sup> Rev A. A. Armstrong, "New Zealand's Reply to Australia: The Cross of Compulsion," *Outlook*, 16/1/1917, 30.

<sup>125</sup> 'As laymen we have heard addresses by our ministers on the duty of Christians to go forward to the fighting line.' "Elder," letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 14/5/1918, 28.

<sup>126</sup> "The Bulletin and the Bible. Thoughts on the Australian Referendum," *Outlook*, 7/11/1916, 3.

<sup>127</sup> R. L. Weitzel, "Pacifists and Anti-militarists in New Zealand, 1909-1914," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 7, no. 2 (1973): 129-130.

in New Zealand. Motions explicitly upheld the ‘the principle of National Military Service in the present crisis’ and resolved that ‘it is our duty to fight.’<sup>128</sup> Robert Erwin, the Presbytery’s Moderator, stated that he had ‘nothing to say against national service.’<sup>129</sup> Charles Murray, a committed anti-militarist and pacifist, was the only Presbytery member to vote against endorsing national service.<sup>130</sup>

Articles regarding Christchurch Presbytery sparked much correspondence within the *Outlook*. Twelve correspondents comprehensively debated the issues surrounding conscription and compulsion. G. W. T. Hercus argued that it was a Christian’s duty to obey the laws of the state, and that God had endowed the state with the right to make war ‘in the sacred cause of right.’<sup>131</sup> “RD” argued that the state had the right to impose the duty of soldiering on its citizens.<sup>132</sup> William Smaill argued that behind the war and the death associated with it was ‘the wisdom and the love of God.’<sup>133</sup> J. Mackay began his letter by stating:

We Presbyterians are proud to remember that ours is a fighting Church – a Church that oppressors have learned to fear, and we venture to think that nowhere has the call to national and Imperial defence and the piteous cry of the little peoples found a quicker and nobler response than from our young men.<sup>134</sup>

Charles Murray, James Bain and “Conscientious Objector” argued against the state’s right to impose conscription on its population and force it to fight.<sup>135</sup> Intrinsic to their argument was what each correspondent perceived to be God’s will. Those in favour of compulsion argued that the British cause was just and righteous, and that therefore the state was acting ‘as an instrument of punishment towards another nation.’<sup>136</sup> In such a cause it was right for men to be compelled to fight. Those opposed argued that warfare was an intrinsically unchristian act and that consequently the state could not and should not force a man to fight. There was no consensus to conclude the debate – the two sides were diametrically opposed. What is clear is that correspondents arguing against conscription were in the minority, and those clergy who

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<sup>128</sup> “The Conscientious Objector and Other Important Matters,” *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 3-4; “The Conscientious Objector. Discussion by the Christchurch Presbytery,” *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 7-8.

<sup>129</sup> “The Conscientious Objector. Discussion by the Christchurch Presbytery,” *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 7-8.

<sup>130</sup> “The Conscientious Objector and Other Important Matters,” *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 3-4.

<sup>131</sup> G. W. T. Hercus of Balfour, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 29/8/1916, 8.

<sup>132</sup> “RD,” letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 17/10/1916, 10.

<sup>133</sup> Wm. Smaill, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 10/4/1917, 27.

<sup>134</sup> J. Mackay of Dunedin, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 19/3/1918, 13-14.

<sup>135</sup> For examples see James Bain, letter to editor, *Outlook*, 12/9/1916, 15; Charles Murray, 26/9/1916, 22; 7/11/1916, 29; 27/3/1917, 29; “Conscientious Objector” 26/9/1916, 22.

<sup>136</sup> “RD,” letter to the Editor, *Outlook*, 28/11/1916, 10.



argued against conscription were an even smaller minority. The vast majority of Presbyterians and their clergy supported conscription.

Dunedin Presbytery did not debate the introduction of conscription. This is significant as the pre-war compulsory military training scheme had sparked considerable and acrimonious debate. Many members, lay and ordained, registered emphatic objection to the scheme and possible church involvement. Membership of the Presbytery was broadly similar in 1916 to that of 1911, indicating that those who had objected in 1911 had reconsidered their position.<sup>137</sup> Peacetime compulsory military training had also been controversial in many Dunedin congregations and was discussed in eight congregations' Sessions and Deacons' Courts.<sup>138</sup> Port Chalmers Session took a stance in direct opposition to its minister, the Session opposing the scheme and the minister favouring it. There was no comparable discussion on the matter of conscription within the committees of these or any other Dunedin congregations during the Great War.<sup>139</sup> Conscription was accepted and no objection was recorded. The lack of discussion provides a strong indication that New Zealand's introduction of conscription was widely supported by the majority of Dunedin's Presbyterians.

### **Conscription and the Roman Catholic Church**

The Catholic church made little comment regarding conscription during 1915 and early 1916. The *Tablet* confined itself to a "watching brief" regarding conscription, as its editor informed the correspondent "FWB": "We have never advocated conscription or compulsory service; we have never so much as expressed an opinion on the subject."<sup>140</sup> In late 1915, seven months prior to its introduction, it commented on how Dunedin trades unions, amongst them the Hillside railway workshop workers, had expressed their support for the introduction of

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<sup>137</sup> The pre-war Compulsory Military Training Scheme, and the possibility of specific Presbyterian companies being formed, was the subject of a series of debates within Presbytery. Motions and counter-motions were proposed and passed, and several declared illegal under the Presbytery's rules. Opposition to the training scheme was led by Cameron, Davies, and Reid while Whyte, Dixon, Dutton and Chisholm backed church participation. The Presbytery's eventual decision to reject association with compulsory military training sparked the dissent of Whyte, Dixon, Nicholson, Sutherland, and Chisholm. For more information, see Minutes 11/4/1911, 2/5/1911, 23/5/1911, 6/6/1911, 20/6/1911, 20/7/1911, and 20/7/1911, Presbytery Minute Book 1907-13, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/6), PCANZAO; "Editorial," *Outlook*, 9/5/1911, 4; "Editorial," 23/5/1911, 3-4; "The Church and Defence," 30/5/1911, 25-27.

<sup>138</sup> The eight congregations were Anderson's Bay, First Church, Kaikorai, Maori Hill, Mornington, Port Chalmers, Roslyn and St. Andrew's.

<sup>139</sup> The pre-war compulsory military training scheme was broadly backed by the congregations of Mornington, Kaikorai, Maori Hill, and Roslyn Presbyterian Churches, but opposed by those from Anderson's Bay, Port Chalmers and St. Andrew's.

<sup>140</sup> "Answers to Correspondents," *Tablet*, 8/7/1915p 29.

conscription, and stated that if support 'was as strong in the rest of New Zealand as it is in Dunedin, sooner or later the hands of the Government will be forced.'<sup>141</sup> By May 1916 it believed that conscription 'was certain to come.'<sup>142</sup> Following conscription's introduction the church adopted a broadly supportive position. It went to great pains to dissociate itself from anti-conscription organisations. Both the Catholic Federation and Brodie issued categorical denials of any official church support for the Conscription Repeal League when that body's President declared that it had the support of Canterbury's Catholics.<sup>143</sup> The *Tablet* reprinted the ruling by Australasia's Apostolic Delegate that Catholics should obey the law and defend their country, and that the church should have no official position on the question: conscription was a temporal rather than spiritual matter.<sup>144</sup> In late 1916 the Catholic Federation was forced to issue another statement dissociating itself from West Coast-based anti-conscription organisations. Once again, it declared that the Federation's only position was that conscription was the law, and all Catholics should obey it: '[The] matter was completely outside the functions or jurisdiction of this federation.'<sup>145</sup>

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The extent to which the churches in New Zealand were involved in the arguments for and against conscription was very different from the Australian experience. There, all denominations took an active part in the debate, the Protestant churches arguing for conscription while Catholicism argued against it. Michael McKernan wrote that Protestant churches were motivated primarily by trying to convince men to make the morally correct decision to enlist, by force if necessary.<sup>146</sup> Churches had to participate in the debate because of the fundamentally just and righteous war that the Empire was involved in. Equally, many within the Catholic church believed that the state had little or no right to compel men to fight. Officially the Catholic church rejected the argument that the state could legislate morality,

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<sup>141</sup> "The Week and the War," *Tablet*, 4/11/1915, 35.

<sup>142</sup> "Sidelights on the War," *Tablet*, 11/5/1916, 18.

<sup>143</sup> The Apostolic Delegate had been asked to rule on the matter by Archbishop Duhig of Brisbane, Australia. "Catholics and the War," *Tablet*, 21/12/1916, 36.

<sup>144</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 21/12/1916, 21.

<sup>145</sup> "The Empire's Call. Disclaimer from Catholic Federation," *Witness*, 13/12/1916, 40.

<sup>146</sup> McKernan, 90, 116.

seeing the debate as purely political.<sup>147</sup> Shades of opinion existed within denominations, but the broad division between Catholic and Protestant reflected the majority positions.<sup>148</sup>

Similar arguments were seldom expressed in New Zealand. Neither the Presbyterian nor the Anglican Church seems to have viewed conscription exclusively as a moral issue. Rather, arguments were based on the need for soldiers to maintain the military commitment and as a means of ensuring equality of sacrifice across all parts of the country. Morality, identified by McKernan as so vital to Australian Protestants, was discussed within the Presbyterian Church, but it was just one of several different arguments put forward to justify conscription. At the same time, Roman Catholic opposition to conscription was largely lacking during early 1916. It is possible that religious arguments, both for or against, would have been more widespread if New Zealand had had a referendum on the subject. However it is impossible to tell with any form of certainty.

### **Conscription of Clergy and the Anglican Church**

The Anglican Church had a long tradition of clergy serving as chaplains during periods of armed conflict. Clergy were not expected to enlist as soldiers, and the church placed no pressure upon clergymen to volunteer as such. Caring for the spiritual needs of parishioners and soldiers was believed to be immensely more important than fighting as a soldier. This point was made clear by Averill and Nevill in 1916, the latter writing:

I must say that I think that for a priest in the church of God, whose chief ministerial duty is the consecration of the elements to be to us the sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, to shed the blood of his fellow man, even in a cause as sacred as our own, is a thing to be avoided if possible.<sup>149</sup>

The Anglican Church firmly believed that it had the support of both its parishioners and members of the armed forces in this stance. It maintained that ‘no true soldier or sailor wants a priest to enlist. The true soldier or sailor wants a praying people at home’ and the only means to assure this was to have priests at home, caring for their congregations.<sup>150</sup>

Herbert Goertz, vicar of Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, challenged this position. He maintained that the canon prohibiting priests from fighting was flawed, believing that it had been passed as

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<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 91,

<sup>148</sup> Jeff Kildea, “Australian Catholics and Conscription in the Great War,” in *The Journal of Religious History*, Vol 26, No 3 (October 2002), 300-301.

<sup>149</sup> “The Military Service Act and the Clergy,” *Envoy*, December 1916, 334.

<sup>150</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, February 1916, 35, 37.

a response to priests being absent from their charges, not as a proscription against priests fighting *per se*. Goertz maintained that priests serving with the Red Cross or the medical corps were as much soldiers as a man in the frontline, and that consequently the canon was already being violated. He further justified his decision to enlist by the 37<sup>th</sup> Article of Religion in the Book of Common Prayer, which stated: 'It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the magistrate, to wear arms and to serve in wars.'<sup>151</sup> Goertz argued that a priest was demonstrably a "Christian man" and consequently could not be forbidden from fighting as a soldier on the grounds of canon law. A priest was no more special in this regard than any other man, and his position within the church made it important for him to set an example. If men were being sent to fight with the blessing of the church, then the church should raise no barriers to priests fighting as soldiers.<sup>152</sup>

In May 1917 Goertz, despite opposition from Nevill, resigned his position at Holy Trinity and volunteered for active service as a soldier. That same month the *Envoy* published a letter expressing the parish's regret at Goertz's decision. Their regret centred on Goertz leaving the parish. It did not address the more philosophical grounds of a priest fighting as a soldier. It is clear that the parish wished Goertz to remain as their priest. However, it also stated that 'in whatever capacity our vicar goes to the front, fighting physically or ecclesiastically, we are confident that his influence will spread far and wide to the glory of God.' Goertz's decision was not condemned, and there was no hint that the parishioners disapproved of priests serving as soldiers. Nevill's proscription on priests fighting as soldiers was seemingly not supported by all Anglicans.<sup>153</sup>

It must be stressed that Goertz's view was not shared by many clergy, and in the event he served as a chaplain, not as a soldier. Many Anglicans believed that God was using the war both as a means of chastising society and as a spur to the general reformation of society. Victory would only come about when society had been restructured and made worthy of victory, a process that could only be completed by society purging itself of ungodly practices and immorality. This viewpoint demanded that priests minister to their parishes and not enlist to fight, and this was by far the majority view. Service as chaplains was seen as an extension of this work.

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<sup>151</sup> H. B. Goertz, letter to the editor, *Envoy*, April 1917, 83.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> "The Rev. H. B. Goertz," *Envoy*, May 1918, 110.

It was not until the advent of conscription that the Anglican Church's views on priests' participation in the war was openly questioned. The Military Service Act made no provision for blanket exemptions for men from reserved occupations and cases for individual exemptions would be heard by the Military Service Boards.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, the Act did not mandate consistency across the different boards. The situation could, and did, arise whereby two boards would issue different decisions on similar cases.

The position of clergy *vis-a-vis* the Military Service Act was discussed at the 1916 Anglican General Synod and it was firmly agreed that the proscription on priests serving as combatants should be upheld and that the place of the priest was in his home parish or as an army chaplain. It was therefore disconcerting for the Synod to be informed by the Minister of Defence that, notwithstanding the church's position, the Ministry's understanding of the Act was that there were no blanket exemptions for clergy, and that clergy who were called up were expected to join the army unless good reason could be offered for their exemption. The Board could grant an extension or recommend that the clergyman serve in a non-combatant position, but the ultimate decision as to combatant or non-combatant service was in the hands of the defence authorities. Consequently, the 1916 General Synod passed a resolution authorising each bishop to apply for exemption on behalf of any clergymen balloted.<sup>155</sup>

Nevill applied for an exemption for two clergy, Alfred Button and Ernest Streete.<sup>156</sup> In each case an appeal was lodged on the basis of a lack of a suitably qualified alternative to the appellant, on his being in an essential occupation, and on the appellant being a priest.<sup>157</sup>

Button was vicar of the Waimea Plains parish, a district nominally containing some 1,000 Anglicans. There were four preaching places, each with an average attendance of forty people, and it was argued that Button's replacement would have to come from Gore or Queenstown,

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<sup>154</sup> Four Military Service Boards (MSB) were established under the Military Service Act, one in each of the four Military Districts. All MSBs would include a Magistrate as its chairman and a rural representative. The Wellington and Otago MSBs had a trades union leader nominated by the labour movement, and the Auckland and Canterbury MSBs had an employer. The number of boards was increased in January 1917, with Otago and Auckland increasing to two boards, and Wellington and Canterbury to three.

<sup>155</sup> "The Clergy and Enlistment," *Witness*, 18/10/1916, 40.

<sup>156</sup> Alfred Button was vicar of Waimea Plains; Ernest Streete was vicar of Roxburgh. From January 1916 the Millers Flat portion of the parish of Dunstan was added to the Roxburgh parish.

<sup>157</sup> 'While quite prepared to offer my services to you as a 'chaplain' (or in any other non-combatant service) I plainly have no intention, after your Lordship's pronouncement, of taking the oath to bear arms, but will place myself at your disposal in any other capacity.' Letter, Streete to Bishop 23/4/1917, Folder 1, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

too distant to provide effective support to the community.<sup>158</sup> Button's appeal was filed in November 1916, and the case came before the Otago Military Service Board in January 1917.

Nevill's argument that clergy should be exempt from military service received an unsympathetic reception from the Board.<sup>159</sup> The Chairman seems to have been well aware that this case could set a wide-ranging precedent and was disinclined to accept Nevill's justifications, and the case was adjourned several times to allow the Board more time for consideration. Fitchett replaced Nevill at the second hearing, but the Chairman was as unimpressed with Fitchett's arguments as he had been with Nevill's. When Fitchett claimed that the Anglican Church was 'the best recruiting agency in the country,' the Chairman replied that to set 'an example by going would be better than preaching.'<sup>160</sup> Exemption was eventually granted, but the Board took its time and based the exemption on the specific nature of Button's role in Northern Southland. It refused to consider the argument that clergy should be granted a blanket exemption.

Streete was vicar of Roxburgh and Miller's Flat. As with Button, Nevill appeared before the Otago Military Service Board in January 1918 to argue Streete's case for exemption. This time, there was less antagonism from the Board regarding granting an exemption and the case was adjourned *sine die*.<sup>161</sup>

These two cases are important as they indicate how some clergy were at odds with some sections of society. Diocesan clergy believed that being a priest conferred a special status. Clergy could serve as chaplains or in other non-combatant roles, but not in any capacity where they may be called upon to do harm. Nevill was adamant that clergy should not bear arms and this point was argued before the Military Service Boards. Nevill was predisposed to oppose any and all attempts to conscript clergy for service in the N.Z.E.F. as the Military Service Boards could only recommend, not guarantee, non-combatant service. The Anglican Church also

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<sup>158</sup> "Military Service Boards. Sitting in Dunedin. The Case of Clergymen," *Witness*, 10/1/1917, 37.

<sup>159</sup> In reply to Bishop Nevill, the Military Service Board's chairman stated, 'In view of the Bishop's formal announcement that he is resolved to prevent each and every member of the Anglican clergy from service with the forces, the board is of opinion that the immediate granting of exemption to the first applicant in their ranks would imply a surrender to the complete acceptance of the Bishop's claims in all remaining cases, since no special or exceptional feature is alleged or suggested in the specific case of Mr Button. We therefore adjourn the present case until the next meeting of this board for full consideration in view of these clergymen being liable to be called up, and an opportunity thus afforded of considering the question in its wider aspect rather than on an individual application.' "Military Service Boards. Sitting in Dunedin. The Case of Clergymen," *Witness*, 10/1/1917, 37.

<sup>160</sup> "Military Service Boards. Sitting in Dunedin. General Cases," *Witness*, 7/2/1917, 21.

<sup>161</sup> "Military Service Board. Sitting in Dunedin," *Witness*, 23/1/1918, 43.

maintained that priests were fighting just as much as a soldier in the front line. This spiritual warfare was deemed to be just as important in attaining victory as the warfare in the trenches of France and Flanders.

Equally important was the response of the Military Service Board. Some people believed that having spent the past two years or more convincing as many men as possible to volunteer, the Anglican church should practise what it preached. The Chairman in Button's case was adamant that he was not going to grant an exemption based purely on the fact that the appellant was a clergyman. Scarcity of replacement was something that he was willing to consider as grounds for exemption; a blanket exemption for all who were in holy orders was not.

This is not to suggest that the Anglican Church did not support priests serving as chaplains. Streete had made it clear that he was very willing to serve as a chaplain to the forces. The Anglican Church was very supportive of priests who served as chaplains, despite the considerable disruption this caused to the life of the parish. Service as a chaplain was viewed in essentially the same way as service as a parish priest. The only difference was that the "parishioners" were men on active service. The priest was acting as a spiritual leader, not as a combatant.

### **Conscription of Clergy and the Roman Catholic Church**

The Catholic church maintained that men ordained to a role within the church should not be called upon to fight as soldiers. This had been stated early in the conflict and remained the official Catholic position throughout the war. Contradictions such as the priests who served in the French army were explained as a purely pragmatic solution to the French political situation, which refused to allow any grounds for religious exemption. Catholic clergy believed that they had received a firm commitment from Acting Prime Minister James Allen that all clergy in recognised denominations would be exempt from conscription.<sup>162</sup> The church's celibacy doctrine meant that all clergy were unmarried and consequently those of military age were placed in the first division. Catholicism faced losing all young clergy to the armed forces with no recognition of its institutional belief regarding armed service. Similar problems befell its teaching brothers and the church faced the prospect of many schools having to close due to lack of staff if conscription of clergy went ahead. The church quickly resolved to appeal all ballots of clergy, teaching brothers, or seminarians, and this was put to the test in early 1917

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<sup>162</sup> "A Conflict of Loyalties. The Military Compulsion of the Clergy," *Outlook*, 27/2/1917, 5.

when members of all categories were called up in the Wellington, Christchurch and Otago Dioceses.

The Catholic church had initially believed it had received a Government assurance that ordained clergy and those in the final part of their theological training would be exempt from conscription.<sup>163</sup> It expressed some disquiet regarding the lack of provision for exemptions for clergy, but meetings between the Acting Prime Minister and the Catholic hierarchy had, it believed, provided sufficient explanation and reassurance.<sup>164</sup> However it quickly became clear that this was not the case. By early 1917, after just six months of conscription and a handful of ballots, teaching brothers, clergy, final year seminarians and even Christchurch's bishop had been balloted. All had had to appeal their case in front of the board with the bishop of the Diocese appearing on their behalf. Where granted, the appeal was sustained only for the time that the priest or teaching brother was engaged in his current position, with the direction that, prior to the exhaustion of the first division, the appellant's case would be reviewed.<sup>165</sup> These rulings caused as much consternation within the Catholic church as they did within the Anglican Church, fuelling further the view that the government and its agents did not value the contribution made by the churches to the war effort. What was even more disturbing was that in several cases, the appeal was denied. It was not only those training for holy orders that were denied. Teaching brothers were similarly denied exemption, and appeals by seminarians seemed almost certain to be rejected.

There was no consistency across the Military Service Boards when assessing clergy for exemption. The Wellington Military Service Board refused to automatically accept exemption certificates from the Ministry of Defence, whereas the Otago Board took the opposite view. The latter allowed students at Holy Cross Seminary time to complete their final examinations, while the Wellington Board ordered seminarians to report to camp or face arrest.<sup>166</sup> The Otago Board refused to accept exemption certificates from two seminarians in March 1917, but did so for another seminarian in June.<sup>167</sup> By the middle of 1917 the chairman of the Wellington

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<sup>163</sup> "The Empire's Call. Call to the Colours. Position of Catholic Clergy," *Witness*, 6/12/1916, 45.

<sup>164</sup> "Clergy and the Compulsion Bill," *Tablet*, 1/6/1916, 30; "Current Topics. The Military Service Bill," 15/6/1916, 18; "Current Topics. The Clergy and Military Service," 7/12/1916, 21-22.

<sup>165</sup> "Military Service Boards. A Priest's Appeal," *Witness*, 28/3/1917, 22.

<sup>166</sup> "Catholic Federation," *Tablet*, 15/3/1917, 23-24.

<sup>167</sup> 'The board was of the opinion that there was no comparison between clergymen and students, and that as far as the students were concerned, notwithstanding the fact that the Minister had seen fit to give a certificate, they should not be exempted, and that the appeals should be dismissed.' Chairman of the Otago



Military Service Board was refusing to accept exemption certificates issued by the Ministry of Defence unless the board was satisfied that the exemption was justified.<sup>168</sup> The Military Service Boards had appropriated the right to overturn the decisions of the Ministry of Defence, itself headed by the Acting Prime Minister. The Boards were unable to direct the military authorities to place men in non-combatant duties.<sup>169</sup> The military advisor to the Wellington Board publicly stated that he would oppose all applications for exemption by anyone, regardless of their employment. Confusion reigned throughout the clergy, throughout the church and evidently amongst the Boards themselves.

Baker has argued that the Boards were independent of political control, and that this was evidenced by their treatment of exemption for Catholic clergy. David Littlewood's examination of the Wellington Military Service Boards provides persuasive evidence that Baker was incorrect. He argues that the Boards remained under political control but that it took time for Allen firstly to recognise the problem and then to exercise full control over the Boards' powers. An example of this is a conference of Board chairmen called by Allen which ultimately agreed to accept exemption certificates for clergy. Allen's objective was to bring the Boards' 'decisions into line' with Government thinking. It was Allen who had called the conference and he who secured the agreement of chairmen to conform with Government thinking. A veneer of democracy was maintained with a subsequent vote of board members endorsing the decision by twenty votes to eight.<sup>170</sup> Littlewood's conclusion that the Government ultimately maintained control over the boards is correct but what is important to note is that the perception of Government inability to deal with the issues raised by conscription of clergy, together with accusations of betrayal stemming from a belief that the Government had promised to exempt clergy, was widespread and persuasive. It was this perception, together with the insistence of Boards to grant exemptions on a *sine die* basis that caused such revulsion of feeling among New Zealand's Catholics. This perception may also be behind Baker's belief that the Boards were outside political control.

Conscription of clergy and the Government's perceived inability to restrict or direct the Boards' interpretation of their powers, spurred a nationwide reaction by the Dominion's

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Military Service Board, *Witness*, 21/3/1917, 21; "Military Service Board. Sitting in Dunedin. Roman Catholic Student," *Witness*, 11/4/1917, 4.

<sup>168</sup> "Military Service Boards. Roman Catholic Theological Students," *Witness*, 27/6/1917, 49.

<sup>169</sup> "The Military Service Act," *Tablet*, 19/7/1917, 31.

<sup>170</sup> Littlewood, 29.

Catholics. The *Tablet* initially restricted itself to justifications of its position on sacred and practical grounds. Editorials explained that clergy were consecrated and therefore unable to shed blood, and that conscripting them to fight would be akin to sacrilege.<sup>171</sup> As the number of clergy balloted increased the tone changed dramatically. By the middle of 1917 Allen, as both Acting Prime Minister and the Minister of Defence, was being abused in the *Tablet* at every opportunity. In late March 1917 he was likened to Pontius Pilate, an analogy equating priests with Christ. Thinly veiled threats of widespread resistance by Catholics to attempts to conscript clergy were made. One *Tablet* article stated: ‘The Church is our real country and the Cross our flag.’ Others advised all Catholics that it was their duty to join the Catholic Federation to enable better defence of Catholic interests, and accused Allen of having ‘disregard for the most sacred rights’ of Catholics.<sup>172</sup>

The *Tablet*’s success in mobilising Catholic opinion against the Government, and the very real disquiet that conscripting clergy, teaching brothers, and seminarians had caused amongst New Zealand’s Catholics, are reflected in the many and varied resolutions passed calling on the Government to rethink its policy. Parishes, Catholic organisations, national and local branches of the Catholic Federation, Hibernian Societies, seemingly every organisation affiliated to the Catholic church met and passed resolutions opposing Government policy. Within Dunedin, meetings of parishioners from St. Joseph’s Cathedral and Sacred Heart, Mosgiel and St. Patrick’s churches, as well as city-wide meetings, all recorded their opposition to conscription of clergy.<sup>173</sup> The Catholic Federation’s regional, Diocesan, and Dominion executives all passed resolutions opposing conscription of clergy, as did every congregation within the Wellington Diocese.<sup>174</sup> Meetings of former pupils of the Marist Brothers’ and Christian Brothers’ schools passed similar resolutions.<sup>175</sup> These people believed that exemption for clergy, seminarians, and teaching brothers was not only necessary due to their position within the church, it was also something that New Zealand should grant in recognition of the contribution made by

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<sup>171</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 1/3/1917, 33-34; “The Clergy and the Ballot,” *Tablet*, 8/3/1917, 33-34.

<sup>172</sup> “Above Our Country,” *Tablet*, 22/2/1917, 33-34; “Current Notes,” *Tablet*, 22/3/1917, 21-22.

<sup>173</sup> “Catholics and the War. Conscription of Clergy. Resolution of Protest,” *Witness*, 5/9/1917, 7; “The Clergy and Conscription,” *Tablet*, 30/8/1917, 30-31; “The Clergy and Conscription,” *Tablet*, 6/9/1917, 19, 21; *Tablet*, 23/3/1917, 29.

<sup>174</sup> “The Clergy and the Ballot,” *Tablet*, 8/3/1917, 42-43; “Catholic Federation,” *Tablet*, 15/3/1917, 23-24; “New Zealand Catholic Federation,” *Tablet*, 23/3/1917, 56; “Clergy and the Ballot,” *Tablet*, 12/4/1917, 36; 17/5/1917, 17.

<sup>175</sup> “Marist Brothers and Conscription. Striking Address by Father Edge,” *Tablet*, 2/8/1917, 22-23; “Conscription of Brothers and Students,” *Tablet*, 16/8/1917, 29-30.

Catholics to the war effort. The unpopularity of this government policy was almost universal within the Catholic church.

Notwithstanding its earlier advice that Catholics should comply with the law, the *Tablet* began to agitate against conscription *per se*, rather than just conscription of clergy. It republished a ruling by Cardinal Gasparri, an influential Italian Catholic academic, equating conscription to slavery, and argued that it was only necessary when the survival of the state was at stake. Kelly wrote:

It is our opinion that the Government of New Zealand was guilty of injustices of the gravest nature when it introduced conscription and drove to their deaths men who objected to go ... Conscription in this country has been an outrage on the rights of the Democracy of New Zealand.<sup>176</sup>

Kelly wrote that conscription was an ‘intolerable burden on the liberty of a people’ after Australia rejected it for a second time in December 1917.<sup>177</sup> He argued that Australia had rejected it precisely because of New Zealand’s example.<sup>178</sup> The method used to introduce conscription into Canada was described as ‘unspeakably foul play.’<sup>179</sup> In July 1918 he stated unequivocally that conscription was ‘ethically wrong,’ and that this view was ‘based on the principles of natural law.’<sup>180</sup> Kelly, after a brief flirtation with supporting the war in its early stages, had moved to a position of firmly opposing it where possible, and even boasted that he would have turned New Zealand opinion against conscription if he had been editor in 1916.<sup>181</sup>

Caution should be exercised in applying Kelly’s views about conscription to Catholics *en masse*. Kelly’s views were almost certainly shared by a section within the Catholic church, but it would be incorrect to apply them to all Catholics or to deem them representative of Catholicism as a whole. Meetings at Sacred Heart N.E.V. and St. Patrick’s South Dunedin stressed the patriotism and loyalty of those in attendance and the organisations they represented.<sup>182</sup> Meetings were opened and closed with the National Anthem. Speakers and chairmen listed the services to the war effort that Catholics had made, as well as recounting the volunteers from that organisation who had enlisted in the army. A Dunedin meeting at St. Joseph’s hall

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<sup>176</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 1/11/1917, 15, 17.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 3/1/1918, 14.

<sup>178</sup> “Notes,” *Tablet*, 17/1/1918, 26.

<sup>179</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 4/4/1918, 15.

<sup>180</sup> “Answers to Correspondents,” *Tablet*, 25/7/1918, 33.

<sup>181</sup> Sweetman, “Green Flag,” 219.

<sup>182</sup> “The Clergy and Conscription,” *Tablet*, 6/9/1917, 19, 21.

reiterated the fact that many Catholics were fighting at the front and that these men had ‘covered themselves with perpetual glory’ and had died for the British cause, while others worked in New Zealand to support the war effort.<sup>183</sup> The chairman of the St. Patrick’s South Dunedin meeting said:

Catholics have done all that any section of the community could do and the congregation of St. Patrick’s parish were second to none in New Zealand in the sacrifices they had made for the Empire. ... The Catholics of New Zealand recognised that every nerve must be strained to win this war.<sup>184</sup>

Resolutions passed at these meetings carefully limited their protests to conscription of clergy, teaching brothers and seminarians, whilst stressing their commitment to the war effort and support for conscription in most cases. The attempt of the *Tablet’s* editor to create an anti-conscription movement within the Catholic church seems to have enjoyed little overt support.

There is also a tantalising hint that Catholic opinion was not as united as hitherto supposed. Many historians have long presumed that Catholicism was united in its opposition to conscription of clergy. Baker wrote, ‘There was no question in Catholic eyes that clergy should be exempt from conscription.’<sup>185</sup> Hugh Laracy made a similar point.<sup>186</sup> Olssen similarly writes that ‘Catholics wanted exemption extended to their teaching orders.’<sup>187</sup> However, the Third Wellington Military Service Board contained two Catholic members. These men initially rejected appeals from priests and theological students, believing that the place for clergy was at the front, serving in a non-combatant role.<sup>188</sup> It is difficult to determine how widespread such views were within Catholicism, but it does indicate a different and more nuanced reaction to conscription of clergy than that put forward by the church itself and repeated so doggedly by historians ever since.

### **Conscription of Clergy and the Presbyterian Church**

The Presbyterian Church’s policy on the enlistment of clergy was very different from that of the Episcopalian churches. Combatant service in the army by ordained clergy was not something to be avoided or condemned. All clergy, be they home missionaries or ordained

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<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 30/8/1917, 30-31.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 6/9/1917, 19, 21.

<sup>185</sup> Baker, 124.

<sup>186</sup> Hugh Laracy, ‘Priests, People and Patriotism: New Zealand Catholics and War, 1914-1918,’ *The Australasian Catholic Record* 71 (January 1993), 16.

<sup>187</sup> Olssen, ‘Waging War,’ 306

<sup>188</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 6/3/1917, 3; ‘Priests and the Law,’ *Times*, 20/2/1917, 4.

ministers, as well as theological students, were permitted to enlist, though their decision was met with varying degrees of support from the church body.

Gibb, chairman of the Home Missions Committee, first outlined the policy regarding home missionaries enlisting in August 1915. Gibb enthusiastically supported any home missionary's decision to enlist, writing: 'No man, be he cleric or layman, is degraded by volunteering to play his part in the Armageddon which has now come upon the world.'<sup>189</sup> In early June 1916, it was reported that many theological students and Home Missionaries had volunteered.<sup>190</sup> Adam Madill became the first ordained Presbyterian minister to volunteer for active service as a soldier in May 1916.<sup>191</sup> Support from congregations for theological students enlisting was forthcoming.<sup>192</sup>

Articles and letters in the *Outlook* indicate that there were some Presbyterians who held differing views regarding the minister's role during the conflict. James Pattison, in February 1916, argued that a minister's role was to promote the spiritual aspects of the conflict, ministering to society's moral and spiritual welfare. Vacant parishes would leave no one to perform baptisms, minister to the bereaved, and point the dying to Christ. He equated the role of a minister to that of an essential industrial worker – a person who was vital in ensuring that society at home was able to support and equip the soldiers on the frontline.<sup>193</sup> Immediate commonalities are easily identifiable between Pattison's views and those maintained by many Anglicans. On the other hand, Pattison's view was contested by Miller, who wrote:

During a crisis such as that through which we are passing ... the church must be prepared to do its part by making every sacrifice. If she can employ her students in any way, either in the camps or at the front, in serving in the capacity for which their years of training have fitted them, I am sure I can speak for most in saying that they will be only too glad to answer the call.<sup>194</sup>

Dunedin Presbytery accepted both the right and desirability of clergy to volunteer for active service. Its Public Questions Committee report in December 1916 supported the Government's actions in taking all possible steps to prosecute the war more vigorously.<sup>195</sup> It

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<sup>189</sup> James Gibb, "Home Missions," *Outlook*, 13/7/1915, 17.

<sup>190</sup> J. Pattison, "The Topic: Should Students for the Ministry and Home Missionaries Enlist?" *Outlook*, 29/2/1916, 16-17.

<sup>191</sup> "Time and Tide. A Presbyterian Minister in the Ranks," *Outlook* (Dunedin), 2/5/1916, 5.

<sup>192</sup> R. Miller, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 14/3/1916, 16.

<sup>193</sup> J. Pattison, "The Topic," *Outlook*, 29/2/1916, 16-17.

<sup>194</sup> R. Miller, letter to the editor, in *Outlook*, 14/3/1916, 16.

<sup>195</sup> Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

recommended that the Presbytery give all possible support to congregations where the charge had become vacant due to ministers volunteering or being conscripted, as well as recommending the full co-operation between Sessions, congregations, Presbytery, and the Government officials when a minister received his enlistment papers. The Presbytery accepted all recommendations without debate, and a committee was established to represent the Presbytery before the Military Service Boards. Andrew Cameron's appointment as convener of this committee was significant as he had led the opposition within the Presbytery to the pre-war compulsory military training scheme. Clearly, Cameron's views on the desirability of conscription had changed dramatically between 1911 and 1917.

The 1916 General Assembly saw the formulation of a national policy by the Presbyterian Church towards clergy enlisting as soldiers.<sup>196</sup> Regional committees reporting to the Assembly Exemptions Committee were established in each of the four military districts under the authority of the Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch, and Dunedin Presbyteries. The regional exemption committee, in conjunction with the local Presbytery, would examine the case of any balloted Minister, paying particular attention to the spiritual needs of the community from which the minister came. These committees worked under the presumption that the minister would enlist if it was possible for him to do so. Exemption appeals would be made only if it was determined that there was no alternative to the minister available. A copy of this process, and the resolutions authorising them, was sent to the Minister of Defence.

The zeal of these committees for clergy to serve as soldiers is self-evident. What became clear at the 1917 General Assembly was that this enthusiasm was not universal within the Presbyterian Church. The Exemptions Committee reported that its attempts to find alternatives to enable clergy to enlist had resulted in strained relations with Presbyteries, Home Missions committees, and congregations.<sup>197</sup> The Home Missions Committee's report for 1917 outlined this conflict. Its report said that it had argued for exemptions in several cases, but that the Exemption Committee had refused to accept their reasoning. The final decision had been the Exemption Committee's, leading to twelve Home Missionaries being conscripted and seven charges being forced to close. The exemptions committee pressed for a vote on whether its default position should be reversed so that clergy would automatically seek exemptions

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<sup>196</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1916*, 46-47.

<sup>197</sup> "The Church and the War. Decisions of General Assembly. Exemption of Ministers," *Outlook*, 4/12/1917, 8.

when balloted.<sup>198</sup> This motion was defeated easily, but the attendant debate revealed that some commissioners believed that the church was putting the state before its duty to Christ. Clearly, while the vast majority of the Presbyterian Church supported clergy serving as soldiers, there were some who did not.

The Presbyterian Church's justification for supporting clergy enlistment was outlined on several occasions within the *Outlook* and also in the reports from Presbyteries and Assemblies. The most all-encompassing explanation was made by the editor following the 1916 General Assembly:

It must be borne in mind that New Zealand is the only part of the British Empire in which ministers of religion are not exempt from combatant service, and it may be well, here, to emphasise the fact that the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, when the matter was discussed at the last General Assembly, came to a decision in complete accordance with historic Presbyterianism. In keeping with the doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers, it is lawful for a Presbyterian minister to do aught that his people may do, even to the point of taking up arms in a righteous cause. Consequently, with the thought of encouraging rather than discouraging enlistment on the part of its ministers – unless such enlistment should materially interfere with the work of the Church – the General Assembly passed the following resolution...<sup>199</sup>

Unlike the Catholic and Anglican Churches, Presbyterians who supported their editor's stance - and this included the vast majority of commissioners, clergy and church members - did not believe that clergy should be banned from armed service. If the war was just, if it was a struggle for the preservation and propagation of Christianity, and the Church had encouraged its members to enlist, then ministers could not claim any special dispensation - the minister was no more or less "special" than the members of his congregation. It was felt that a minister could not, in good conscience, apply for an exemption solely because of his occupation. At least one minister used this as justification for his decision to enlist when balloted. Armstrong refused to apply for an exemption when he was balloted in 1918. The *Outlook's* editor published Armstrong's justification, which proved to be very similar to that used by the Anglican priest Goertz when he enlisted. The Church Officers of Armstrong's congregation agreed with his decision and their declaration was also published in the *Outlook*.<sup>200</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> The text of the motion was: 'That military exemptions shall be sought for no minister called for service whose place could in any way be filled.' *Outlook*, 4/12/1917, 8; 6/8/1918, 8; PCNZ, *Proceedings 1917*, 48.

<sup>199</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 27/2/1917, 4-5.

<sup>200</sup> Armstrong was the minister of Te Aroha. His reasoning was described in the *Outlook* as follows: '1. He believes that the present conflict is essentially a fight for the preservation and propagation of true Christianity; 2. He doesn't think the individual conscience should be subjected to any committee; 3. He believes in the democracy of the Church, and does not, by virtue of his office as minister, wish to be exempt from doing what

As more and more clergy volunteered or were conscripted, the question for the Presbyterian Church became one of where clergy could best serve the interests of the church, of God, and of society – at home in their parish, or as a soldier. This was the crux of the debate within the Presbyterian Church. Pattison referred to this debate when he wrote: ‘Is the spiritual welfare of the Dominion to be counted of less value than her material prosperity?’ and ‘We are sending our spiritual leaders to fill their places and fight our battles.’<sup>201</sup> This debate was also referred to by several writers to the *Outlook*. The Y.M.B.C. travelling secretary referred to the debate when he wrote that the church risked denuding itself of leaders through its clergy enlisting.<sup>202</sup> This group obviously had some support within the Presbyterian Church as a whole, or else there would have been no need for the debate or the resolution at the 1917 Assembly. In the end, however, it was clear that those who supported clergy serving as combatants were a substantial majority.

Equality of treatment for all clergy, irrespective of denomination, was one matter that caused the Presbyterian Church acute concern during the conscription period. Military Service Boards refused to grant exemptions for home missionaries, maintaining that these men were not clergy. The Presbyterian Church maintained that these men had been ordained to their role, and therefore should be treated the same as all other clergy. Guidelines issued by the Ministry of Defence to the Military Service Boards regarding the position of clergy in 1917 exempted curates but not Home Missionaries, resulting in accusations of double standards and discrimination against the evangelical Protestant churches.<sup>203</sup> Editorials and articles on this matter were published in the *Outlook* arguing for equality of treatment across all denominations.<sup>204</sup> Presbyteries and Home Missions Committees also protested against the

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he has advocated fellow churchmen should do; 4. He holds that for ministers to seek total exemption in the long run works for the destruction of their power and influence and of the prosperity of their Church; 5. While it also might be said that married ministers should not go as long as bachelor priests are exempt, he does not want it, believing that a minister is a leader and example to his flock, and so should take whatever practical part falls to his lot in relation to this war; 6. He cannot seek exemption as a minister because he believes that the Great Head of the Church has resources equal to the needs of His people, and, though a minister is removed, He is able to carry on His own work in the face of all difficulties.’ *Outlook*, 29/10/1918, 7.

<sup>201</sup> J. Pattison, “The Topic. Should Students for the Ministry and Home Missionaries Enlist?” *Outlook*, 29/2/1916, 16-17.

<sup>202</sup> “The Bugle Call,” *Outlook*, 2/10/1917, 22.

<sup>203</sup> Anglican curates were exempt from conscription under the new guidelines issued by the Ministry of Defence in 1917.

<sup>204</sup> For examples see Editorial “Several Standpoints and Various Views. Was there a Secret Agreement with the Catholics?” *Outlook*, 6/3/1917, 3-4; Editorial, “Profitable Patriotism. Is the British Nation Losing its Soul?” *Outlook*, 13/3/1917, 4-5.



government's policy.<sup>205</sup> Dunedin Presbytery objected that the exemption granted to the Lumsden home missionary was based on his having three brothers at the front, not on his calling, while a Westland home missionary was refused an exemption as he was not a fully ordained clergyman. Conflicting advice seems to have been received from the Ministry of Defence on the matter. Cameron had received a private letter from the Acting Prime Minister that was taken as 'practically an assurance that if the Presbyterian Church applied for exemption for home missionaries, exemption would be granted,' yet two weeks later the Presbytery of Auckland received an official communication from Sir James that the Defence Department would not treat home missionaries as ordained clergy.<sup>206</sup> As the war progressed, the number of home missionaries called up increased – by the 1917 Assembly there were twelve at the front. However the Defence Department refused to change its definition, treating them differently from ordained clergy.

### **Conscription of Clergy: Perception Outside the Churches**

Baker argues that clergy, by seeking exemption from conscription for themselves on the basis of their occupation, but continuing to support the war effort and convince others to enlist, were guilty of hypocrisy. This perceived hypocrisy was acknowledged by some sections of the New Zealand public during the war. Baker also believed that the theological justifications put forward by clergy and church leaders were widely rejected by many New Zealanders.<sup>207</sup> A cursory assessment of *Truth* seems to support his argument. This hypocrisy was referred to in several editorials, lampooning the 'bravery of the cloth' that urged 'the working man to go forth and kill the enemy.'<sup>208</sup> *Truth* attacked the 'jingoistic curate' in cartoon and verse. A cartoon featured a chinless and weak-looking curate who shied from the touch of a wounded soldier but was happy to entertain ladies at tea. An accompanying poem contained the lines:

He'll address empty benches,  
But bars digging trenches,  
He'll preach while the other blokes bleed.  
The spirit is willing,  
Till it comes to killing,  
The poor flesh is then weak indeed.<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>205</sup> "Exemption of Clergy," *Witness*, 21/3/1917, 7.

<sup>206</sup> "Home Missionaries and Military Service," *Outlook*, 10/4/1917, 6; "Time and Tide," *Outlook*, 24/4/1917, 5.

<sup>207</sup> Baker, 125.

<sup>208</sup> "Editorial," *Truth*, 1/4/1916, 1. For other examples see 3/3/1917, 1; 24/2/1917, 1.

<sup>209</sup> "The Jingoistic Curate," *Truth*, 10/3/1917, 5.

What must be borne in mind, however, is that *Truth* was broadly anti-clerical and that this bias would have influenced its attitude towards clergy enlistment. Clergy themselves were aware of this double standard and were divided across denominations. The Christchurch Ministers' Association, a semi-ecumenical organisation that encompassed the evangelical Protestant churches, passed a resolution demanding that all clergy be equal before the Military Service Boards, rejecting any attempt to use canon law to justify exemptions from conscription.<sup>210</sup> It should be noted, however, that the clergy from the Episcopal churches were not members of that association, and that all the denominations affiliated to that body officially rejected exemption for clergy based solely on their occupation.

Baker has some basis in fact for his statement, but the view that all, or even most New Zealanders criticised clergy for seeking exemption seems to be a step too far. Similarly, it is implausible to assert that all church members believed clergy to be hypocritical to seek exemption while supporting the war effort. The vast majority of Catholics and almost all Catholic congregations and organisations loudly rejected the argument that clergy should serve as soldiers in the armed forces. Some Catholics, however, were less dogmatic and believed that clergy should be conscripted, but only to serve in a non-combatant role. There was no equivalent of Goertz in the Catholic Church. It is clear that the Anglican Church was divided on the matter. Anglican parishes and organisations did not go to the extent that Catholics did in registering their opposition to the move, but there was no need. Anglican priests could marry, and their school system was very small when compared to the Catholic Church's. Consequently, the Anglican Church did not face the widespread disruption that threatened the Catholic Church. The Anglican Church was not as rigid as the Catholic church on its opposition to clergy serving as soldiers, despite its official position. The parishioners of Holy Trinity Port Chalmers were supportive of Goertz's decision to enlist. There was a willingness within the Anglican Church to meet the military authorities part-way on some issues. Dunedin Diocese had no seminarians as all of its theological students had volunteered for the army. This act enjoyed official church support, indicating that the Anglican position on seminarians was different from that of the Catholics. Even the Presbyterian Church was divided on the issue. Its official position was that all clergy who were able to enlist should, but there was disquiet amongst its members as to the amount of harm this was doing to the church. This

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<sup>210</sup> "Editorial," *Truth*, 24/2/1917, 1.

disquiet had a different basis from that of the Anglican and Catholic clergy, but it does indicate that Baker's assertion is probably too sweeping.

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### **Religious and Conscientious Objectors**

Despite the fact that the vast majority of the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches' members, and almost all their ordained clergy, were behind the war effort, a number of New Zealanders did not support the official position of the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches. The National Registration Act of 1915 had revealed that some 40%, or 78,000, of New Zealand's military-aged men were unwilling to enlist in the army under any circumstance. More disturbingly, two-thirds of the 110,000 who had indicated that they would enlist if required later refused to do so. These were concerning numbers for those who supported the war effort. One hundred and fifty thousand men of military age were refusing to volunteer.<sup>211</sup> On a basic statistical analysis predicated on the 1911 national census results 60,000 of these men would be Anglican, 37,500 Presbyterian and 21,000 Catholic. Even if some were merely equivocal about serving, or believed that conscription should be introduced first to prevent men from "shirking," it clearly indicated that a considerable number would not enlist unless forced to. It was from this group of men that the small number of New Zealand's conscientious and religious objectors were drawn.

Eldred-Grigg has argued that conscription was opposed by 30% to 40% of New Zealanders but provides little evidence to support this.<sup>212</sup> Baker provides a much lower figure of fewer than 20%, and uses the Greymouth and Christchurch 1917 local body elections as evidence. Candidates running on an anti-conscription platform saw their support drop to less than 20%.<sup>213</sup> Around one in five voters is still a significant number, but only half of Eldred-Grigg's two out of five. Eldred-Grigg asserts that by the middle of 1917 there were as many as 5,000 deserters on the run from the authorities, and thousands more who had refused to register themselves in order to avoid conscription.<sup>214</sup> Belich alleges that 5,000 men refused to parade and 5,000 refused to register.<sup>215</sup> These numbers seem unrealistically high. It seems unlikely that

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<sup>211</sup> "The National Register," *Tablet*, 9/12/1915, 31.

<sup>212</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 229-231.

<sup>213</sup> Baker, 98.

<sup>214</sup> Eldred-Grigg, 325.

<sup>215</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 101-102.

such a number of deserters and their supporters could have remained at large without attracting official attention. Events such as the national anti-conscription conference, held in December 1916, attracted little mainstream support and attendance was confined to radicals, including many members and leaders of the newly-formed Labour Party. Even when it is acknowledged that the Government had prevented many radical leaders from attending, it is evident that the anti-conscription movement enjoyed little popular support. This is not to deny that men did flee to the back country to escape conscription. Newspapers did publish lists of men who, after selection in conscription ballots, refused to parade when ordered. However, it is likely that the numbers opposing conscription were much smaller than the 40% argued by Eldred-Grigg and more likely to be in the region of the 20% asserted by Baker, while those who were active defaulters were probably much fewer than the 10,000 claimed by Belich.

The Military Service Act provided a narrow definition of conscientious and religious objectors who could qualify for exemption only if they had been members of a pacifist religious organisation that had this conviction codified in a written constitution. Only Quakers, Christadelphians and, later, Seventh Day Adventists met these criteria. Most religious objectors had little or no affiliation to any established church and were therefore unable to qualify. Brethren, many of whom appealed on religious grounds, had their appeals refused because they had no written constitution explicitly banning armed service.<sup>216</sup> Very few objectors were exempted on religious grounds. By December 1917 just 28 men had qualified, and for the whole duration of the war there were only 73. In Dunedin, only four out of seventy appeals lodged with the Military Service Board were based on religious grounds.<sup>217</sup> In part these small totals represented the hostility of New Zealand society towards objectors of any type. The New Zealand conscription act was much stricter than its equivalents in the United Kingdom and Canada.<sup>218</sup>

Loveridge and Littlewood both discussed the possibility of applicants “masking” their religious objection through claiming either ‘public interest’ or ‘undue hardship,’ which Boards were

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<sup>216</sup> “Military Service Board. Sitting in Dunedin. Religious Objections,” *Witness*, 27/12/1916, 43; “Military Service Board. Sitting in Dunedin. Other appeals,” *Witness*, 3/1/1917, 18; “Military Service Boards. Dunedin Sittings continued. Position of ‘Plymouth Brethren,” *Witness*, 17/1/1917, 18.

<sup>217</sup> Parsons, ‘Derelicts of War?’ 44.

<sup>218</sup> O’Connor, 132-133.

seemingly much more likely to pass.<sup>219</sup> This is possible, but difficult to quantify, and it is unlikely that there was a large number.

Much of the opposition towards the pre-war compulsory military training had evaporated during the war, and by the time conscription was introduced the majority of New Zealanders viewed objectors of any type as ‘shirkers,’ ‘cowards,’ ‘cranks’ and ‘mental defectives.’<sup>220</sup> Pacifist leaders faced official sanction under the War Regulations Act, as well as harassment and persecution by members of the public.<sup>221</sup> James Chapple, a former Presbyterian minister turned Unitarian, was forced to relocate to the United States of America, and Hokianga pacifist Thomas Brocas had to flee to Tasmania. Sarah Page, a Christchurch pacifist, felt ‘helpless’ in the face of public opinion.<sup>222</sup> Resistance to conscription in small town and rural New Zealand, where the majority of New Zealanders lived, was rare. Anti-militarist organisations were confined to the large centres, but continued to have marginal support. Any attempt to relax the definition of religious objector would have been unlikely to receive parliamentary approval. Indeed, Allen raised in Cabinet a proposal to loosen the definitions of religious and conscientious objectors, but was forced to cancel the proposed parliamentary discussion as it seemed likely that this would result in the rules being tightened further.<sup>223</sup>

As the war progressed there was some movement by New Zealanders to call for an improvement in the conditions under which objectors were incarcerated, and to ensure that they were able to undertake genuine non-military work. Many of these groups were affiliated to one denomination or another and enjoyed Acting Prime Minister Allen’s support. However, it is important to note that those mainstream groups advocating this change did not deviate from the view that men should accept conscription and fight for the nation. They continued to maintain that the appeal process and objector status could be used by “shirkers” to avoid their duty, and that stringent standards therefore would have to be maintained.<sup>224</sup> It is likely that disillusionment with the war, with militarism and with conscription increased during the course

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<sup>219</sup> Loveridge, 54; Littlewood, 5.

<sup>220</sup> Grant, *Field Punishment No. 1*, 27, 97.

<sup>221</sup> Baker, 75-76.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

<sup>223</sup> O’Connor, 128.

<sup>224</sup> Davidson, *Christianity*, 99.

of the war, though it is certain that the number of pacifists and objectors was small and that the movement was divided and uncoordinated.<sup>225</sup>

Even some officially pacifist religious organisations were divided among themselves. A Quaker ambulance unit had been formed early in the war and attracted some support from that denomination. Service in the ambulance unit was promoted as a way of Quakers demonstrating their patriotism without compromising their religious beliefs. Members were under military control but had taken no oath to serve and could leave at any time. This experiment met with only limited success, as many Quakers objected to the military control provisions. However, the fact that such a unit was formed and staffed, at least partially, indicates differing views and interpretations of service in the war within the Quaker community. Most Seventh Day Adventists were willing to serve, as long as it was in a non-combatant role and their Sabbath obligations were recognised. The military authorities agreed to these conditions, allowing the vast majority of them to take some form of active role in the armed forces.<sup>226</sup>

### **Objectors and the Anglican Church**

There seems to have been little discussion regarding objectors within the Anglican Church. Only one of the *Envoy's* editorials discussed the subject, and that was written in January 1919. Objectors were described as 'smug' and 'bullet shy.'<sup>227</sup> No letters from church members concerning the treatment of objectors by the military authorities were published. Only once did the Anglican Church publicly refer to how objectors should be treated, and that was when the Bishop of Wellington called for them to be placed under 'genuine civilian control.' Even then, the bishop indicated that the qualifications to gain objector status must be strict in order to prevent 'shirkers' and 'cowards' from sheltering under the objector label.<sup>228</sup> This stands in contrast to other denominations in which the topic was hotly debated.

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<sup>225</sup> Baker, 167-168.

<sup>226</sup> O'Connor, 124-127.

<sup>227</sup> 'The Military Appeal Boards must know them very well, as they heard them often enough from conscientious objectors – so called. But what the smug individual and the bullet shy conscience refuse to recognise ...' Editorial, *Envoy*, January 1919, 1.

<sup>228</sup> O'Connor, 127-128.

## Objectors and the Presbyterian Church

There was considerably more comment within the Presbyterian Church regarding conscientious objectors and their treatment. Dickie was the first minister to discuss the matter in public, when he preached at Knox Church in May 1915. He had a far from sympathetic view of objectors, describing them as morally reprehensible and hypocritical, willing to take all the benefits of citizenship without paying the price.<sup>229</sup> It is difficult to ascertain how wide this view was within Presbyterianism at this time, though there was no correspondence attacking Dickie's views in either the secular or denominational press.

The *Outlook's* editor first raised conscientious and religious objectors in July 1916, shortly after the Military Service Act became law. He maintained that there were two types of objector – the “shirker” who hid behind the title of objector, and the true conscientious objector. The former should be forced to serve, while the latter, once the legitimacy of his position had been proved, should be excused from fighting, and instead serve in some form of non-combatant role. The editor challenged the views of those who believed in extreme punishments, such as execution, for objectors:

Mr Earnshaw, and those who think with him, appear to forget that one of our greatest liberties is liberty of conscience; and, whilst we have no sympathy with the shirker who creates a conscience in order to evade his proper responsibilities, there are men in our midst who have a conscientious and Christian objection to taking an active part in the war; and we hold most strongly that their objection should be respected.<sup>230</sup>

In his next editorial, the editor continued in a similar vein,

The convictions of the professed Pacifist must be respected and on his part the Pacifist is content to endure the odium and even the persecution and penalty which the carrying out of his convictions may entail. Thus has it been all through the ages that men have been willing and proud to suffer for conscience's sake.<sup>231</sup>

It is clear that the editor did not share the objector's views, but he did believe that there was a moral issue at stake. How should people with strongly held and genuine beliefs be treated? The editorials spurred debate and discourse within the church at many different levels.

The most revealing discussion regarding objectors occurred within Christchurch Presbytery. In July 1916, the Presbytery agreed that armed service was not contrary to the Gospels, but

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<sup>229</sup> “A Stinging Sermon. The Kaiser and the President,” *Witness*, 16/6/1915, 79.

<sup>230</sup> William Earnshaw was a member of the Legislative Council from 1913 to 1931. Editorial, *Outlook*, 4/7/1916, 3.

<sup>231</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 3-4.

expressed its regret that the Military Service Act did not provide exemptions for genuine conscientious objectors, viewing ‘with regret and alarm the refusal of the House of Representatives to give due consideration to the conscientious and religious objections of those who hold that military service under any conditions is contrary to the Christian faith.’ This omission, it believed, stained ‘the grandeur of the present war against tyranny and injustice’ through introducing a perception of ‘religious persecution.’ Only one member dissented from the Presbytery’s stance.<sup>232</sup> It is clear that even those who strongly supported conscription believed that some mechanism that allowed genuine objectors to be excused from military service was needed. Equally clear was the existence of a constituency, albeit small, of people who objected to the church’s support for the war.

Christchurch Presbytery’s discussion, and its publication in the *Outlook*, provoked several articles and many letters. Erwin, minister of Christchurch’s Knox Church and Moderator of Christchurch Presbytery at that time, wrote a long article outlining his position. Although thoroughly supportive of the war and of compulsion to force men to fight for their liberties, Erwin condemned the Government for not making adequate provision for objectors. He refused to believe that the true objector should be criminalised for doing something he could not abide:

We may have no personal sympathy with such a belief, but at the same time we must recognise the purity and nobility of it. ... Now, I ask you, has the State the right to compel, if it is possible to compel, such men to commit a crime – a crime which they not only believe to be as serious as the violation of any of the commands of the Decalogue, but a denial of their Christian faith? ... [I]f we stand by and remain silent, raise no voice of protest, are we not thereby aiding and abetting the State in perpetrating an outrage on the conscience of such?<sup>233</sup>

Erwin’s admiration for those prepared to be persecuted for their faith, at the same time as decrying the fact that such persecution occurred at all, is evident, as is an implied criticism of the Government for allowing this situation to develop.

The correspondence published in the *Outlook* reveals the divisions within the Church on the question. The editor had alluded to these divisions in an earlier editorial, writing:

A perusal of the speech [in Parliament], the discussion, and the correspondence is instructive as revealing the wide difference of opinion which prevails in the Presbyterian Church among men of undoubted earnestness and sincerity upon a most important subject, and the consequent need of tolerance and charity in approaching the subject. Obviously there is little

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<sup>232</sup> Ibid.

<sup>233</sup> “The Conscientious Objector. Discussion by the Christchurch Presbytery,” *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 7-8.



room for what we may call militant dogmatism; but there should be a sympathetic desire on the part of one to understand the viewpoint of the other.<sup>234</sup>

Correspondent J. Christie was adamant that objectors should not receive any official recognition. He referred to the objector as '[a] creature – I cannot call him a man' and questioned whether he had a conscience.<sup>235</sup> A later letter labelled objectors 'cowards,' and referred to a pro-conscientious objector correspondent as 'a German.'<sup>236</sup> Hercus argued that the state had certain God-given powers, including conscription. Consequently resisting conscription was, in fact, resisting God.<sup>237</sup> "RD" used the analogy that all the countries of the world were members of one family, and that one family member, Germany, had murdered another, Belgium. The rest of the family had a duty to punish the culprit.<sup>238</sup> A. Boyd argued that a man who saw his friend or neighbour being attacked, but did nothing to help him, forfeited any right to claim superior morals.<sup>239</sup>

Other correspondents argued in favour of recognition of religious objection. Murray, a long-time pacifist minister who had refused to accept Christchurch Presbytery's decision that the Gospels agreed with armed service, argued against Christie's views, writing: 'Christ never raised that wonderful healing hand of His to smite, or ever did smite, any man.'<sup>240</sup> Writing in a later letter he refused to accept that the State had any right to impose itself into the spiritual realm of personal beliefs, using the old adage of 'render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's,' and believed that a person's conscience was not something a state could, or should, control.<sup>241</sup> "Conscientious Objector" took issue with Hercus's letters, arguing point by point in favour of pacifism and religious objection. Like Murray, this correspondent used a pacifist Christ as justification for his argument:

It seems absurd to think that God will sanction his followers to slay one another, that family that is all one in Jesus Christ and bought with Christ's precious blood. Christ came to bring peace on earth, not a sword.<sup>242</sup>

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<sup>234</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 3-4.

<sup>235</sup> Jno. Christie, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 18/7/1916, 25-27.

<sup>236</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>237</sup> George W. T. Hercus, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 29/8/1916, 8.

<sup>238</sup> "RD," letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 17/10/1916, 10.

<sup>239</sup> Charles Murray, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 27/2/1917, 8.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.*, 26/9/1916, 22.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 7/11/1916, 29.

<sup>242</sup> 'Conscientious Objector,' letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 26/9/1916, 22.

The number of letters published in the *Outlook* concerning the treatment of objectors, together with the debate by correspondents over the extent to which the Bible could and should be used to justify this treatment, indicates deep divisions among Presbyterians. This much had been acknowledged by the editor and was certainly supported by the correspondence. What is more difficult to quantify is the number of Presbyterians in either camp. Very few of the correspondents supported the objectors' position on armed service. Most of those who upheld objectors' rights to their opinions condemned their position but argued that they should be treated humanely, believing that the government had been in error in not allowing for genuine objectors to be recognised under the Military Service Act. When a vote was taken on conscientious objectors, as in Christchurch Presbytery, few supported the objectors' position. Clearly the vast majority of Presbyterians supported the war, believed that men should fight, but also believed that those few who objected should be treated fairly.

In late 1917 and early 1918 it became evident that some objectors had been the victims of systematic ill-treatment while imprisoned by the military authorities. The most famous of these were fourteen men who were removed from prison in New Zealand and sent to Britain as part of the New Zealand division's regular reinforcement. While in prison in New Zealand, these men were subjected to serious maltreatment, including threats, assault and forced dressing. Further ill-treatment awaited them on board the transports and in the New Zealand training camp in Britain. They were subjected to various grades of punishment that included the infamous 'field punishment number one,' as well as more assaults, imprisonment and threats of execution. Their families were deliberately deceived by the military authorities as to their location, and postal contact was sporadic.<sup>243</sup> There was considerable disquiet amongst Presbyterians, whether they supported or opposed conscientious objection, when details of the objectors' treatment were published. Their experiences were directly relevant to the arguments used by many Presbyterians that only righteous tools could be used in a righteous and just war. It forced a temporary truce between the pro-objector and anti-objector groups, unifying them in their calls for humane treatment of objectors.

James Mackay summed up the feelings of many Presbyterians when he wrote to the *Outlook* in March 1918. Mackay's letter, while critical of the stance taken by the objectors, condemned the military authorities and the Government for allowing such treatment of prisoners to occur.

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<sup>243</sup> Baker, 192-195.

It is a worse thing than prison that await conscientious objectors. Stories of revolting physical treatment on the transport are current. We have every right to know whether these stories are true or false, and where each one of these men is now. In addition we have every right to demand the repeal of the clauses of the Military Service Act penalising objectors who are not exempt owing to the doctrines they profess or who profess no religious doctrines. And we have every right to demand that no more deportations be permitted. It is not to our country's credit that our circumscribed transport space should be taken up either to gratify military spite against recusants or to break the consciences of men, misguided it may be, but yet of the martyr sort. If we let these things go on we are selling our own conscience and national honour for a poor price indeed.<sup>244</sup>

Christchurch Presbytery echoed Mackay's call for an end to the harsh treatment of objectors and wrote to the Government protesting the cases of three objectors who had been tried as deserters, and the treatment of objectors in general.<sup>245</sup> Allen responded by ordering an enquiry, headed by magistrate J. G. Hewitt. Hewitt recommended that objectors be immediately tried by court martial rather than be imprisoned at Wanganui Camp, that those officers who had ordered the abuse be charged, and that objectors be given civilian service. The Cabinet was in the process of acting upon these recommendations when peace intervened.<sup>246</sup>

It is important to remember that the argument was over the treatment of objectors, not the rights and wrongs of the objectors' beliefs. It is clear that many Presbyterians believed that the objectors had been badly treated and called for a change in the treatment of objectors in custody. Similar calls had been made in Britain, where clergy had been active in movements aimed at obtaining better conditions for imprisoned objectors. Those who agitated were not necessarily agreeing with objectors' motives but did believe that the conditions imposed upon them should be humane.<sup>247</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury described objectors as 'hopelessly unreasonable,' yet spent much time in 1916 and 1917 working on their and their families' behalf to secure better conditions. Several of the Lords Spiritual made speeches in the House of Lords arguing for better treatment for the objectors.<sup>248</sup> The commonalities between New Zealand and Britain go beyond similar cases requiring similar action. The action taken by the churchmen was the response of men who were convinced that the war was both just and moral but were simultaneously wrestling with the reality of forcing objectors to take actions they believed to be immoral. These churchmen held the injustice of Germany's invasion of Belgium in parallel with the injustice of forcing objectors to fight.

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<sup>244</sup> James Mackay, letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 19/3/1918, 13-14.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-13.

<sup>246</sup> Baker, 199-200.

<sup>247</sup> Wilkinson, 50.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

## Religious and Conscientious Objectors and the Roman Catholic Church

The *Tablet's* attitude towards the conscientious objector went through a remarkable change, the result of its change of editor during early 1917. In a 1916 editorial, published while the Military Service Bill was working its way through Parliament, the editor recorded that 'members of Parliament had evidently made up their minds to show no ... mercy to the "conscientious objector," genuine or otherwise.' He touched on British Catholics who were claiming exemption based on what they termed the 'Pope's manifesto' on 'Thou shall not kill.' The editor did not accept their argument, believing them to have based their position 'on a false theological ground.'<sup>249</sup> At no point in the editorial was there any sympathy for objectors, nor was there any comment on the lack of provision for objectors in the New Zealand legislation.

The *Tablet's* position changed dramatically following Kelly's appointment in 1917. He broadened the argument from a discussion of the rights and wrongs of objectors to an attack on conscription *per se*. Kelly argued against the introduction of conscription and praised the efforts of Catholic clergy such as the Archbishops of Melbourne and Sydney in preventing its introduction into Australia. He condemned conscription as 'slavery' and 'intolerable tyranny,' and used Cardinal Gasparri's ruling to support this opinion.<sup>250</sup>

The *Tablet* did not condemn the objector, nor were any letters published or views expressed that attacked the objector's reasoning. This is in contrast to the other large denominations. It is unusual that Kelly did not take the opportunity to attack what he obviously believed to be an immoral and unjust law. It may be that he felt that his opposition to conscription was enough as this implied support for the objector. A clue is given in his reply to "RW" when he wrote, 'We quite agree with you that the conscientious objectors, of all classes, have been persecuted. However, we are primarily a Catholic paper, and secondarily our interests are bound up in Ireland's cause.'<sup>251</sup>

It is almost impossible to gauge the extent of support for, or opposition to, objectors by the broad mass of Catholics. The lack of any discussion within the *Tablet* or *The Month*, and the absence of letters to the editors of these two periodicals on the subject, mean that few definite conclusions can be drawn. It is possible to infer from the various resolutions passed opposing

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<sup>249</sup> "Current Topics. The Military Service Bill," *Tablet*, 15/6/1916, 18.

<sup>250</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 1/11/1917, 15, 17; "Answers to Correspondents," 25/7/1918, 33; "Notes," 4/4/1918, 26.

<sup>251</sup> "Answers to Correspondents," *Tablet*, 11/4/1918, 37.

conscription of priests by Catholic parishes and organisations that there was support from the majority of Catholics for conscription, but that is as far as the evidence goes. It is likely that there was a small constituency within the Catholic church that supported objectors and the reasons they used to justify their objection, but its size is impossible to discern.

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The imposition of conscription in New Zealand has been investigated by several authors. O'Connor has written that New Zealand's conscription legislation was much less tolerant of objectors than the equivalent acts in Britain and Canada, and that this attitude was supported by the Defence Department, Parliament, and the New Zealand public.<sup>252</sup> This is true up to a certain point. The Defence Department did not object to the strict conditions, and there is evidence that Parliament was more, rather than less, likely to tighten the legislation. However, disquiet over the provisions for identifying and exempting objectors surfaced within the Presbyterian Church very soon after the legislation became law, indicating that the public was perhaps not as united as O'Connor believes. This last matter was mentioned by O'Connor, but only in relation to the discussion within Christchurch Presbytery and not within the wider context of the editorials in the *Outlook* and the considerable correspondence on the matter published in that newspaper. O'Connor also fails to mention the opposition expressed in the *Tablet*, not only to how objectors were treated, but to conscription *per se*. The lower house did, albeit narrowly, vote to exempt clergy from conscription, a decision indicating that some politicians believed that the legislation should be changed, even if the amendment was subsequently voted down in the Legislative Council. Regulations issued by the Government directing Military Service Boards on how to treat conscientious objectors were accepted by the Boards, by the politicians, and by the public, with little objection. It is true that these measures were passed subsequent to the Military Service Act, but they do suggest that New Zealand was less united about the application of conscription than previously believed.

Lineham has written that churches were sometimes willing to speak privately on behalf of individual objectors, but the 'hysterical atmosphere' in Parliament 'seems to have prevented a more reasonable measure.'<sup>253</sup> David Grant writes that 'objectors had little sympathy in Parliament or society.'<sup>254</sup> Both Lineham and Grant are largely correct, but tell only part of the

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<sup>252</sup> O'Connor, 132-133.

<sup>253</sup> Lineham, "First World War Religion," 490.

<sup>254</sup> Grant, *Field Punishment No. 1*, 97.

story. It is true that there seems to have been little discussion within the churches while the topic was debated in Parliament, but the subject was raised almost immediately by the churches after conscription became law, with a strong focus on the provisions concerning conscientious objectors. Singled out for comment was the extent to which the state could force a man to serve against his will and, while groups such as the Presbyterians firmly backed this right, there were dissenting constituencies within that denomination and Catholicism. This indicates that Lineham is perhaps treating the denominations too much as a solid group without acknowledging the differences of opinion that existed within them, while Grant denies that any part of society, which presumably includes the churches, considered how conscientious objectors could be fairly treated. This is not to argue that there was widespread support for conscientious objectors, or that the country was somehow being coerced. However, what needs to be acknowledged is that questions were raised about the application of the Act and specifically how it related to conscientious objectors almost from its very inception.

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The efforts made by the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic Churches to support and encourage men to enlist during the war provides further evidence of the commonality within Dunedin. What was said and done within the churches was widely supported, encouraged and affirmed outside of the churches. Many of the same arguments used to convince men to enlist could be found in the sermon, at the recruiting rally, and in the denominational or non-denominational press. There was little or no divide.

The official attitude of all churches in encouraging voluntary recruitment and enlistment was both popular and widespread, with clergy intimately involved along with laity. It is clear that New Zealand society and the churches within it were marching in lockstep in almost every aspect of recruiting. The churches' recruiting efforts were not confined to the sacred sphere, but were active outside the church too. Speeches and addresses were given at recruiting rallies, and clergy were intimately involved in Dunedin's recruiting efforts. Clergy and laity shared an enthusiasm for recruiting efforts. It was truly a church-wide movement, not one confined to a particular area or grouping. Importantly, churches' activities in recruiting were widely supported by people outside the sacred sphere. Local and central government, the non-

denominational press, and ordinary men and women all largely welcomed the churches' involvement and sought their support.

As the war progressed and conscription became inevitable, the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches eventually accepted that compulsion was both necessary and desirable, varying only in the time it took them to come to this conclusion and the enthusiasm with which they greeted it. Across denominations and wider society there was a widespread commonality of attitudes towards religious and conscientious objectors, but along with it there was also a common call to mitigate the conditions under which objectors were incarcerated. Only with regard to conscription of clergy were there any differences among the various denominations and between the views of the church and the general population. Presbyterians accepted that clergy could and should be conscripted, while the Episcopal churches did not. It is clear that there was widespread opposition within the Catholic church to conscription of clergy. There is also evidence that indicates similar opposition, though not as widespread, within the Anglican Church. In this respect perhaps the Catholic and Anglican Churches were not as out of step with wider society as previously maintained. Furthermore, contrary to the views hitherto held by historians, there is evidence that a sizable proportion of the general population agreed with clergy being exempt from conscription.

## Chapter 5: Sectarianism in New Zealand

### “In Christ There Is No East or West”<sup>1</sup>

Simmering below the surface of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand was the threat of sectarian conflict. Overt outbreaks were rare, but the more vehement Protestant groupings and some Catholics seemed determined to keep alive the spirit of threat and victimisation. Periodic doctrinal declarations and political activities by the Catholic Church, both in New Zealand and abroad, were grist to the mill of these groups. The perennial prohibition question, the Bible in Schools debate, controversies over the 1907 *Ne Temere* decree<sup>2</sup> and the formation of the Catholic Federation all kept tensions alive and sharpened the confessional divide in the decade preceding the war. The Irish question helped to ensure that there would be an ever-present source of tension.

The outbreak of war did little to mitigate these tensions. Superficially the war united New Zealand and removed sectarianism from the front pages of the newspapers. However, the attitudes and mind-sets that perpetuated the sectarian divide were merely suppressed, needing only a spark to reignite. Events during the war, including the Easter Rising, activities by Catholics in other parts of the Empire, the formation of the Protestant Political Association and the increasing popularity of socialism were used by extreme Protestant and Catholic leaders to promote, defend and attack, further heightening the sectarian divide.

The arguments and opinions advanced by sectarian leaders were not confined to the pulpit, the denominational press or church organisations. They were found in the non-denominational press, at public meetings and in the Parliament, and they influenced the opinions of most New Zealanders.

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<sup>1</sup> William Dunkerly wrote the words to ‘In Christ there is no East or West’ in 1908 for the Pageant of Darkness and Light, part of the London Missionary Society’s ‘The Orient in London’ exhibition. It is sometimes ascribed to John Oxenham, Dunkerley’s pseudonym.

<sup>2</sup> The *Ne Temere* decree was a restrictive declaration of matrimonial law issued by Pope Pius X; it went into effect at Easter 1908.



## Sectarianism in Historiography

Sectarianism during the period 1910-1920 has received limited attention from historians. Books addressing aspects of New Zealand's home front during the war usually mention the P.P.A. and possibly Ireland, but rarely are these events put into their correct context. Several theses, including those of Cadogan, Satchell, Moores and Sweetman also address the subject.<sup>3</sup> However these are all at least twenty-four years old and, while containing much useful detail, are now in need of updating. Perhaps the best accounts are those of Sinclair and Belich. Sinclair briefly charted the rise of sectarianism during this period, attributing the increasing sectarian conflict towards the end of the decade to 'wartime frustrations' and 'neuroses.' However, he begins his discussion by stating that sectarianism was New Zealand's 'substitute' for religion.<sup>4</sup> Belich examines the history of sectarianism in New Zealand, discussing such events as the Hokitika riots in 1868 and disturbances in Timaru and Christchurch in 1879, as well as the *Ne Temere* controversy and the bible in schools debate. Belich believes that sectarianism was essentially spasmodic, with little that could be charted to suggest cause and effect.<sup>5</sup> He echoes Sinclair's claim that it was intensified due to the war, and that this helps to explain the formation of the P.P.A.

Both Satchell's and Moores' theses examine the rise and fall of the P.P.A. in some detail, though Moores perhaps treats it as too monolithic a block, lacking discussion as to the relative strengths of the branches. Satchell's examination of the P.P.A. in Dunedin does provide this, though his conclusion that Dunedin's P.P.A. was weak due to Presbyterianism's dislike of extreme organisations is unlikely given Presbyterianism's strong support for the Protestant Principles Committee, observance of Protestant Sunday and its links with Orangeism.

What neither author addresses is the fact that conflict between denominations was integral in many of New Zealand's churches. This should not be taken to mean that each denomination supported violent conflict; rather that each denomination asserted its points of difference and zealously defended its social and theological stance. Asserting its reformed nature was extremely important to Presbyterianism; Catholic dogma necessitated repeated statements that it was Christ's true church and that all others were schismatic and heretical. Anglicans stressed

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<sup>3</sup> Cadogan, "Lace Curtain Catholics"; Max Satchell, "Pulpit Politics. The Protestant Political Association in Dunedin from 1917 to 1922" BA(Hons) dissertation, University of Otago, 1983); Harold Moores, "The Rise of the Protestant Political Association. Sectarianism in New Zealand during World War 1" (MA thesis, University of Auckland, 1966); Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism."

<sup>4</sup> Sinclair, *History of New Zealand*, 242.

<sup>5</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 222.

their separate and distinct nature when compared to other Episcopalian churches (Catholic and Orthodox) and to the Protestant denominations. Together, the three major denominations (Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian) comprised over 80% of New Zealanders, and the adherents of each were subjected to repeated messages that reinforced their exclusivity.

Some historians, such as Olssen and Belich, have linked sectarianism to politics. Olssen wrote that the ‘increasing support for Labour amongst Irish working class Catholics ... helped to defuse religious conflict and institutionalise class conflict.’<sup>6</sup> Belich wrote that sectarianism was influenced by ‘class conflict.’<sup>7</sup> It is perhaps unsurprising that historians such as these two have focussed on the class aspects of New Zealand’s sectarian conflict. Much of Olssen’s work has concentrated on New Zealand’s class-based politics and it would be unusual if this did not show through in his examination of sectarian conflict, especially as socio-economic status did contribute. However, class should not dominate over religious factors, and this is perhaps what has happened, and thus religious underpinning of sectarianism has become ignored. The name P.P.A. clearly aligned that organisation with politics, but it was a political grouping of people with a shared religious belief: a member had to assert his or her Protestant identity to join. The Catholic Federation, although partly a service association for Catholics, also participated in politics. Not only did it help organise opposition to the Bible in Schools movement, but it also helped promote Catholic representatives in bodies as diverse as local government and school boards. The organisation was political, but first and foremost it was a religious organisation, tasked with representing, defending and promoting Catholicism. To belong one had to be a Catholic. It is the context of a sectarian Protestant-Catholic divide, rather than a socio-economic divide, that is often missing from these histories.

What is also missing is the wider context of religious division within New Zealand. It may have been true that New Zealand was less sectarian than some other parts of the world, but this does not indicate an absence of sectarianism. Most historians, particularly Fairburn and Olssen, merely provide a list of previous sectarian issues without addressing their wider detail or indicating how these helped to create an atmosphere of division and mistrust.<sup>8</sup> The sectarian conflict that they briefly describe is meaningless without this context. The P.P.A. is sensationalised and demonised, but no attempt is made to demonstrate how Catholic attitudes and decisions contributed to the overall atmosphere of conflict. Furthermore, no mention is

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<sup>6</sup> Olssen, “Towards a New Society,” 273; Burdon, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 114.

<sup>8</sup> Fairburn, 193-195; Olssen, “Waging War,” 306.

made of how tensions among the denominations compounded and fed on each other to create circumstances where sectarianism could proliferate.

Finally, almost all authors combine Catholicism into one group, either as the victim of Protestant attack or as the instigator of rebuttal. Cadogan goes beyond this approach, acknowledging divisions within Catholicism and examining the reasons for them and each group's differing response to sectarianism.<sup>9</sup>

### **Bible in State Schools**

Officially almost all Protestant denominations supported the campaign for formal religious instruction in schools, advocating that the New South Wales system be introduced.<sup>10</sup> The Bible in State Schools League was established to lead the campaign, and David Garland, an Anglican priest from Queensland, was invited to New Zealand and appointed as the League's organiser. Garland developed a nationwide organisation and enlisted public support. Nevill was appointed the League president and the League received strong support from within Dunedin's Anglican Diocese. Parishes would hold League Sundays to promote the aims of the League, literature was dispersed among parishioners and clergy, and Synods passed numerous motions in favour of its introduction. Annual parishioner meetings overwhelmingly backed the League's purposes and passed resolutions endorsing calls for a referendum on the subject.<sup>11</sup>

There was strong support within many Presbyterian congregations for some form of school-based Biblical instruction and they had a strong-willed and articulate supporter in Gibb.<sup>12</sup> The General Assembly received regular reports on the issue via its Bible Reading in Schools committee. Debate over the various types of system was resolved in 1912 when the General Assembly adopted the New South Wales system.<sup>13</sup> Garland was invited to address the General

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<sup>9</sup> Cadogan.

<sup>10</sup> The New South Wales system allowed parents to give their permission for ministers of their denomination to provide religious instruction. Parents were able to opt out of the system by withholding their permission.

<sup>11</sup> All Saints', Holy Innocents Woodhaugh, St. John's Roslyn, and St. Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay parishes all passed resolutions in favour of the Bible in Schools League at their respective AGMs of parishioners in 1913 and 1914. For examples of the resolutions see Vestry Minute Books 1882-1923, All Saints' Dunedin (AG-080/040), Hocken; Minute Book, Church of the Holy Innocents, Woodhaugh (AG-080/106), Hocken; Vestry Minute Book, St. John's Roslyn (AG-142/016), Hocken; and Minute Book, St. Michael's and All Angels, Andersons Bay (MS-1815/019), Hocken. For examples of Synod and Diocesan support, see Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod Proceedings 1895*, 15; *Ibid.*, 1896, 9; *Ibid.*, 1909, 19; *Ibid.*, 1910, 14-16.

<sup>12</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 119.

<sup>13</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 22-23.

Assembly, which recommended that congregations dedicate a Sunday service to the aims of the Bible in State Schools League and take up a retiring offering to assist its finances.<sup>14</sup> Presbyterian Sessions and Deacons' Courts also passed resolutions supporting Biblical instruction in State Schools and a national referendum on the matter.<sup>15</sup> Dunedin Presbytery held a special meeting to discuss the issue, and later passed a resolution firmly in its favour and endorsed a nationwide referendum.<sup>16</sup> Special collections for the League were held and parish organisations were encouraged to discuss the League's purposes and how they could support it.<sup>17</sup>

Support was not, however, universal. The Protestant churches based their call for a referendum on the fact they collectively represented 75% of the population. However, it is clear that the official position of each church was not representative of all its members. Public lectures by the League's supporters in Southland attracted only moderate audiences.<sup>18</sup> There was significant opposition to Bible in Schools within Wellington's Anglican Diocese. Richard Hobday, a clerical synod delegate, claimed that he had been approached several times to organise a petition of Anglicans opposed to Bible in Schools.<sup>19</sup> A pastoral letter issued by the Anglican bishops urging all Anglicans to consider parliamentary candidates' views on the Bible in schools question backfired, with the resulting debate within the C.E.M.S. ending with members considering themselves 'free to vote for the candidate who will best further the interests of the country apart from the Bible in schools question.'<sup>20</sup> Debates held by parish organisations within the Dunedin Diocese sometimes ended in that organisation becoming divided on the issue. The St. John's Roslyn Mothers' Union had a 'very animated debate' following an address by League supporters and members of the union recorded that they were 'decidedly against the measure.'<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> For examples see minutes 9/6/1913, Session Minute Book 1902-27, First Church of Otago (AI 6/1 99/90/61), PCANZAO; minutes 11/6/1913, Session Minute Book 1901-1920, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/2), PCANZAO; minutes 22/4/1914, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1910-26, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE8/5), PCANZAO; minutes 21/4/1914, Session minutes 1906-1921, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BI 7/2), PCANZAO; "Annual Meeting," *Times*, 6/8/1914, 3; minutes 2/7/1914, Session minute book 1913-1925, St. James Presbyterian Church (BA 6/7), South Dunedin, PCANZO.

<sup>16</sup> Minutes 5/7/1910, Presbytery Minute Book 1907-13, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/6), PCANZAO; minutes 5/5/1914, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>17</sup> Mothers' Union minutes 10/7/1913 and 1/10/1914, St. John's Roslyn (AG-142/037), Hocken.

<sup>18</sup> Watt, 17.

<sup>19</sup> "Bible in Schools. An Anglican Clergyman's Opinion," *Tablet*, 5/11/1914, 19.

<sup>20</sup> Letter, James O'Brien to the editor, *Tablet*, 4/2/1915, 29.

<sup>21</sup> Mothers' Union minutes 1/10/1914, St. John's Roslyn (AG-142/037), Hocken.

There was disunity too within the Presbyterian Church. In November 1914 Dickie wrote to Gibb on the matter, saying: 'I cannot understand the opposition to it [the Bible in State Schools League] in so many quarters, and I have no sympathy whatsoever with the attitude of our colleagues and Cameron.'<sup>22</sup> Also mentioned in the letter was Rutherford Waddell's opposition to the League. William Hewitson, Cameron, James Chisholm and other unnamed clergy stood as a mark of their opposition to the introduction of Bible reading in schools at the 1914 General Assembly.<sup>23</sup> Some rejected the New South Wales system advocated by the League, instead favouring the Nelson system of instruction.<sup>24</sup> Unsurprisingly the Nelson Presbytery refused to endorse the New South Wales system. Some congregations also found themselves unable to endorse the Bible in State Schools League. The Session of First Church did not pass a resolution in favour of the League, despite its minister Davies having served as President.<sup>25</sup>

Although there was evident disunity within both the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches, the issue took on an overtly sectarian nature once the Catholic church announced its opposition. The Catholic Federation was instrumental in organising the National Defence League, which, together with many teachers, organised a petition that gained 30,000 signatures of people opposed to the introduction of Biblical instruction. The Federation had been formed in 1913 and membership was open to any Catholic. Its aims were to act as a social organisation and a vehicle for communicating the Catholic point of view to the community. It was through this latter objective that it became embroiled in the Bible in Schools debate. It maintained that it was unfair to introduce religious instruction in state schools while Catholic schools were denied any form of state funding. Additionally, they shared some of the concerns of their Protestant counterparts who objected to non-denominational and multi-denominational teaching. The Bible in State Schools League attacked the Catholic church for its opposition, arguing that Catholic involvement was an attempt to impose 'rule from Rome' on New Zealand.<sup>26</sup> The teachers' organisation declared its opposition, much of the press did so too and

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<sup>22</sup> Letter, Dickie to Gibb, 3/11/1914, Geoff King Collection, PCANZAO.

<sup>23</sup> Standing as a means of publicly reinforcing support for or opposition to a particular proposal or resolution was a tradition within the Presbyterian church. "Bible in Schools. An Anglican Clergyman's Opinion," *Tablet*, 5/11/1914, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 131.

<sup>25</sup> Letter, Dickie to Gibb, 3/11/1914, Geoff King Collection, PCANZAO.

<sup>26</sup> A Bible in Schools League pamphlet read: 'Rome never changes in her hostility to the opening of the Bible and in her determination to allow no education system, if she can prevent it, which does not meet her own exclusive views. Apart from the language of these questions, which does not represent the proposals of the League, the evidence is now unmistakable that Rome has been actively at work during the recess. To this

many New Zealanders were opposed to the League on principle, supporting an officially secular form of education, though it is important to note that this did not necessarily mean that they objected to Biblical instruction outside of school hours or at Sunday Schools. Cleary, Bishop of Auckland Diocese, appeared before a Parliamentary committee speaking against the introduction of Bible in schools, and was praised by the Catholic Federation for his efforts, widely believed to be instrumental in defeating the proposal of the Bible in State Schools League.<sup>27</sup> The outbreak of war resulted in the matter going into abeyance. The Bible in State Schools League donated its funds to patriotic purposes, and the matter retreated from the public mind.

It was not the arguments used by supporters and opponents of biblical instruction that were important. The true importance of the debate was that the issue had fractured into one where, in the public mind and broadly speaking, large numbers of Protestants had ranged themselves against Catholicism. This was regardless of the very real disunity within the Protestant denominations. Significant and long term damage had been done to inter-denominational relations. Opponents of the Bible in Schools League included many school teachers, opponents of Christianity, many parents, those who feared a blurring of denominational boundaries and the Catholic church.<sup>28</sup> For radical Protestants, it was this last adversary that loomed the largest and was identified by them as the League's most vocal opponent.<sup>29</sup> This was despite the lack of public and political support for the Bible in State Schools League, which never grew beyond around a quarter of the electorate and had the support of only a minority of members of parliament.<sup>30</sup> Many believed that it was the machinations of the Catholic church and the Catholic Federation that had caused the League's failure. Catholicism had interfered with the country's political process and had successfully thwarted the will of the majority of New Zealand. Radical Protestants believed that the threat posed by the Catholic church to New Zealand's constitutional government had been exposed, and the Catholic Federation revealed as an overtly political organisation.

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may be added the organisation of the Roman Federation which has been explicitly stated as having been called into existence to combat the BISL. ... We do not fear the consequences, for once the people of New Zealand realise that this is really a struggle to obtain religious liberty as against the domination of Rome, there will only be one answer given by the people.' "Current Topics. The 'Sectarian Bigotry League,'" *Tablet*, 6/8/1914, 22.

<sup>27</sup> "Notes. Is the Religious Referendum Democratic?" *Tablet*, 13/8/1914, 35; "Catholic Federation," *Tablet*, 11/3/1915, 23.

<sup>28</sup> Watt, 15-16; Barber, "Social Crusader," 133.

<sup>29</sup> Sweetman, "Catholicism," 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, 60.

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### **Ireland and Irish Issues**

The Irish question had many diverse facets, but it was inescapable that the majority of nationalists who advocated Home Rule were Catholic, and the majority of unionists who advocated for union with Britain were Protestant. This trend was replicated in many parts of the Empire, including New Zealand, where the twists and turns of the Irish question and the perceived disloyalty of the Irish were followed closely. Overlaying this was an imperial concern, whereby many unionists believed that an Ireland under Home Rule was a threat to the unity of the Empire. They believed any lessening of imperial ties would be the precursor to wholesale imperial dismemberment. Catholics through their extensive links with Ireland and advocacy for Home Rule and later independence became associated with a movement that was deemed to be ultimately treasonous. Any discord or disunity within the denominations, be they Protestant or Catholic, was ignored and Catholicism was treated as a unified block, wholly Irish in its membership and wholly committed to Irish independence, regardless of what the reality may have been. This was used by many New Zealanders to “prove” that all Catholics were disloyal, adding to the sectarian tensions that existed within the Dominion. These arguments were played out inside and outside the church, in denominational and non-denominational newspapers, and by speakers at public meetings.

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The *Tablet* had always given considerable prominence to Irish issues and Irish affairs, and its publication practices were no different during the war years. In part, the newspaper was responding to the demands of its reading public. Many were either Irish immigrants or children of Irish immigrants and it was natural for them to remain interested in and retain their links to Ireland. “Irish News” was a regular column in the *Tablet* and featured reports on political, social and religious events in Ireland. There were many articles with Irish history as their topic. “Stirring Sons of Ireland” was serialised during 1916 and “Readings in Irish History” ran each week from October 1916 to December 1917.<sup>31</sup> Others were articles that examined facets of

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<sup>31</sup> For examples see “Stirring Sons of Ireland,” *Tablet*, 2/3/1916, 15, 17, 19; “Readings in Irish History,” *Tablet*, 5/10/1916, 11; *Tablet*, 25/1/1917, 13, 15; *Tablet*, 2/8/1917, 13; *Tablet*, 25/10/1917, 13.

Irish history such as the Old Irish medieval script Ogham or the many articles on the life of St. Patrick.<sup>32</sup>

An enduring theme in these articles about Ireland and its history was the romantic element injected by the authors. Romanticism was often intertwined with the Catholic faith, pride in Irish culture, the peacefulness of Irish society before the Norman invasion and the heroic but doomed resistance to successive centuries of Norman and English rule. From the Norman invasion until the twentieth century 'Ireland has been subjected to most cruel persecutions. Everything was done that could be done to exterminate the Irish and destroy their faith.'<sup>33</sup> Nuns in exile in Ypres during the seventeenth century had 'ceased not to pray for her [Ireland's] redemption.'<sup>34</sup> The Protestant Irish were seen by the *Tablet* as aliens, unIrish and interlopers in the island. They were the source of evil and corruption. This was made clear in Angela Hastings' poem *A Dream of Ireland*.<sup>35</sup> The southern and Catholic Irish were described as 'simple,' 'God fearing,' and living in 'a simple and holy' world that others could not fathom or understand. This is contrasted with the north of Ireland, where a 'cancer' and 'poverty, riches, oppression' were located. This 'cancer' was the consequence of English domination of Ireland and the Protestant settlement of Ulster and could only be cured by their removal from Ireland and a return to the island's Catholic roots.

James Kelly's appointment as editor of the *Tablet* resulted in an increasingly romantic view of Ireland. Sweetman believed that Kelly looked back to an imagined Ireland that was pure and Catholic, unsullied by Protestantism, by Norman, English and British invasion, by union with Britain, and by non-Irish settlement.<sup>36</sup> Kelly believed that this pure Ireland could be recreated only if independence could be achieved and this was the focus of many *Tablet* editorials. In March 1917 he wrote: 'The love of Faith and Fatherland is stronger in her soul than ever.' Ireland had been chosen by Christ 'to be His standard bearer' and had 'leavened and uplifted humanity.'<sup>37</sup> Later that year he wrote that the Rosary prayer and ritual had been 'the strength that sustained Ireland during the years of her passion,' equating Ireland's history with the

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<sup>32</sup> "Irish Script," *Tablet*, 6/1/1916, 31; "Readings in Irish History," 7/12/1916, 13; "Irish Monastic Schools of the Fifth Century," 14/12/1916, 13.

<sup>33</sup> "St. Patrick's Day," *Tablet*, 16/3/1916, 34.

<sup>34</sup> "The Irish Nuns of Ypres," *Tablet*, 20/4/1916, 15.

<sup>35</sup> "A Dream of Ireland," *Tablet*, 18/5/1916, 47.

<sup>36</sup> Sweetman, "Catholicism," 146.

<sup>37</sup> "St. Patrick's Day," *Tablet*, 15/3/1917, 33-34.



martyrdom of Christ.<sup>38</sup> In early 1918 he wrote: ‘Ireland’s greatest glory lies in the fact that Catholicism won for her the title of the Island of Saints and Scholars.’<sup>39</sup>

The activities of New Zealand’s Catholics reflected their strong Irish roots. St. Patrick’s Day was a very important feast and festival day for Irish Catholics throughout the world and celebrations were very public. In Dunedin it was usual for church services to be held in the morning, followed by a large concert that evening. Venues for the concert included the Garrison Hall and His Majesty’s Theatre, both of which had a large seating capacity. Items performed at the concert had strong Irish links. In 1915 the songs and tunes included “Gems of Irish Melody,” “Dublin Bay” and “The Kerry Dance.” In 1916 they included “The Rosary,” “The Irish Emigrant” and “Off to Philadelphia.” Irish symbols were prominent during these concerts, and in 1917 the Irish national ensign, rather than the union jack or the cross of St. Patrick, was displayed on the back of the stage throughout the concert. The 1915 Dunedin St. Patrick’s concert was advertised as an ‘Irish national concert.’<sup>40</sup> Similar concerts were held in other main centres throughout the country, with picnics also being organised.

The Australasian Hibernian society was a very strong friendly society in New Zealand and Australia. These lodges sought to maintain knowledge of and interest in Irish culture among immigrant communities, as well as providing a vehicle for social activities. Lodges had strong links with Catholic churches, with annual church parades being a fixed part of the lodge and liturgical year and parish priests serving as chaplains and members of the society. Lodges were attached to parish churches and the strong links between the two institutions would be stressed at important ceremonial occasions.<sup>41</sup> Lodges could be very large. Wellington city had 700 Hibernians in its four lodges, St. Patrick’s branch having 320 members on its own. Dunedin had lodges attached to the cathedral and St Patrick’s South Dunedin.

During the war this close relationship between New Zealand’s Catholics and Ireland continued. For the period until Kelly’s tenure as editor, the *Tablet* regularly published articles lauding Ireland’s loyalty to the Empire, commitment to the imperial war effort, and patriotism of Ireland. Speeches by Redmond, other Irish members of the United Kingdom parliament and British Prime Minister Asquith were reprinted, advocating an end to the division of Ireland

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<sup>38</sup> “The Rosary,” *Tablet*, 20/9/1917, 28.

<sup>39</sup> “Notes,” *Tablet*, 31/1/1918, 27.

<sup>40</sup> “Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 4/3/1915, 35.

<sup>41</sup> For examples see “The Hibernian Society. Presentation to His Lordship Bishop Brodie,” *Tablet*, 11/5/1916, 23; *Tablet*, 6/7/1916, 25.

between Protestant north and Catholic south.<sup>42</sup> Ireland's loyalty and patriotism were echoed in poetry. "MH's poem *The Sons of a Fighting Race* was specially commissioned by the *Tablet*, and featured such stirring lines as

Once more the trumpet call rings forth from ancient battle grounds ...  
And Ireland hears yet once again the well-remembered call ...

For when the weak need succour, neither danger nor reward,  
Must keep within its sheath of peace the ancient Irish sword ...

and

Our faith was pledged to England's sons if she set us free,  
Our sword was hers in brotherhood, and all the world should see.<sup>43</sup>

*Ireland's Loyalty*, by Harold Gallagher, continued this theme:

For King and Empire Ireland's sons arose,  
Patriotic hearts with loyalty aflame –  
By such shall Britain overcome her foes.<sup>44</sup>

Editorials too praised Ireland's patriotism. Claims that Irish prisoners of war were volunteering to fight for the Germans were dismissed as 'greatly exaggerated' and by late 1915 it was estimated that 300,000 men of Irish extraction had volunteered and were serving in the British and Dominion armies.<sup>45</sup> The *Tablet* printed regular articles concerning Irish soldiers, be they from the regular British army, the new armies, or the Dominion armies. The exploits of the 10<sup>th</sup> (Irish), 16<sup>th</sup> (Irish) and 36<sup>th</sup> (Ulster) divisions, British army divisions recruited from Ireland, received considerable prominence.<sup>46</sup>

The early war period saw Ireland's imperial loyalty receive considerable coverage outside of the Catholic press. Prime Minister Massey, during a parliamentary debate, referred to 'the prominent part which had always been taken by the Irish in the defence of the Empire.' John

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<sup>42</sup> "Ireland and the Call to Arms," *Tablet*, 19/11/1914, 13; "Bravo Redmond," 19/11/1914, 19; "Ireland and the War," 10/12/1914, 33-34.

<sup>43</sup> "The Sons of the Fighting Race," *Tablet*, 26/11/1914, 41.

<sup>44</sup> "Ireland's Loyalty," *Tablet*, 25/2/1915, 49.

<sup>45</sup> "Ireland and the War," *Tablet*, 9/9/1915, 34; "The Distress in Dublin," 2/11/1916, 26.

<sup>46</sup> The 10<sup>th</sup> (Irish), 16<sup>th</sup> (Irish) and 36<sup>th</sup> (Ulster) Divisions of the British Army were recruited from Ireland. The 10<sup>th</sup> (Irish) Division was one of the first divisions formed mainly by Irish volunteers in England and Belfast following Kitchener's initial call for volunteers in August 1914; the 16<sup>th</sup> (Irish) Division was raised in late 1914. Many members were Irish Nationalists. The 36<sup>th</sup> (Ulster) Division was formed in September 1914, predominantly by Unionists from the Ulster Volunteer Force. For examples see "Ireland's Part in the War," *Tablet*, 12/11/1914, 7, 9; "The Irish Brigade," *Tablet*, 12/11/1914, 29; "Irish News," *Tablet*, 26/11/1914, 39; "Our Irish Heroes," *Tablet*, 15/4/1915, 33; "Sidelights on the War," *Tablet*, 28/10/1915, 17; "Irish News," *Tablet*, 11/11/1915, 41; *Tablet*, 27/1/1916, 17, 19; "Sidelights on the War," *Tablet*, 30/3/1916, 13; "Irish News," *Tablet*, 20/4/1916, 43.

Hornsby, M.P. for Wairarapa, declared that there were ‘no [Irish] shirkers in our own Dominion’ and Charles Poole, MP for Auckland West, paid tribute to ‘the loyalty and gallantry of the Irish people.’<sup>47</sup> The *Times* frequently referred to the fact that Ireland had a large proportion of its men serving in the British army.<sup>48</sup> Correspondents to the *Times* took issue with claims that Irishmen were not volunteering in proportion to their numbers, sending in statistics that “proved” that Irishmen made up the largest group within the British Expeditionary Force, while deriding those who sought to label the Irish as disloyal.<sup>49</sup>

Sweetman has suggested that the patriotism displayed by Irish Catholics was a means to an end. Great Britain would grant Home Rule if Ireland supported the war effort. Catholics in New Zealand were content to exhibit similar levels of patriotism due to their hopes of Irish Home Rule, as well as gaining wider acceptance in society.<sup>50</sup> These are persuasive arguments, but what is perhaps more important is that the patriotism displayed both in Ireland and New Zealand during this early war period was real. Subsequent events would show that, for many, it was not held deeply, but it was broad-based and resulted in Ireland and the Irish, both in Ireland and in New Zealand, receiving much positive press.

Unsurprisingly the 1916 Easter Rising received extensive coverage in the *Tablet*. Initially this was negative. Articles describing the Rising were titled “The Made-in-Germany Rebellion,” “The Menace of Syndicalism” and “Germany and Ireland.”<sup>51</sup> Great efforts were made in the *Tablet* to link the Rising to Germany, and to minimise both the numbers of insurrectionists and the support that they received from Dubliners. The Rising was ‘insane’ and Sinn Fein members were ‘the tools of Germany.’<sup>52</sup> This view was endorsed by Catholics at public meetings and church services. Shortly after the Rising a ‘fully representative’ meeting of ‘Irish opinion’ was called in Dunedin, resulting in a cable being sent to Britain expressing the ‘abhorrence and detestation of the outbreak’ of violence in Dublin. The meeting condemned ‘the criminal and insane action of the Sinn Feiners and their dupes responsible for the rebellious outbreak in

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<sup>47</sup> “Ireland and Empire,” *Tablet*, 2/9/1915, 15.

<sup>48</sup> “Ireland’s Part,” *Times*, 23/1/1915, 10; [Untitled], *Times*, 22/10/1914, 5.

<sup>49</sup> “Ego,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 21/11/1914, 4; “Of Irish Descent,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 7/10/1914, 6; J. B. Crowley, letter to the editor, *Times*, 5/2/1915, 6; “The Toast is Britain,” *Times*, 24/5/1915, 8.

<sup>50</sup> Rory Sweetman, “Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week? Antipodean Irish Catholic responses to the 1916 Rising,” in *The Impact of the 1916 Rising*, ed. R. O’Donnell (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008), 73, 74, 86.

<sup>51</sup> “The Made-in-Germany Rebellion,” *Tablet*, 4/5/1916, 29-31; “The Menace of Syndicalism,” *Tablet*, 18/5/1916, 29-30; and “Germany and Ireland,” *Tablet*, 20/7/1916, 30.

<sup>52</sup> “The Made-in-Germany Rebellion,” *Tablet*, 4/5/1916, 29-31.

Dublin.’ Coffey claimed that all the priests regretted the rebellion. He expressed his ‘regret’ at the Rising, condemned Sinn Fein as ‘anti-clerical’ and ‘anti-Catholic’ and hoped that the outcome of the Rising would be ‘the enrolment of more men ready to do battle for their country.’<sup>53</sup>

By late 1916 this view of the Rising had radically changed. Reports of the rebels saying their rosary when under fire and James Connolly’s and Sir Roger Casement’s reported conversion to Catholicism clearly contradicted the view that those who took part in the Rising were anti-clerical and opposed to the Catholic church.<sup>54</sup> Germany’s aid to the Irish rebels was no longer criticised but was equated with Britain’s alliance with Russia. Martial law in Ireland was condemned amidst repeated calls for its lifting. The *Tablet* gave great prominence to reports from Ireland detailing the destruction in Dublin, arbitrary execution and imprisonment and the burgeoning support for Sinn Fein amongst the Irish Nationalist population.<sup>55</sup>

It was not just the *Tablet* and its editor who were concerned with Ireland and the aftermath of the Rising. Ample evidence exists indicating that the fate of Ireland after the Rising was a topic of intense interest for many of New Zealand’s Catholics. In September 1916 the Irish Relief Fund was launched. The fund’s aim was to help the families of those who had fought in the rebellion, many of whom had been convicted of treason and rebellion:

... [the] many families deprived of their bread-winner; many children left fatherless and unprotected. There are the destitute families of some three hundred men slain during the insurrection; of eighteen executed by Courts-martial; of one hundred and thirty-four condemned to penal servitude; of two thousand six hundred and fifty deported without trial; and of about four hundred who, under arrest, have had to await sentence by Courts-martial...<sup>56</sup>

The Catholic church, while aiming to help those in distress, was openly allying itself with those condemned as enemies of the Empire. The fund was closely associated with Dunedin. The *Tablet* printed a list of subscribers each week, and Verdon, the bishop of Dunedin Diocese, was its treasurer. Within two weeks it had 98 subscribers, including 23 from Dunedin and Mosgiel and 26 clergy. Contributors to the fund came from throughout the Catholic Church and

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<sup>53</sup> “Revolt in Dublin. Protest in Dunedin” and “Revolt in Dublin. Denounced by Very Rev. Father Coffey,” *Tablet*, 4/5/1916, 27.

<sup>54</sup> “Notes,” *Tablet*, 13/7/1916, 30; “Current topics,” *Tablet*, 5/10/1916, 21.

<sup>55</sup> “The Late Very Rev. Dr Watters, S.M.,” *Tablet*, 6/7/1916, 11; “The Martial Law Regime,” *Tablet*, 10/8/1916, 23; “The Shooting of Major Skeffington,” *Tablet*, 7/9/1916, 19; “Condition of Ireland – Views of a New Zealander,” *Tablet*, 21/9/1916, 26-27.

<sup>56</sup> “An Irish Relief Fund,” *Tablet*, 7/9/1916, 30.

beyond. They included parishioners, children, Catholic schools and organisations, Hibernian lodges, and clergy.<sup>57</sup> It raised £5,132 during its first twelve months, all but £2 had been sent to Ireland to alleviate distress there.<sup>58</sup>

Kelly's appointment as editor of the *Tablet* in 1917 marked a definite turning point in that newspaper's attitude towards Ireland, the United Kingdom, and the Empire. No longer was Sinn Fein condemned as an anti-clerical group. Instead Kelly recognised it as the popular voice for an independent Ireland. Sinn Fein possessed 'ideals for which they count it a small thing to die.' They had 'Christian principles and ideals to preserve pure amid a sea of materialism.' They were dedicated to working to restore Ireland's rights.<sup>59</sup> The *Tablet* rejected the notion that Sinn Fein was pro-German, and instead maintained that the organisation was seeking a peaceful and stable Ireland and would take help from whoever could further this aim.<sup>60</sup> In reply to "Reader," the *Tablet* declared Sinn Fein to be the only true voice of Ireland and the only hope for the island's future.<sup>61</sup> The *Tablet* printed many articles describing life in Ireland under martial law. These articles focussed on the poverty, the arbitrary arrests, the destruction, and constant interference by the Dublin government in the lives of ordinary Irishmen and women. Speeches by prominent Irish Catholic clerics and nationalist leaders criticising the situation in Ireland were published. People who fought against British rule were absolved of any guilt, justified by the Act of Union being declared 'illegal and fraudulent,' that Ireland had suffered '700 years of persecution' by Britain and that British rule had been 'founded on Prussianism of the worst type.'<sup>62</sup> British policy and methods for pacifying the population were condemned and frequently compared with German methods in Belgium. In one article Britain was condemned as 'crushing' Ireland and 'maintaining her historical reputation for tyranny and bigotry.' The British government was described as 'Prussianism at its worst.'<sup>63</sup> The attitude towards the Rising was clearly displayed in articles with titles such as "The Dublin Atrocities" and "Huns in Ireland."<sup>64</sup> A public lecture given by Rev. Fr. Silk at St. Joseph's cathedral hall organised by the St. Joseph's Club contended that German and Austrian war aims that argued for freedom of

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<sup>57</sup> "Irish Relief Fund," *Tablet*, 12/10/1916, 29-30.

<sup>58</sup> "Dublin Relief Fund Balance Sheet," *Tablet*, 28/6/1917, 31.

<sup>59</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 22/11/1917, 14.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 13/12/1917, 14.

<sup>61</sup> "Condensed Correspondence," *Tablet*, 11/4/1918, 37.

<sup>62</sup> "Answers to Correspondents," *Tablet*, 30/5/1918, 39.

<sup>63</sup> "What of Ireland?" *Tablet*, 26/4/1917, 34.

<sup>64</sup> "The Dublin Atrocities," *Tablet*, 3/5/1917, 24-25; "Huns in Ireland," *Tablet*, 28/2/1918, 9-11, 13.

the seas could only be achieved with a free and independent Ireland and that an independent Ireland would be strong enough to provide for its own security against British attack.<sup>65</sup>

The views expressed by the *Tablet* and *The Month* were popular amongst many Catholic parishioners. Silk's lecture had a 'large audience.'<sup>66</sup> Very well attended public meetings supporting the Irish Relief Fund were held in Christchurch and Dunedin.<sup>67</sup> Correspondence to the *Tablet* on matters such as Sinn Fein, Ireland and Irish independence indicates a large measure of support and agreement. The January 1918 Dunedin Diocesan Synod passed a resolution approving 'the strong, self-reliant, and self-determined attitude taken by the present editor of the New Zealand *Tablet*' and reiterated its support for Moran's policy of 'the honour of God and the glory of Ireland.'<sup>68</sup> Branches of the Catholic Federation passed resolutions in favour of the *Tablet's* attitude towards Catholicism in general and Ireland in particular.<sup>69</sup> Correspondence to the *Tablet* praised its attitude.<sup>70</sup> To a large extent New Zealand Catholics were repeating what Eugenio Biagini describes as 'the test of political orthodoxy,' which revolved around 'attitudes to Britain.' A true Irish nationalist had to be Catholic, supportive of Irish independence and firmly opposed to Protestantism. Some nationalists even questioned whether Protestants 'were Irish at all,' attitudes that seemingly easily translated to many New Zealand Catholics and Protestants.<sup>71</sup>

However, the Hibernianism of New Zealand's Catholics is not the entire story. Catholicism in New Zealand was dominated numerically by those with Irish roots but there were other ethnicities within the church. Catholics with English, Scottish and European roots also settled in New Zealand and it is unlikely that these men and women shared the overwhelming concern with Ireland that exercised Kelly and his supporters. Although outside the time period of this thesis, James Marlow's conversation with Monsignor Dalaney in the early 1930's perhaps sums up the attitudes of these group. Marlow, an English-born Catholic, remarked that 'there was more to the faith than Ireland.'<sup>72</sup> It is likely that these opinions were shared by some Catholics

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<sup>65</sup> "Sinn Fein," *Tablet*, 6/6/1918, 7, 9-10; 13/6/1918, 7-8.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 13/6/1918, 7-8.

<sup>67</sup> "Distress in Dublin. Attack by the *Press*," *Tablet*, 2/11/1916, 31; "The Dublin Relief Fund and the *Press*," *Tablet*, 9/11/1916, 23-26.

<sup>68</sup> "Our Policy," *Tablet*, 24/1/1918, 25-26.

<sup>69</sup> "Catholic Federation: Christchurch Diocesan Council," *Tablet*, 14/2/1918, 10-11.

<sup>70</sup> "Fairplay," letter to the editor, *Times*, 23/2/1918, 10.

<sup>71</sup> Eugenio Biagini, "The Protestant Minority in Southern Ireland," *The Historical Journal* 55, 4 (2012): 1163.

<sup>72</sup> Cadogan, 67.

during the Great War. Anglo-Irish Catholics are likely to have had quite different views on the desirability of Home Rule and Irish independence. Michael King identified splits within the Catholic hierarchy dating back to the 1870s, and Bishop Moran's objection to non-Irish clergy ministering to Irish Catholics. Moran was opposed to the appointments of Dutch and English bishops to New Zealand sees and refused to attend the installation of John Grimes as Bishop of Christchurch, partly because of Grimes' Marist connections.<sup>73</sup> Cadogan's and Sweetman's arguments indicate that Catholicism's support for Irish independence was perhaps less universal than otherwise believed, and certainly varied depending on the individual, and should caution historians against treating Catholics as one united block.

Biagini provides evidence indicating that nationalists were divided amongst themselves, even in Ireland. Some opposed the 'mono-cultural nation-state that excluded Protestants,' believing in a more pluralistic society.<sup>74</sup> Nor was nationalism confined to Catholicism; some southern Protestants favouring Ireland taking greater control of its destiny.<sup>75</sup> Divided loyalties among nationalists, not all of whom were Catholic, were obviously not confined to New Zealand.

### **Ireland and Protestantism**

Biagini details the divisions that existed within Protestant Ireland's reaction to the sectarian divide, highlighting the differing responses of the Church of Ireland and Presbyterianism, often very dependent on geography, economic power and demographic reality.<sup>76</sup> Denominations were internally divided and often had differing "official" responses.

Immediate commonalities with these responses are identifiable with Protestant denominations in New Zealand. Ireland and Irish issues had intermittent exposure within Presbyterianism. The wartime truce between Nationalists and Unionists received high praise from the *Outlook*, which described the decision to put aside animosities as a reflection of Ireland's 'love of country and the country's honour.'<sup>77</sup> In part this reflected a hope that a 'joint blood sacrifice' would bridge the divide between the two Irelands.<sup>78</sup> This hope posited that nationalist and unionist would, through shared service, learn to put aside their differences and work for Ireland in the post-war world. This hope evaporated with the Easter Rising. The *Outlook*

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<sup>73</sup> M. King, *God's Farthest Outpost*, 98.

<sup>74</sup> Biagini, 1183.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 1181.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 1169-70, 1174.

<sup>77</sup> "The Church and the World: War!" *Outlook*, 11/8/1914, 4.

<sup>78</sup> Biagini, 1169

described the Rising as ‘deplorable,’ and those who participated were criticised as having been ‘carried away [by] a false sense of patriotism.’<sup>79</sup> Later, the *Outlook*’s condemnation took on a more strident tone, with the editor identifying ‘the merciful restraining power of God’ in preventing the ‘blackness and darkness’ of the French Terror being visited upon Dublin by the insurrectionists.<sup>80</sup> Casement was condemned as a ‘traitor’ for his role in the Rising and the *Outlook* urged that his supporters share his fate.<sup>81</sup>

Some Presbyterian clergy were very concerned about the situation in Ireland. Dickie was a vocal and articulate minister and a professor in the church’s Theological Hall and spoke with authority on a wide range of issues. He had supported Home Rule but his opinion changed dramatically following the Rising. He opposed any movement towards independence, seeing it as a threat to the integrity of the Empire. There were only two alternatives: continued incorporation in the United Kingdom or independence, the latter to be avoided at all costs.<sup>82</sup> Ireland’s opposition to conscription, and the ‘weakness’ displayed by the British government in refusing to apply conscription to that island, were further proof of Ireland’s disloyalty. In his mind Sinn Fein and their supporters were traitors and enemies of the Empire.

The Anglican Church tended to restrain itself when it came to Ireland and Irish issues. The Rising was not reported in the *Envoy* and it was the *Tablet* that reported Nevill’s only public speech on the Rising, given at the Anglican Church’s 1916 General Synod. Nevill praised the unified response of ‘the Ulster man and his fellow countrymen from south or west’ to the outbreak of war, and ‘refused to believe’ that Nationalist and Unionist would turn their weapons against each other.<sup>83</sup> There are no reports of sermons or articles by clergy concerning the circumstances of the Rising, and there was no correspondence within the *Envoy* or to parish or Anglican organisations on the matter. Nor did the post war Anglo-Irish war, partition and the Irish civil war receive much in the way of official Anglican comment.

This is surprising given the large numbers of Anglicans who hailed from Ireland, especially Ulster. Galbraith’s research has indicated that around ten per cent of Auckland’s Anglicans were from Ulster, with many clergy who had trained in Dublin or had come from the Church of Ireland. Ulster-Anglicans exercised some power within the church and Galbraith writes that

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<sup>79</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 2/5/1916, 3; Editorial, *Outlook*, 9/5/1916, 3.

<sup>80</sup> “The Church and the War: a Chronicle and a Comment,” *Outlook*, 23/5/1916, 3-4.

<sup>81</sup> “The Things that Matter: Reflections on the Situation,” *Outlook*, 4/7/1916, 4.

<sup>82</sup> M. King, *Penguin History*, 281; Letter, Dickie to Gibb 21/3/1917, Geoff King Collection, PCANZAO.

<sup>83</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 11/5/1916, 17.



some clergy feared that adoption of more ritualised or High-Church theology and liturgy would 'cause Irish Anglicans to leave the church.'<sup>84</sup> Perhaps it was a case of the divisions within the denomination precluding any one grouping from dominating the other.

### **Ireland Outside the Churches**

Ireland and Irish issues were not just a matter for the denominational press. They were frequently referred to in the non-denominational press, where the *Tablet's* opinion, together with that of the Catholic church in general, was often criticised. These pronouncements often resulted in tit-for-tat trading of insults between newspapers such as the *Times* and the *Evening Star*, and the *Tablet*. The *Evening Star* argued that Catholic Irish should be 'grateful' for their treatment by the British, to which Kelly replied that 80% of the nation were certainly not grateful.<sup>85</sup> Kelly was described by the *Times* editor as 'childish' and 'incapable of discussing dispassionately and reasonably.'<sup>86</sup> Editorials in that newspaper referred to the divisions between older and young Irish clerics, the older rejecting Sinn Fein while the younger endorsed Sinn Fein's aims and attended its meetings. Its openly anti-Empire and anti-British policy was acknowledged, and in later editorials the organisation was condemned as 'pro-German' and an ally of Germany.<sup>87</sup> Members of Sinn Fein were described as 'traitors' and their sympathisers as having 'objects not loyal to the Empire.'<sup>88</sup> Responding, the *Tablet* described the *Times* as a paper that 'hates the truth' and one that was devoid of 'reason.'<sup>89</sup> "Civis" warned of a time when 'the British people' would 'wring Ireland's neck.'<sup>90</sup> The *Tablet* retorted that it took 40,000 English soldiers to beat 1,700 Irish, and described Civis's views as 'rank Prussianism,' and 'living proof of unfairness and crass ignorance.'<sup>91</sup>

The *Maoriland Worker* took a very different stance from that of the *Times* and *Evening Star*, openly siding with Sinn Fein and the Irish Nationalists. Reports were printed that described many of the nationalists captured during the Rising as 'mere boys.' It reprinted an article from *Women's Dreadnought* telling the story of a wounded twelve-year-old whose face 'lighted up with

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<sup>84</sup> Galbraith, 49.

<sup>85</sup> "Current Topics. Ulster Bluster Again," *Tablet*, 9/8/1917, 15.

<sup>86</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 18/2/1918, 4.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 7/11/1917, 4; *Ibid.*, 18/2/1918, 4.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>89</sup> "Answers to Correspondents," *Tablet*, 1/11/1917, 13; "Notes," *Tablet*, 15/11/1917, 26.

<sup>90</sup> "Passing Notes," *Times*, 13/10/1917, 4

<sup>91</sup> "Notes. Pigs," *Tablet*, 25/10/1917, 27; "Answers to Correspondence," *Tablet*, 1/11/1917, 13.

joy' when a priest arrived to perform the last rites.<sup>92</sup> In a later article the *Worker* accused Britain of provoking the Rising through secret orders to suppress the Irish Volunteers. Articles were also printed detailing life under martial law. The *Worker*, like the *Tablet*, drew comparisons between alleged German atrocities in Belgium and France and British actions in Ireland. It claimed that the Irish were being used 'as targets for English bullets' and that Britain was following through with a 'Prussian plan' for Ireland's future.<sup>93</sup> A series in the *Worker*, "Historic Foundations of the Irish Rebellion," appeared in each issue from September to December 1916. The articles sought to detail English and British misrule and justify both the Rising and Irish resistance.

The *Worker's* views were echoed by the New Zealand Labour Party, unsurprising given the close connections between the two. This body was broadly accepting of the view that Ireland should be free to determine its own destiny. It advocated an end to martial law in Ireland, the withdrawal of British troops and the introduction of Home Rule or independence, whichever was desired by the Irish.<sup>94</sup>

Support for Irish independence should not, however, be interpreted as necessarily meaning support for Catholicism. The *Green Ray*, a radical pro-Ireland socialist newspaper published in Dunedin, strongly advocated Irish independence. It advertised itself as 'the only truly Irish paper south of the line [equator] and the only republican journal in Australasia.' It attacked Prime Minister Massey, Howard Elliott and newspaper columnist "Civis." However, it did not spare the 'jingo priests' nor the 'Catholic hierarchy' and particularly targeted Cleary, bishop of Auckland. Lest it be thought this was purely due to Cleary's support for the war effort it also targeted the remaining bishops 'securely locked up in their palaces, wholly oblivious' to the suffering of the people.<sup>95</sup> The Maoriland Irish Society, formed around 1916, advocated a free and united Ireland under Sinn Fein rule. Branches were quickly established in Wellington, Napier, Hokitika, Dunedin and Riversdale. It viewed the situation in Ireland, and later New Zealand, as a class struggle and attracted a largely working class membership.<sup>96</sup> Many of these people were Catholics, but that did not mean that the organisation automatically supported

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<sup>92</sup> "Scenes in the Irish Rebellion," *Maoriland Worker* (Wellington), 19/7/1916, 5.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*; "A Piece of Evidence," *Worker*, 19/7/1916, 5; "Ireland's Woes," *Worker*, 8/11/1916, 4.

<sup>94</sup> Cadogan, 56; Sweetman, *New Zealand Catholicism*, 235.

<sup>95</sup> Moores, 62.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 61

Catholicism or the church's pronouncements on social issues. In this case political views trumped religious convictions.

*Truth* was more circumspect than the *Worker* and never approached the stance of the *Green Ray*, stopping short of adopting a pro-Irish Nationalist attitude. However it did hint at possible British connivance at provoking the Rising. It blamed British Prime Minister Herbert Asquith for permitting 'the utilisation of unheard of methods and the infliction of Draconian punishments' upon the Irish.<sup>97</sup> *Truth* also reprinted an exhaustive account of the court martial of Captain J. C. Bowen-Colthurst, who was tried for the murder of Francis Sheehy-Skeffington, whom he had summarily executed during the rising.<sup>98</sup> Taken together, alongside other articles published in *Truth*, it is clear that that newspaper did not agree with either British policy that had led to the Rising nor with the methods and means used to govern Ireland after the uprising.

### **Irish Migration to New Zealand**

New Zealand's interest in Irish affairs can be partly explained by Irish migration during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Ireland had experienced repeated waves of migration, internally and externally, often based on religion. Around half a million Protestants left southern and western Ireland between 1815 and 1844, fleeing in the face of a 'resurgent Catholicism.' Some resettled in Ulster but many left Ireland for the U.S.A. and British settler colonies.<sup>99</sup> This diaspora, and others in the later nineteenth century, helped transport the secular divide throughout the world. From the 1850s until 1915 Ulster was the main source of Irish immigration and, in some places, Ulster migrants formed entire communities within New Zealand.<sup>100</sup> During this time around 35,000 Ulster Protestants migrated to New Zealand, and were consequently a significant proportion of New Zealand's United Kingdom immigrants.<sup>101</sup> Early Ulster migrants were predominantly Church of Ireland/Anglican, but from 1870 onwards Presbyterians predominated, forming about forty per cent of the total number of

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<sup>97</sup> "The Making of Martyrs," *Truth*, 3/6/1916, 1.

<sup>98</sup> Sheehy-Skeffington had been captured during the Rising but was taken from his cell by a party under Bowen-Colthurst's command and shot in the prison yard. Bowen-Colthurst was found not guilty of murder by reason of insanity and incarcerated in a hospital for the mentally ill. "A Dark Day in Ireland's History," *Truth*, 5/8/1916, 5.

<sup>99</sup> Biagini, 1166

<sup>100</sup> Malcolm Campbell, "How Ulster was New Zealand?" in *Ulster-New Zealand Migration and Cultural Transfers*, ed. Brad Patterson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 18-21.

<sup>101</sup> Jock Phillips, "Who Were New Zealand's Ulster Immigrants?" in Patterson, 55, 58-59.

Ulster migrants in the period 1870-1945.<sup>102</sup> They tended to be strongly Protestant in disposition and, from the late nineteenth century, stressed their British rather than Irish credentials, defining themselves in opposition to southern, mainly Catholic, immigrants.<sup>103</sup> They were instrumental in introducing and promoting organisations such as the Loyal Orange Lodge into New Zealand and focusing on the supposed Catholic threat to society. It is unclear how many settled in Dunedin and Otago. This is because they were able to assimilate easily into New Zealand life. However, given the Presbyterian nature of the province and the fact that many immigrants were farmers it is likely that many Presbyterian Ulster migrants ended up settling in southern New Zealand.<sup>104</sup> Some Presbyterian clergy, such as Rutherford Waddell, Dickie, Dixon, and Whyte had close links to Ireland and Ulster, either through direct familial connections or through links with the Ulster-Scots communities.

At the same time it must be remembered that the majority of Irish immigrants to New Zealand during this time were Catholics. Catholic clergy in New Zealand were also overwhelmingly Irish in origin. This translated into a New Zealand Catholic church that was dominated by members who were either Irish-born or first generation New Zealanders. Their desire to retain links to their homeland resulted in the denomination being closely identified with Ireland. It is true that they would have formed new bonds with others in their community, but the old bonds, with family and friends both in New Zealand and back in Ireland, would have maintained a significant pull.<sup>105</sup> Studies on New Zealand and American Irish immigrants have indicated that their social networks were dominated by ethnicity, again reinforcing the dominant view of Irish Catholics as “the other,” a distinct grouping separate from the rest of the community.<sup>106</sup> Moores believes that this view had been established very early on in New Zealand’s history.<sup>107</sup>

It is likely that the high numbers of migrants from Ulster exacerbated the degree of sectarianism being imported into New Zealand. Sectarianism and its structures, attitudes and beliefs would have been more common amongst these migrants than others, even those from

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<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.

<sup>103</sup> Alasdair Galbraith, “The Invisible Irish? Re-discovering Irish Protestant Traditions in Colonial New Zealand,” in Patterson, 45.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

<sup>105</sup> Lyndon Fraser, “The Ties that Bind: Irish Catholic Testamentary Evidence from Christchurch 1876-1915,” in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 29, no. 1 (1995): 69.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>107</sup> Moores, 16.

other parts of Ireland. Irish immigrants *per se* were also more likely to bring with them sectarian attitudes than migrants from Wales, England, or Scotland. Ulster Presbyterians brought with them an attitude that they were British, while Catholics were Irish, attitudes that helped to define Protestants as loyal and Catholics as the other. Other value-loaded labels were attached to each creed, with Protestants widely accepted as hard-working, thrifty and industrious, while Catholics were known for poverty, violence, drunkenness and willingness to work for low wages.<sup>108</sup> Galbraith's research indicates that New Zealanders were receptive of these definitions, favouring immigrants from Ulster over those from Ireland's other three provinces.<sup>109</sup>

This is not to assert that all Irish immigrants sought to perpetuate the sectarian divisions of their homeland in New Zealand. Many, be they Protestant or Catholic, would have wanted to escape sectarian conflict, concerned only with starting their lives anew. What is inescapable is that the large numbers of Irish, and especially Ulster, immigrants influenced the degree to which sectarian modes of behaviour were fostered in New Zealand.

### **Ireland and Roman Catholic Clergy**

Irish Catholic clergy were steeped in sectarianism. The romanticism exhibited by many of New Zealand's Irish clergy, amongst them Kelly, Coffey, Thomas O'Shea and Liston, was a consequence of their theological and academic training. Sweetman writes that clergy trained at Rome's Irish College 'drank in not merely the Catholic faith but also a fervent belief in Ireland's holy destiny.'<sup>110</sup> Sweetman believes that the College represented the hopes, dreams and aspirations of a Catholic Ireland and those trained within its walls were committed to Irish self-government and self-rule. It was from this college that the majority of New Zealand's Catholic clergy were drawn, arriving in New Zealand with a pre-existing mind-set and ultimate goal. Their training exposed them continually to the beliefs that Ireland was a Catholic nation, and that all of the ills that had befallen it were due to foreign Protestants. Irish College Rectors acted as the Pope's "interpreter" of events in the English-speaking world and would present world events in such a way as to promote Irish nationalism. Their assistance could be vital to priests, as Kelly learned soon after his appointment as editor of the *Tablet*. Controversy caused by Kelly's Irish nationalist editorials in the *Tablet* nearly led to the Vatican ordering his removal

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<sup>108</sup> Galbraith, 39.

<sup>109</sup> Galbraith, 42,46.

<sup>110</sup> Sweetman, "Green Flag," 205.

from that position, a move which would have greatly diminished the public avenue for Irish nationalism provided by that newspaper. It was only the intervention of the Rector that saved him.<sup>111</sup> Catholic clergy, the Catholic newspaper, and the leadership they provided to their New Zealand parishioners must bear some of the blame for perpetuating sectarianism in the Dominion.

Cadogan has indicated that Irish clergy had differing views concerning Irish independence. He argues that there was a split within the 'Hibernians' between those who supported more radical measures to bring about independence and those who advocated a more conciliatory approach. Both groups supported the eventual aim of Irish independence but differed over the means. As an example, Cadogan identifies Kelly's endorsement of Sinn Fein, the Labour Party and the Easter Rising versus James Coffey's evident distaste for these groupings and events.<sup>112</sup> Sweetman too examines this when discussing the evident conflict between Liston and Cleary. Sweetman describes Cleary as having 'impeccable credentials as a loyal citizen' and, while he supported Irish self-rule, he did not support either the Easter Rising or Sinn Fein.<sup>113</sup> Liston's views are best summed up by the fact that his first public speech without Cleary being present resulted in him being charged with sedition. Sweetman's and Cadogan's arguments indicate that Catholic clergy had differing levels of commitment to the Irish cause. Not all were as dedicated as Kelly and Liston.

One area little examined by historians has been that of the non-Irish clergy and their attitudes and commitment towards Irish independence. Grimes, Bishop of Christchurch from 1887 to 1915, and Redwood, Bishop of Wellington from 1874 and Archbishop of New Zealand from 1884 to 1935, were English-born Marists. King refers to Redwood's 'considerable sympathy for the Irish and the cause of Irish independence,' but this sympathy was never accepted as sufficient by his compatriots such as Moran, who seemingly maintained that only an Irishman or Irishwoman could be fully committed to Catholic Ireland's cause.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps there has not been enough examination of the beliefs of these non-Irish clergy concerning Ireland and the tightrope they had to negotiate with a church dominated by Irish clergy and members. Possibly their commitment was more because it was expected of them by their majority of their flock, rather than a deep-seated belief. Certainly many scholars who have examined New Zealand

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 207.

<sup>112</sup> Cadogan, 57, 67.

<sup>113</sup> Sweetman. *Bishop in the Dock*, 4.

<sup>114</sup> M. King, *God's Farthest Outpost*, 99.

Catholicism during this time, including Sweetman and Cadogan, do not seem adequately to address non-Irish clergy and church members and the effect that these men and women may have had on the Irish debate within that church.

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### **Temperance and Prohibition**

Society's attitude towards alcohol and alcohol reform was one area where New Zealand's sectarian tensions became increasingly apparent. The temperance movement, formed in the 1880s, had progressively attempted to transform New Zealand society through a combination of social, moral and political pressures. The movement itself was split between those who favoured outright prohibition and those who favoured a more limited reform or none at all. Church organisations and denominations coalesced around these options and were quickly officially identified with one position or another. Broadly speaking, prior to the war the Episcopalian churches had settled on calling for alcohol reform, whereas the more evangelical protestant denominations, including the Presbyterian Church, were much more likely to advocate prohibition.

Each of these positions was strongly promoted during the conflict, despite the fact that prohibition had been withheld from the polls. The *Outlook* referred to prohibition in roughly one quarter of its wartime editorials. Campaigns such as "Six o'clock closing," "Save our soldiers" and "Peace with prohibition" received considerable support. Articles titled "The National Foe," "Temperance Crusade," "A Call to Christianity and Common Sense," and "Under which King? Alcohol, Totalisator or Kaiser" left the reader under no illusion as to where Presbyterianism's sympathy lay.<sup>115</sup> Many Presbyterian congregations actively supported prohibition. The Kaikorai Session introduced a total abstinence book in 1916, the Maori Hill congregation sent telegrams to the Government advocating six o'clock closing and the North East Valley congregation petitioned the Presbytery to ban fermented wine in Communion.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup> "The National Foe: Discussion in Presbyteries – Dunedin," *The Outlook* (Dunedin)13/4/1915, 8; "Temperance crusade – pledge signing in the Sunday School," *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 8/6/1915, 29; "Casualty, Conscience and Closing: A call to Christianity and common sense," *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 25/7/1916, 3-4; "Under which King? Alcohol; Totalisator; or Kaiser," *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 9/1/1917, 3.

<sup>116</sup> Minutes 15/11/1916, Session Minute Book 1901-1920, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church (BE 8/2), PCANZAO; Minutes 18/9/1917, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1917-1923, Maori Hill Presbyterian Church (BD 2/7), PCANZAO; *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 15/10/1918, 6; *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 9/7/1918, 5-6.

Anglicans actively and consistently promoted reform, but not prohibition. Dunedin's Anglican youth organisations often advocated temperance, but it was very unusual for them to promote outright prohibition.<sup>117</sup> The Diocesan Synod backed six o'clock closing and supported the Government's ban on treating and shouting, but never endorsed prohibition. The *Tablet* took a similar line. Reform was necessary to counter alcohol abuse and its attendant societal harm, but prohibition was not seen as the answer. Reducing immorality, increasing wages, reforming industrial conditions and enhancing family life were all seen as more constructive methods of preventing alcohol abuse than merely curtailing or banning alcohol. Above all, Catholic values were seen as the means to combat alcohol abuse.<sup>118</sup> A contributing factor in Episcopalian objections to prohibition was the perception that it would threaten the Sacrament of Holy Communion. Both Catholic and Anglican Churches maintained that communion had to be celebrated with fermented wine. These stances were consistent with these church's pre-war positions on alcohol reform.

This is not to ignore that each denomination had constituencies opposed to the denomination's official position. By 1909 Julius was committed to prohibition and was the Vice-President of the long-standing national temperance group, the New Zealand Alliance. The high vote recorded in favour of prohibition in 1911, 1914 and 1919 suggests that some Anglicans must have supported it.<sup>119</sup> In fact in the poll of April 1919 prohibition received forty-nine per cent support, with the votes of 40,000 troops still overseas or on ships tipping the balance in favour of continuance. Dunedin clergymen Goertz and Fitchett, and Averill, bishop of Auckland, became wartime prohibitionists, believing it to be necessary for the war effort. Not all Presbyterians were prohibitionists. The Sisterhood of St Andrew collected only £6/10 for the *Outlook's* prohibition campaign, this from a congregation with 522 members and 1,000 people under its pastoral care. The 322 signatures collected by the First Church Ladies represented only a third of the congregation.<sup>120</sup> St Stephen's collected only 31 signatures in

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<sup>117</sup> David Keen, "Feeding the Lambs: The Influence of Sunday Schools on the Socialisation of Children in Otago and Southland" (PhD thesis, Otago University, 1999), 252.

<sup>118</sup> "Current topics," *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin), 12/7/1917, 18; "Irish Politics," *New Zealand Tablet* (Dunedin), 9/5/1918, 25-26; "The Drink Problem," *Month* (Auckland), 15/6/1918, 16, 18.

<sup>119</sup> A. R. Grigg, "Prohibition, the Church and Labour. A Programme for Social Reform 1890-1914" in *New Zealand Journal of History* 15, no. 2 (1981), 143-5.

<sup>120</sup> The First Church statistics published in the 1918 proceedings of the General Assembly recorded 966 members, and a regular congregation size of 1,000. The percentage falls even further to 20% if the petitioners are taken as a proportion of those under the church's pastoral care (1,600).



favour of a prohibition petition from a congregation with 196 members.<sup>121</sup> Barber points out that Gibb was not a prohibitionist but argued for alcohol reform rather than abolition, a position closer to that of the Anglican Church.<sup>122</sup> The East Taieri Session refused to authorise the minister's use of unfermented wine for Communion, forcing him to resign in protest at the Session's decision.<sup>123</sup>

Nor was Catholicism totally united. In the pre-war period, the West Coast electorate had twice the national average of Catholics in its population, but recorded as many votes in favour of prohibition as electorates with a much lower number of Catholics.<sup>124</sup> Bishop Cleary of Auckland favoured prohibition, believing it to be both a moral issue and a means of depriving the P.P.A. of its financial backing from the liquor industry.<sup>125</sup> Catholic social organisations also tended to support reform or prohibition. *The Month* referred to the 'plague strain of intemperance' and called for prohibitionists to target the child if the movement was to be successful.<sup>126</sup>

Despite the evident splits within each denomination, prohibition became an avowedly sectarian issue. The dominant narrative of the three main denominations was either reform or prohibition, and this attitude became reflected along sectarian lines, especially within the Presbyterian and Catholic churches. William Richardson, a prominent Auckland prohibitionist and later supporter of the P.P.A., freely denounced Catholicism as being in league with brewers and publicised these views in the prohibitionist newspaper *Auckland Free Press*.<sup>127</sup> Presbyterianism's Protestant Principles Committee explicitly linked prohibition with sectarian conflict. Its 1919 report reported that a temperance campaign in Gore had met 'strong opposition' and that 'attempts had been made to break up the meetings.' The committee avowed that 'the agitation was absolutely Roman Catholic.'<sup>128</sup> The Catholic hierarchy made statements opposing prohibition in 1905, 1911, 1918 and 1919.<sup>129</sup> The *Tablet* was forced to defend Catholic clergy, including the Archbishop and even the Pope, from allegations that the

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<sup>121</sup> The 31 signatures represented around 12% of those at worship and 16% of the church's members. It was only 7% of those people under the pastoral care of the congregation. Minutes 10/5/1916, Session Minutes 1894-1917, St Stephen's Presbyterian Church (BG 3/1), PCANZAO.

<sup>122</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 137-138.

<sup>123</sup> "The use of Fermented Wine," *The Outlook* (Dunedin), 21/5/1918, 12.

<sup>124</sup> Grigg, "Prohibition," 147.

<sup>125</sup> Sweetman, "New Zealand Catholicism," 201.

<sup>126</sup> "The Drink Problem," *Month* (Auckland), 15/6/1918, 16, 18.

<sup>127</sup> Moores, 37.

<sup>128</sup> "Report of Protestant Principles Committee," *Outlook*, 11/3/1919, 29-30.

<sup>129</sup> Moores, 39.

church supported the liquor industry.<sup>130</sup> In later issues it attacked prohibition as a ‘fanatical movement’ and ‘a tyranny.’<sup>131</sup> Prohibition was a ‘serious threat to Catholicism’ and would be used by the ‘No Popery’ campaigners to attack the church.<sup>132</sup> Catholics were warned that ‘Methodists and Presbyterians’ ran the Prohibition campaign and that ‘that in itself is enough to put Catholics on their guard.’<sup>133</sup> The case for prohibition had become fused with theology and sectarianism. Catholics maintained it would destroy the Mass and thus the church; Presbyterians believed it would ensure morality, sobriety, hard work and thrift, and codes of behaviour that helped to bring salvation. It was another way in which New Zealand society was divided along denominational lines.

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### **Presbyterian / Roman Catholic Tensions**

The antipathy between the Catholic and the Presbyterian Churches was demonstrated in many different ways during the war. The Protestant Principles Committee was a standing committee of the Presbyterian General Assembly. It was charged with protecting Protestantism and reporting on issues where it believed Protestantism was under threat or being undermined by Catholicism. Its mandate included the publication, promotion and dissemination of Protestant literature, such as a pamphlet on the life, teachings, and death of martyred reformer John Hus.<sup>134</sup> It supported essay competitions amongst Sunday School and Bible Class pupils with topics that included the life and works of historical Protestant figures such as Gaspard de Coligny, John Calvin and Martin Luther.<sup>135</sup> The Committee enjoyed the support of many prominent Dunedin Presbyterian clergy, including Dickie, Waddell, Dixon and Whyte, as well as Gibb in Wellington and Durward in Lawrence.

The Protestant Principles Committee was instrumental in incorporating Protestant Principles Sunday into the Presbyterian liturgical year. The theme for the day was ‘thanksgiving for the spiritual blessings of Protestantism, for the Reformation, and for the first reforming leaders ...

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<sup>130</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 24/9/1914, 22.

<sup>131</sup> “Answers to correspondents,” *Tablet* (Dunedin), 25/7/1918, 33.

<sup>132</sup> “Current topics,” *Tablet* (Dunedin), 15/8/1918, 15, 17.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 29/8/1918, 15, 17.

<sup>134</sup> John Hus was a prominent Bohemian church reformer who was burned to death as a heretic in 1415.

<sup>135</sup> De Coligny was a 16<sup>th</sup> Century French Huguenot leader. Calvin helped found reformed Christianity, and the work of Martin Luther is commonly accepted as the spur to the Reformation. PCNZ, *Proceedings 1917*, 179; “Protestant Principles Essay,” *Outlook*, 24/9/1918, 5.

Thanksgiving for the deliverance of men from the extravagant and unscriptural claims of the priesthood.<sup>136</sup> It strongly supported the Ministry of Education's refusal to allocate funds to Catholic schools, believing that '[the] multiplication of such schools is a menace to the Protestantism of the Dominion' and that 'everyone who loves the Protestant Church' should be 'gratified ... that the Government refuses to yield to the persistent requests for help' from the Catholic church.<sup>137</sup> The committee agitated for the government to allow anti-Catholic literature into New Zealand, and roundly criticised, as 'a serious menace to liberty and truth alike,' the decision to ban the anti-Catholic book *The Roman Catholic Church in Italy*.<sup>138</sup> It had close relations with the Orange Lodge and its Literature Committee, distributing 40,000 copies of *The Nation*, the Lodge's newspaper. There were links between individual Presbyterian clergy and the Lodge as well, as was seen in an editorial in *The Nation* co-authored by Presbyterian clergy on the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Martin Luther's ninety-five theses.

The 1914 General Assembly agreed to the church being affiliated to the newly-formed Protestant Association. This body would be a pan-Protestant association representative of the churches and permitting united action in defence of Protestant liberties. In 1915 the Methodist conference and the Orange Order agreed to affiliation and appointed representatives. Moores writes that the organisation was somewhat moribund and had little impact, failing to unite the more extreme Orange Order and the comparatively lacklustre Presbyterian and Methodist church structures.<sup>139</sup> However, its true importance is that it should be seen as a trial run for the more extreme Protestant Political Association in 1917. It highlighted what could and could not be achieved by pan-denominational organisations as well as indicating that true defence of Protestant rights should be entrusted to an organisation independent of the churches. Individual members of churches should be welcomed, but it would necessitate a committed group such as the Orange Order to drive a successful radical movement.

Many Presbyterian clergy maintained an antagonistic attitude towards the Catholic church. Alexander Allan, a Presbyterian missionary in Colombia, spoke at Dunedin's Chalmers church in 1917. There he described the 'absolute and unjust intolerance against all Protestants' that he had experienced in South America and predicted 'a tremendous conflict ahead between the

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<sup>136</sup> "Protestant Principles Sunday," *Outlook*, 22/10/1918, 3.

<sup>137</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1916*, 177.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.* 1918, 169.

<sup>139</sup> Moores, 122-123.

temporal and ecclesiastical power of the Papacy and the free forces of the glorious Gospel.<sup>140</sup> Waddell and Dickie both recommended to the Dunedin Presbytery and the General Assembly a 32-page booklet on the life of Martin Luther that was adopted and distributed by the Loyal Orange Lodge.<sup>141</sup> Dickie believed the Catholic church to be ‘an aggressive, resolute and determined organisation’ intent on ‘world-wide Dominion.’<sup>142</sup> He maintained that the Pope and Catholicism were in collusion with Germany, and believed that the Catholic church would ‘lose its credibility’ after the war.<sup>143</sup> He described *Tablet* articles as ‘rank treason’ and believed that the newspaper should be suppressed.<sup>144</sup> He was a firm believer in the British Empire as a fundamentally Protestant force in the world, and at the 1917 Knox Church Anzac Day service likened the war against Germany to that of the Empire’s fight in ‘its early days ... to free Europe from the spiritual despotism of Rome, and the black tyranny associated therewith.’<sup>145</sup>

Dixon, minister of Roslyn Presbyterian Church, authored *The Romance of the Catholic Presbyterian Church*, published in 1918. He maintained that the Presbyterian Church was the reformed Catholic Church, restored to its original Apostolic and Scriptural form.<sup>146</sup> The Presbyterian Church was consequently ‘pure,’ while the Catholic church was ‘impure,’ corrupted by centuries of degeneration. His book reads as a list of the martyrdom and massacre of Protestants, such as the 1572 St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre. Lurid tales were told of Catholics using Protestants’ ears as rosary beads, of de Coligny being killed in his sick bed, and 500 Protestants being killed by soldiers after being invited to the French king’s Parisian palace. Dixon argued that these massacres had been planned by Rome and carried out on the orders of a ‘jubilant’ Pope, who ordered celebratory ‘bonfires to be lighted over all the seven hills’ of Rome and gave thanks to God at a special service organised to honour the massacre.

In his sermon at Knox Church’s 1918 Protestant service, Robert Davies told the congregation that Rome had allied itself with the Central Powers because they had a common interest, and

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<sup>140</sup> “Time and Tide,” *Outlook*, 11/12/1917, 5.

<sup>141</sup> “The Martin Luther Booklet,” *Outlook*, 7/8/1917, 8.

<sup>142</sup> “Dunedin 1917: Impressions of the General Assembly,” *Outlook*, 11/12/1917, 4.

<sup>143</sup> G. King, 284.

<sup>144</sup> Letter, Dickie to Gibb, 21/3/1917, Geoff King Collection, PCANZAO.

<sup>145</sup> “Anzac Day. The Services: Knox Church,” *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 25/4/1917, 6.

<sup>146</sup> William Dixon, *The Romance of the Catholic Presbyterian Church* (Dunedin: Published for the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand by Wm. H. Adams, 1918), 9-10.

that was their hatred of Britain, the obstacle in the path of their progress and the bulwark of the Protestant faith.<sup>147</sup>

There was a close relationship between some of Dunedin's Presbyterian clergy and congregations and the Orange Order. At least four Presbyterian congregations made their buildings available to the Orange Lodge during the war and immediately after. The Roslyn Deacons received a 'hearty vote of thanks and appreciation' for welcoming members of the Lodge in their visit to that church in 1914.<sup>148</sup> Kaikorai church lent their collection of hymn books to the Lodge for their annual church parade, St. James' church South Dunedin hosted the Lodge in October 1915.<sup>149</sup> Most spectacular was the 1917 annual meeting of the Grand Lodge, held in Dunedin. Its 123 delegates, led by the Dunedin Highland Pipe Band, paraded in full regalia from the Early Settlers' Hall to Knox Church, where Dickie led the devotional portion of the service and Davies spoke on 'Romanism and Nationality.'<sup>150</sup> Further afield, Gibb was in close contact with A. J. Bishop, secretary of the Loyal Orange Lodge No. 1 in Wellington, throughout 1915.<sup>151</sup>

The Presbyterian Church's commitment to Protestant principles enjoyed support throughout its membership. The 'large measure of success' of the John Hus pamphlet, 10,000 copies of which had been printed and circulated, was singled out for comment at the 1916 General Assembly.<sup>152</sup> A large number attended Knox Church's 1918 Protestant service, at which Davies denounced the Catholic church for being in league with Germany.<sup>153</sup> Church Sessions readily adopted the Protestant Principles Committee's recommendation to incorporate Protestant Principles Sunday into their liturgical year, and the *Outlook* ran a special editorial dedicated to such principles each year.<sup>154</sup> Presbyterian organisations such as Bible Classes and Sunday Schools incorporated 'Reformation subjects' into their syllabi. The use of church

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<sup>147</sup> "Special Protestant Service. Addresses by Professor Dickie and the Rev. R. E. Davies," *Witness*, 17/7/1918, 22.

<sup>148</sup> Minutes 6/11/1914, Deacons' Court minutes, Roslyn Presbyterian Church, 1907-29 (BE 5/1 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO.

<sup>149</sup> Minutes 16/10/1923, Deacons' Court Minute Book 1910-26, Kaikorai Presbyterian Church BE 8/5), PCANZAO; Minutes 14/10/1915, Session minute book 1913-1925, St. James Presbyterian Church, South Dunedin (BA 6/7), PCANZO; Minutes 6/2/1923, Session Minute Book 1902-27, First Church of Otago (AI 6/1 99/90/61), PCANZAO.

<sup>150</sup> "Loyal Orange Lodge", *Times*, 9/4/1917, 6.

<sup>151</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 205.

<sup>152</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1915*, 200-201.

<sup>153</sup> "Special Protestant Service. Addresses by Professor Dickie and the Rev. R. E. Davies," *Witness*, 17/7/1918, 22.

<sup>154</sup> For example see "Protestant Principles Sunday," *Outlook*, 22/10/1918, 3.

facilities freely given to the Orange Lodge and the cordial tone of correspondence between the two parties implies a measure of agreement in aims and ideals between the Deacons, Sessions and congregations and the Lodge. There was a large measure of active support by clergy and laity for the work of the Lodge. This support was not hidden or downplayed, but was a matter of public record, as the 1917 Orange Lodge service at Knox Church demonstrates.

There were several other ways in which the Presbyterian Church indicated an implicit and institutionalised anti-Catholic sentiment. Dunedin's Council of Churches had existed since 1900 and was a strictly evangelical Protestant body, comprising representatives from the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Church of Christ, Congregationalist and Salvation Army congregations. It was limited in its scope, as members came from individual congregations and consequently the body was unable to speak authoritatively for denominations as a whole.<sup>155</sup> In 1917 this was modified through the establishment of the Board of Churches. This body would endeavour to arrive at a unified position on 'public questions affecting the Kingdom of God, the well-being of the churches, and the moral and spiritual interests of the community.'<sup>156</sup> This was not a movement towards union, but a vehicle for co-operation and co-ordination. What should be stressed is that the grouping, and similar organisations in other centres, were strictly Protestant, but were not confined just to the evangelical churches. Co-operation from the Anglican Church was actively sought and willingly given by Nevill, but Catholic inclusion was never considered. Efforts to organise unified intercessory prayer during the war were again strictly Protestant. Exchanges of pulpits occurred between Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Congregationalist congregations and the Anglican Primate presided over a session of prayer within First Church's Burns Hall.<sup>157</sup> Similar events occurred in Wellington and Christchurch, but on no occasion were Catholics either officially participating or invited to participate.<sup>158</sup> Both actively and passively, the Presbyterian Church confined its efforts at inter-denominational co-operation to its fellow Protestants.

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<sup>155</sup> See "Council of Churches", *Times*, 27/7/1915, 2; Minutes 10/8/1915, Session Minute Book 1902-27, First Church of Otago (AI 6/1 99/90/61), PCANZAO; *Witness*, 20/9/1916, 54; Minutes 5/6/1917, Presbytery Minute Book 1913-19, Dunedin Presbytery (BH 6/7), PCANZAO.

<sup>156</sup> Letter, Rev A. Cameron (Convener) and W. Trotter (Sec) to Primate, 28/6/1917, Folder 3, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>157</sup> "The Rising Tide of Prayer – what Dunedin is Doing," *Outlook*, 23/4/1918, 4.

<sup>158</sup> "The Rising Tide in Christchurch. Unity in Diversity and Diversity in Unity," *Outlook*, 7/5/1918, 3-4.

## Anglican / Roman Catholic Tensions

The Anglican Church seems to have had no institutional anti-Catholic bias on the scale of that which existed within the Presbyterian Church. There was no equivalent of the Protestant Principles Committee, nor was there a large coterie of clergy of the Dickie or Dixon type maintaining belief in a Catholic enemy or Catholic plot against the state. This is not to deny that individual clergy harboured antipathy about Catholicism. Garland, the Secretary of the Bible in Schools League, had already promoted the view that Catholic opposition to the League was tantamount to “Rome” overruling Parliament and the government, and the P.P.A. had the support of some Anglican clergy. The *Envoy* sporadically published articles that contained anti-Catholic messages, such as reprinting the Bishop of Oxford’s questioning of Catholicism’s catholicity. The *Envoy* published a tribute to Bishop Moorhouse of Melbourne and Manchester, who had delivered a series of ‘interesting lectures against Roman Catholicism’ early in his career. It reprinted extracts from articles written by Bishop Gore of Oxford for the *Oxford Diocesan Magazine* in which he attacked the Papacy and Catholicism’s claim that it was the sole Christian church.<sup>159</sup> The *Envoy*’s editor also attacked the Catholic church for being ‘opposed to the dissemination of the new knowledge’ gained by interpreting newly discovered Biblical texts.<sup>160</sup> There was some antipathy to marriage outside of Anglicanism, with William Sadlier, Bishop of Nelson from 1912 to 1933, arguing that mixed marriages were ‘harmful to religion’ and urging all Anglicans ‘to make every reasonable and legitimate effort to dissuade our Church people from entering into such alliances.’<sup>161</sup>

Church union was a prominent subject during and immediately after the war. Anglicans recognised the important spiritual and financial consequences of uniting the different branches of Christianity. The *Envoy* ‘rejoiced’ when Balfour spoke to Dunedin Presbytery in favour of the union of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Congregational churches and welcomed an exchange of letters between Nevill and Balfour about the Anglican Church joining this union.<sup>162</sup> Correspondent Robert Gardiner suggested regular intercessions to bring about the union.<sup>163</sup> Nevill’s 1921 Synod address suggested the possibility of the different Protestant

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<sup>159</sup> “Our English Letter,” *Envoy*, June 1915, 181; “Is the Church of England Worth Preserving?” *Envoy*, January 1916, 23.

<sup>160</sup> Editorial, *Envoy*, February 1925, 17.

<sup>161</sup> Christopher J. Van der Krogt, “‘The Evils of Mixed Marriages’: Catholic Teaching and Practice,” in Troughton and Morrison (eds), *Spirit of the Past*, 148.

<sup>162</sup> “Current Notes,” *Envoy*, July 1918, 146; Letters between Bishop Nevill and Rev G. H. Balfour, *Envoy*, September 1918, 206.

<sup>163</sup> Letter, Robert H. Gardiner to editor, 9/10/1918, *Envoy* December 1918, 243.

denominations forming “orders” within a new united church.<sup>164</sup> Nothing came of this desire by some Protestants to unite their churches, but significantly no mention was made of uniting with the Catholic church. Catholicism viewed union, as opposed to absorption, as anathema. Anglicans, or at least those discussing union, clearly believed that they had more in common with the other Protestant churches than with Catholicism.

What was not present in the Anglican Church was an institutional framework for ordering, structuring and promoting an active anti-Catholic attitude, despite the antipathy exhibited by some Anglicans towards Catholicism. In part this may be because of Anglicanism being a “broad-church” – it would be unlikely that Anglo-Catholics would support attacks on Catholic ritual, while low-church Anglicans were more likely to support Methodists or Presbyterians than their high-church compatriots. It was possibly this disunity and plurality within the denomination that precluded it from taking an official stance one way or the other. Individuals within the Anglican Church may have actively opposed the Catholic church, but it was not true of the denomination as a whole.

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### **Roman Catholic / Protestant Tensions**

The Catholic church itself must share blame for the antagonism between denominations. The church, clergy and parishioners did very little to mitigate many of the factors that underlay the sectarian attacks on their faith. Since the second half of the nineteenth century the church had actively promoted a policy of separatism throughout the English speaking world. Most Dioceses and provinces created separate structures to enable Catholics to interact as seldom as possible with people of other creeds. In New Zealand this was demonstrated by the separate school system, separate orphanages, hospitals, immigrants’ boarding hostels, the Catholic Federation, and separate friendly associations, of which the most prominent were the Hibernian lodges. In other parts of the world this separation also included Catholic universities and aged care facilities. The intention was to enable Catholics to co-exist in a non-Catholic community with as little interaction as possible.

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<sup>164</sup> “President’s Address”, 1918 Synod proceedings, Diocese of Dunedin, p 17.



Cadogan provides evidence for Catholic commerce being directed “inward” among the community. Catholic businesses were more likely to advertise in the *Tablet* than the *Times*.<sup>165</sup> Public houses and hotels were often divided into Catholic and non-Catholic establishments. The “South Dunedin” hotel was famous for having two bars, the larger of the two being for Catholics and the smaller for Protestants and visitors.<sup>166</sup> Many Catholics preferred a Catholic doctor and Catholic lawyer.<sup>167</sup>

There is considerable evidence in the *Tablet* indicating an official Catholic antipathy towards non-Catholics. Attendance by a Catholic at a non-Catholic religious service was described as ‘religious error,’ ‘immoral,’ and ‘denying’ the truth of God. Catholics who attended a non-Catholic marriage service were advised that they should under no circumstances participate in the service and that they should be prepared for the impending ‘scandal’ once it became known that they were present. The *Tablet* argued that Protestants were by nature ‘liberals,’ and that ‘liberalism in religion is the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another.’ Attending a non-Catholic service was deemed a ‘rejection of Catholicism.’<sup>168</sup> A later article argued that the Catholic Church was the literal equivalent of Christ. Both had come from God, and both endured the attacks of ‘the ignorant and wicked.’<sup>169</sup> In late 1915 a correspondent questioned whether it was worthwhile for Protestants to attend Protestant services. The *Tablet* replied that a Protestant may as well stay at home as attend a Protestant service, and that ‘attendance at a Protestant place of worship had no merit.’<sup>170</sup> Many articles were published on ‘mixed marriages’ between a Catholic and non-Catholic. These were deemed ‘evil’ and ‘abhorrent.’<sup>171</sup> Those who had entered into ‘mixed marriages’ were said to experience unhappy marriages, full of ‘constant sorrow ... to have to live in the state of Matrimony with one to whom the teaching of the Church means nothing.’ No ‘mixed marriage’ could be ‘as happy as a marriage between Catholics.’<sup>172</sup> The Catholic Church was described as ‘the pillar of and the ground of Truth.’ This truth came ‘from God Himself’ and consequently the Catholic church was unassailable on matters of doctrine and

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<sup>165</sup> Cadogan, 13.

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, 14-15.

<sup>168</sup> “Stand Fast in the Faith,” *Tablet*, 19/11/1914, 11, 13.

<sup>169</sup> *Tablet*, 2/9/1915, 13.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>171</sup> “Diocese of Dunedin,” *Tablet*, 24/1/1918, 22; “Answers to Correspondents,” 11/4/1918, 37; 9/5/1918, 10.

<sup>172</sup> “Answers to Correspondents,” *Tablet*, 9/5/1918, 10.

conscience.<sup>173</sup> ‘All that is great and good and beautiful, all that we admire in the civilisation of today, is due to the influence exercised on society by the Catholic Church.’<sup>174</sup>

Other denominations and religious organisations were frequently attacked in the *Tablet* and by other Catholic organisations. Catholics were advised that they should not support Barnados homes as children in the homes were unable to attend Catholic churches and Catholic priests could not visit. They were described as ‘a danger to the faith of poor Catholics’ and should be avoided at all cost.<sup>175</sup> In 1915 Julius, Anglican Bishop of Christchurch, advocated praying for the dead. The *Tablet* attacked Julius’ belief as this was seen to be a Catholic doctrine, not an Anglican one. The *Tablet* rejected Julius’ reasoning and concluded that ‘the Catholic Church alone’ was ‘the faithful custodian of the Apostolic doctrine and praise in this matter, and to it alone can the bereaved mourners turn for the needed light, guidance, and consolation.’<sup>176</sup> The *Tablet* took issue with the Christchurch Anglican Synod’s assertion that it was a ‘Catholic’ church, arguing that only the Catholic and Greek Orthodox churches were catholic – all others were Protestant and therefore self-evidently non-Catholic.<sup>177</sup>

The *Tablet* objected to the Y.M.C.A. soldiers’ club gaining funds from the Soldiers and Dependent Welfare Committee. It maintained that the Y.M.C.A. was a ‘sectarian institution’ that banned all non-evangelical Christians from being members, including Anglicans, Catholics, Jews, Unitarians and those without faith.<sup>178</sup> The Reformation was condemned by the *Tablet* as it had created a state of ‘confusion of thought that obscures the harmony that exists between the various articles of Catholic belief.’<sup>179</sup> Luther had separated Europe into ‘hostile churches, fanatical sects, and utterly divided nations.’<sup>180</sup> Protestant clergy were described as no different from ‘an organist or a bell ringer’ with ‘no commission from Christ.’ Such clergy were skilled in oratory, but had no ‘authority to teach and power to minister’ – they were ‘merely preachers.’<sup>181</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 4/4/1918, 14.

<sup>174</sup> “New Zealand Catholic Federation,” *Tablet*, 1/8/1918, 10.

<sup>175</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 11/10/1917, 14.

<sup>176</sup> “Current Topics. Anglicans and Prayers for the Dead,” *Tablet*, 18/11/1915, 22.

<sup>177</sup> “Catholic or Protestant,” *Tablet*, 15/11/1917, 25-26.

<sup>178</sup> “Current Notes,” *Tablet*, 9/9/1915, 22.

<sup>179</sup> “Eternal Punishment. No argument against Divine Justice and Wisdom,” *Tablet*, 18/11/1915, 27.

<sup>180</sup> “Four Centuries of Luther, 1517-1917,” *Tablet*, 14/2/1918, 9-10.

<sup>181</sup> M. O’Boyle of Rangiora, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 17/8/1916, 25.

Presbyterians and the Presbyterian Church were frequent targets for the *Tablet* and Catholic clergy. Presbyterians and Anglicans in Dunedin were condemned as ‘doing practically nothing’ for the Belgian Relief Fund and the claim was made that the ‘Roman Catholic Church as a body is certainly assisting more than any other Church.’<sup>182</sup> Scorgie, Presbyterian minister of Mornington, spoke about the medieval Papacy at the 1915 General Assembly. His talk was described as ‘misrepresentation and vilification’ by the *Tablet*.<sup>183</sup> Milton Presbyterians of the late nineteenth century were described as ‘shell-back fossilised exponents of orthodoxy ... encased in the armour of prejudice.’<sup>184</sup> The *Tablet* ran a series of articles that queried John Knox’s morality, mischievously aiming to discredit and vilify one of the founding fathers of Presbyterianism. The *Tablet* had some success in this, with the matter being raised at Dunedin Presbytery and calls being made for the government to ban the *Tablet*.<sup>185</sup>

The Catholic Church clearly believed that it alone possessed the “truth” and followed “true” Christianity, and was never hesitant in advancing this view. It refused to co-operate with Protestant churches and would not participate in events that could imply equality between itself and other denominations. It is not surprising that it felt bound to respond to many of the statements made by various Protestants and Protestant clergy about its faith. Unsurprisingly the blanket denunciation of Protestantism that usually accompanied these defences, together with the mocking and ridiculing tone that barely concealed an institutional contempt for Protestantism, did little to quell the simmering antagonism between these branches of Christianity.

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Despite the antipathy between denominations, it should not be assumed that every member of every congregation was implacably ranged against those of different creeds. Christopher Van der Krogt, in examining “mixed marriages,” has demonstrated that ‘a high proportion of lay Catholics refused to allow religion to constrain their choice of spouse.’<sup>186</sup> He presents evidence demonstrating that between twenty-five and fifty per cent of marriages in the inter-war period were “mixed” despite constant attacks from the pulpit and the *Tablet* on marrying outside of

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<sup>182</sup> J. A. Johnston, Chair of the Belgian Relief Collecting Committee in Dunedin, letter to Macdonald of Otautau, *Tablet*, 13/5/1915, 34.

<sup>183</sup> “Auckland Diocesan Notes,” *Tablet*, 25/11/1915, 29.

<sup>184</sup> Rev Fr J. O’Neil of Waikiwi, letter to the editor, *Tablet*, 7/9/1916, 15.

<sup>185</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 10/10/1918, 15, 17.

<sup>186</sup> Van der Krogt, 143.

Catholicism.<sup>187</sup> Catholics may have preferred Catholic doctors and lawyers, as Cadogan indicates, but they were also forced to exist within a world in which they were just fourteen per cent of the population. Catholics in employment would have rubbed shoulders with non-Catholics every day, either as customers or as fellow employees. Isolation was impossible and interaction between Catholic and non-Catholic would have occurred constantly. Indeed, the frequency of advice against interaction with non-Catholics is evidence of the extent to which it was taking place.

There is also evidence that the Protestant churches were not united in their opposition towards Catholicism. The Presbyterian Church's Protestant Principles Committee expressed 'disquiet' when a 32-page pamphlet on Martin Luther was less popular than expected.<sup>188</sup> The Committee received few entries in an essay competition on the life, work and modern relevance of Luther in 1917.<sup>189</sup> Perhaps most spectacular was the 'small' report to the 1919 Invercargill General Assembly by the Oamaru Presbytery - it had not realised that it was the Assembly's Protestant Principles Committee for that year.<sup>190</sup> Waddell was a thorough believer in Reformed theology and opposed Catholicism as 'unscriptural and superstitious,' yet he was not hostile to Catholics or Catholic clergy. Brosnahan writes that Waddell 'stood out from the pervasive anti-Catholicism' of Presbyterianism, yet the evidence presented above suggests that there were more than just Waddell who were reluctant to condemn Catholics and Catholicism.<sup>191</sup>

There was clearly less conviction of the "danger" posed by Catholicism within the Anglican Church than present in other Protestant churches. Belich writes that Protestant opposition towards Catholicism 'excluded' high church Anglicans. This seems probable, as many Anglo-Catholics would have seen little in Catholicism to object to.<sup>192</sup> It would have been easier for Protestants to have had less interaction with Catholics than vice versa, by virtue of Protestants making up eighty-six per cent of the population. However, the many different denominations making up this eighty-six per cent would have resulted in similar levels of interaction between people of different denominations to that between Catholic and non-Catholic, as well as it

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<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, 151.

<sup>188</sup> "The Martin Luther Booklet," *Outlook*, 7/8/1917, 8.

<sup>189</sup> Report of Protestant Principles Committee to 1917 GA, *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the PCNZ 1917*, Dunedin, 1918, 179

<sup>190</sup> *Outlook*, 1/12/1919, 37

<sup>191</sup> Sean Brosnahan, "Rutherford Waddell: An Ulster Radical in Otago's Scottish Kirk," in *Ulster-New Zealand Migration and Cultural Transfers*, ed. Brad Patterson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2006), 142.

<sup>192</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 114.

being likely that there was less official guidance advising against such interaction than there was within the Catholic church.

Alasdair Galbraith provides evidence suggesting that divisions existed within Protestantism. His work on Irish immigrants to New Zealand indicates that some Ulster Presbyterians saw little to discriminate between the ritualism and beliefs demonstrated by High Church Anglicans and Catholics.<sup>193</sup> Galbraith also provides evidence that many Ulster Anglicans shared their Presbyterian compatriots' disdain for ritualism within the Anglican Church.<sup>194</sup> Given the large number of Ulster immigrants from 1840 to 1915 it is likely that these attitudes were imported into New Zealand's Presbyterian and Anglican denominations, suggesting splits and divisions within and among Protestant denominations, though the relative strength of these groups is less easy to determine.

### **Sectarian Tensions Outside of the Churches**

Tensions between Catholics and non-Catholics were not confined to the churches. The claims and counter-claims of each denomination and the rising temperature of sectarian strife were freely aired in the non-denominational press and outside the churches. The *New Zealand Cyclopaedia*, published by the *Times*, rarely published details concerning Catholic clergy.<sup>195</sup> The letter pages of the *Times* featured frequent attacks and defences of either Protestantism or Catholicism. "Iconoclast" railed against the 'arrogance' of Catholics in declaring marriages between Catholics and non-Catholics 'a sin' and argued that all Protestants should take a stand 'which would render the *Ne Temere* decree a thing of the past.'<sup>196</sup> "Pax" criticised the editor of the *Times* for generalising about Catholics and for the newspaper's support of the *Tablet*.<sup>197</sup> S. Martin believed that *Truth* had a 'decided bias ... in favour of the Roman Catholic Church.'<sup>198</sup> "JH" praised Howard Elliott, founder of the P.P.A., supporting Elliott's right to 'warn every Protestant of what is going on with regard to the Catholics.'<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>193</sup> Alasdair Galbraith, "The invisible Irish? Re-discovering Irish Protestant traditions in colonial New Zealand," in Patterson, 50-51.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 52.

<sup>195</sup> Cadogan, 16.

<sup>196</sup> "Iconoclast," letter to the editor, *Times*, 2/2/1915, 8.

<sup>197</sup> "Pax," letter to the editor, *Times*, 17/11/1917, 8.

<sup>198</sup> S. Martin (Te Kuiti), letter to the editor, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 5.

<sup>199</sup> "JH," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 5.

“Civis” often took an anti-Catholic line during the war. He argued that the government was reluctant to conscript Catholic teaching brothers as they were ‘well officered, trained to obey orders, [and] accustomed to act as one man.’ Conscripting Catholic clergy would therefore ‘raise a riot’ as any resistance by the Catholics would risk civil conflict.<sup>200</sup> In later columns he accused the *Tablet* of ‘inhabiting a phantom world of its own, a world of gorgons and chimeras dire’ and of ‘making enemies of the whole population of New Zealand.’<sup>201</sup> Editorials in the *Times* often explicitly criticised parts of the Catholic Church. In one the editor made thinly veiled accusations of disloyalty at the *Tablet*, its tone and its irreverent description of Queen Victoria, and criticised Coffey for his attempts to defend the paper.<sup>202</sup> He accused the *Tablet* of supporting the enemies of the Empire and believed that the opinions expressed in the *Tablet* were ‘opposed to the vital interests of the Empire’ and were ‘calculated to impair and destroy the attachment of the community to the Empire.’<sup>203</sup>

The Laetitia Jane Hood case and other similar incidents brought sectarian attacks by members of the public to the headlines. Hood had distributed literature to three Wellington Catholic clergy, alleging that convents were prisons where nuns were held against their will, abused and sexually assaulted by priests. Hood was charged with distributing offensive material, convicted and fined £10. *Truth* followed the case closely, describing the literature as such as to make ‘a cow blush to the roots of its horns.’<sup>204</sup> It published the proceedings of the trial, quoting witnesses and counsels for the defence and prosecution almost verbatim. In a later editorial *Truth* examined Hood’s life, claiming that she was a former sergeant in the Salvation Army.

Accusations of Catholic disloyalty were also “proved” by events in Canada and Australia. Melbourne’s Archbishop Mannix was a passionate and outspoken opponent of conscription and quickly became a leader in the campaign that successfully defeated two referenda on the subject. Catholicism was consequently seen by many as instrumental in the defeat of both conscription referenda and proof of Catholic disloyalty and failure to support the war effort. Mannix was also a staunch supporter of Irish independence and, as in New Zealand, the majority of Catholics in Australia were of Irish extraction. This provided further evidence of Catholic disloyalty. Widely circulated statistics from Canada indicated a great disparity in

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<sup>200</sup> “Passing Notes,” *Times*, 16/6/1917, 4.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 21/7/1917, 4; 16/2/1918, 4.

<sup>202</sup> Editorial, *Times*, 17/11/1917, 6.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 19/11/1917, 4; 20/11/1917, 4.

<sup>204</sup> “Roman Catholicism and Crime,” *Truth*, 26/6/1915, 7.

volunteering figures between the French-speaking and English-speaking populations and identified French Canadians as a significant obstacle in introducing conscription to Canada.<sup>205</sup> Thus the events in Ireland, Australia and Canada became joined, indicating an Empire-wide Catholic “problem” that further confirmed the prejudices of the more radical Protestants.<sup>206</sup>

What is important to note from the Hood case, as well as from other general attacks on domestic and international Catholicism, its clergy and followers and events in the other Dominions, is that it maintained a constant backdrop of suspicion, fear, mistrust and contempt between Catholics and non-Catholics in New Zealand. The accusations and denials did not have to be believed by everyone for them to have an effect. The arguments made against Catholics were often aimed at perceived disloyalty, but it is inescapable that this disloyalty was being manifested by people supposedly speaking for and on behalf of the Catholic church. This atmosphere existed throughout New Zealand and permeated society both inside and outside of the official church structures. Into this general atmosphere of antagonism burst several incidents that brought sectarian conflict into sharp relief and led directly to the formation of the P.P.A.

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### **Howard Elliott, the Postal Investigation and the Auckland Assault Case**

During the war, extreme Protestantism found an powerful spokesman in Howard Elliott. Elliott was a Baptist minister who had migrated to New Zealand from Australia in 1909. In 1915 his sermons, usually full of anti-Catholic invective, explicitly linked the outbreak of war with Catholicism. He argued that the Catholic church had brought about the war to destroy Protestantism and recover its temporal power. He toured the Auckland province preaching this message, attracting very large audiences and considerable press coverage.

Elliott had been a long-standing member of the Orange Order, and in 1916 he helped it to establish a Vigilance Committee to combat supposed Catholic activities against Protestant churches, the government and society in general.<sup>207</sup> The next year he made new headlines with accusations that Catholics within the postal service were interfering with the Vigilance

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<sup>205</sup> “Union in Canada Nearer,” *Outlook*, 21/8/1917, 12.

<sup>206</sup> Of the 320,000 Canadians who had enlisted by June 1916, just 14,400 or 4.5%, were French Canadians. French Canadians made up 28.4% of the population in 1911. “The Sketcher. Canada in Wartime,” *Witness*, 13/9/1916, 55.

<sup>207</sup> Fairburn, 193.

Committee's mail and exercising an undue censorship on the Orange Lodge's correspondence. He accused the postal authorities of removing the contents of 'a great number' of letters and of having interfered with circulars and cards sent by the Vigilance Committee. Such was the force of his accusations that an official enquiry was held.<sup>208</sup> The enquiry, headed by Christchurch-based magistrate H. W. Bishop, determined that there was no undue censorship. It cleared the postal services of any wrongdoing, but Elliott had gained considerable national publicity through the process.<sup>209</sup>

Many people who were sympathetic to Elliott's aims were nervous about his methods. Newspapers criticised the use of trap letters and accusations of disloyalty as tactics designed to provoke reactions. However, many New Zealanders were uncomfortable with aspects of the Post Office's censorship of the committee's mail. Elliott had been allowed to present himself as a defender of free speech against an overbearing and possibly corrupt government department. In the words of Moores, 'the Post Office Inquiry succeeded in resolving little. It had complicated much.'<sup>210</sup>

Just a few months later, Elliott was once more in the headlines when, on his way to a public meeting, he was assaulted by a Catholic soldier. One of Elliott's more sensational claims had been that a nun who had died while swimming was pregnant. Elliott hinted that she had been murdered, alleging that the Catholic Church had conspired to kill her to prevent her pregnancy becoming known. It was the brother of this nun, aided by several friends, who assaulted Elliott outside his Auckland home. The assault case was heard before a packed courtroom, and Elliott caused a minor sensation by refusing to give evidence. It was clear that there was considerable sympathy for the accused who, although found guilty, was not imprisoned nor required to pay costs. However, once again Elliott had received nationwide publicity.<sup>211</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> "Postal Inquiry," *Truth*, 4/8/1917, 5.

<sup>209</sup> "Savage Sectarianism," *Truth*, 21/7/1917, 6; "That Postal Inquiry," *Truth*, 18/8/1917, 6; "Savage Sectarian Strife," *Truth*, 25/8/1917, 5; "That Postal Pother," *Truth*, 1/9/1917, 8; "The Postal Inquiry," *Witness*, 19/9/1917, 18-19.

<sup>210</sup> Moores, 207.

<sup>211</sup> Fairburn, 193-194; "Howard Elliott's Hide," *Truth*, 20/10/1917, 5; "Coward Yell-iot," *Truth* 10/11/1917, 1; "Clements' Tonic for Coward Yell-iot" and "Bishop Cleary Opens Out," *Truth*, 10/11/1917, 5.



### **The Protestant Political Association (P.P.A.)**

On 11 July 1917 Elliott founded the P.P.A. at the Auckland Town Hall in front of a crowd numbering around 3,500 people.<sup>212</sup> This body, staunchly supported by the Orange Lodge, was implacably opposed to the Catholic church, and believed that Catholicism was engaged in a world-wide attempt to destroy Protestantism and impose its will on the world. The P.P.A. was closely linked to the Orange Order and the two shared *The Nation* as their official newspaper. The P.P.A.'s motto was 'equality for all, special treatment for none,' and it dedicated itself to exposing what it saw as the perceived favouring of Catholics and Catholicism by the Government and within the civil service. The Catholic Church's endorsement and support of local and national politicians through both the Catholic Federation and the *Tablet* had convinced many that the church was intent on securing control of New Zealand's political process. Periodic 'panics' over the numbers of Catholics in branches of the public service, including the police force, hinted at a nationwide conspiracy. The P.P.A. and its supporters linked Catholicism to disloyalty in the Dominion's and Empire's war effort, to Irish treason and to socialism and New Zealand socialist political parties.

Elliott was a prodigious speaker, travelling throughout New Zealand, attending public meetings wherever he went and promoting the ideals and aims of the P.P.A. Almost every centre in New Zealand, rural or urban, hosted meetings. In Dunedin the venues were filled to capacity and latecomers were turned away due to lack of space. In many cases Elliott was joined on the platform by Presbyterian clergy, who would also address the meeting. Occasionally he was joined by civic dignitaries, as in Port Chalmers, where the mayor of the borough presided over the meeting.<sup>213</sup> Meetings of the P.P.A. sometime acted as flashpoints for conflict: in Feilding several Protestant clergy on their way to a meeting were assaulted by Catholics.<sup>214</sup> Hecklers, primarily Catholics but also Protestants who opposed the P.P.A., often tried to disrupt meetings. For a period Elliott was under police protection and was forced to arrive and leave meetings via side doors to avoid the unruly mobs.<sup>215</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> Baker, 129.

<sup>213</sup> "The Protestant Political Association," *Witness*, 19/9/1917, 2; "Protestant Political Association," *Witness*, 8/5/1918, 22; "Protestant Political Association," *Witness*, 22/5/1918, 45; "Dunedin Doings. Howard Elliott," *Truth*, 11/5/1918, 6; "Protestant Political Association," *Times*, 8/5/1918, 3.

<sup>214</sup> "Rev. Howard Elliott. Two Clergymen Assaulted," *Witness*, 20/2/1918, 39; "Sectarian Strife," *Truth*, 23/3/1918, 5.

<sup>215</sup> Fairburn, 193-194.

When taken at face value the growth of membership of the P.P.A. seems spectacular, but there is some debate regarding its numbers. Sweetman wrote that 20,000 joined in the first six months and that it claimed 150,000 members and seventy branches by May 1918.<sup>216</sup> Fairburn and Brooking wrote that it had 200,000 members by 1919, with a peak of 220,000.<sup>217</sup> Belich wrote that the highest number of members was 200,000.<sup>218</sup> The discrepancy in numbers is not the fault of the historians. All membership totals were those claimed by the P.P.A. itself and records are patchy at best. Consequently the totals must be treated with considerable caution. Lineham suggested that membership numbers may even stem from a simple totalling of the audiences at public meetings. If correct, this would dramatically reduce the total number of members, but in the absence of firm records it is simply impossible to tell. What can be said with certainty is that public meetings were well attended nationwide. Meetings were held in all the main centres, as well as rural towns and villages. Along with the 3,500 people who were at the inaugural meeting, 900 were present at a Hamilton meeting, and Dunedin meetings had audiences exceeding the venues' capacity.<sup>219</sup> Hamilton's population was less than 6,000 at this time. Meetings in Gore attracted crowds of 1,000 people from a district with just 3,000 residents.<sup>220</sup> Clearly Elliott drew large crowds, even if some of the people attending its meetings were hostile or merely vaguely interested.

### **The Protestant Political Association and the Anglican Church**

Officially, the Anglican Church was opposed to both Elliott and the P.P.A. The church saw no need for it and did not accept the methods it employed or its attacks on Catholicism in general and Catholics in particular. The *Envoy* printed several sermons by Goertz, vicar of Holy Trinity Port Chalmers, refuting the necessity for the P.P.A. Goertz was clearly reluctant to speak about the P.P.A. more than was necessary, preaching: 'Only a strong sense of the duty I owe you as your spiritual leader could make me venture to voluntarily enter upon a subject such as this.' Goertz disagreed with presumptions that undue bias towards Catholics had been shown by the Government, attacked the need for the P.P.A.'s existence, and cautioned all who were considering joining to think very carefully about what they were about to do.<sup>221</sup> The following month an anonymous author praised New Zealanders who refused to support Elliott and the

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<sup>216</sup> Sweetman, "Catholicism," 167, 191.

<sup>217</sup> Fairburn, 193; Brooking, 105.

<sup>218</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 114.

<sup>219</sup> Baker, 127-128.

<sup>220</sup> Moores, 214.

<sup>221</sup> H.B. Goertz, "The Protestant Political Association," *Envoy*, October 1917, 235-236.

P.P.A. Elliott's claims were described as lies, designed to sway the 'credulous' and 'uncritical,' and Elliott himself was described as a 'pseudo-religious exploiter.'<sup>222</sup> Nevill repeatedly ignored communication from the P.P.A. and Alfred Button, a former curate of St. Paul's cathedral and vicar of Waimea Plains parish, made a public stand in opposition to the P.P.A. Appeals from the P.P.A. for an explanation from Button were similarly ignored.<sup>223</sup> *Truth* made much of the fact that

... high dignitaries of the Anglican Church ... have publicly stated that they do not desire to be associated with the organisation which they believe to be injurious to the best interests of the State at a period of crisis in the Empire's affairs when all should be united in one common purpose.<sup>224</sup>

*Truth* used the opposition of the Anglican bishops to the P.P.A. several times to reinforce the fact that not all Protestants supported it. Correspondents to that newspaper also referred to the bishops' opposition, using this to support or condemn the P.P.A. and as "proof" that the P.P.A. did not speak for all Protestants.

The antipathy that existed between some Anglicans and the P.P.A. was aptly demonstrated in Otautau in August 1918. At a branch meeting the local Presbyterian minister, acting as convener of the meeting, denigrated the Anglican Church's lack of support for the P.P.A. He described Anglicans as 'bastards' and 'neither one thing nor the other,' neither truly Protestant nor truly Catholic. The *Southland Times* published a letter of complaint from the Anglican vicar. He asserted that the Anglican Church and its members were actively opposed to the P.P.A. He believed that the P.P.A. would find Anglicans ranged against them in the long promised 'trial of strength' that was believed to be looming. An acrimonious exchange of letters followed.<sup>225</sup>

Despite their denomination's official position, not all Anglicans opposed the P.P.A., which made several attempts to recruit Anglican members. The *Envoy* published several letters from Robert Pollock of Invercargill arguing that the P.P.A. was necessary to combat the Catholic Federation. Pollock also believed that the P.P.A.'s aim of defending equal rights for all applied just as much to Catholics, protecting them against undue Protestant influence. Pollock believed that the P.P.A.'s actions were not contrary to the ideals of Christ, but were necessary to

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<sup>222</sup> "PPA," *Envoy*, November 1917, 259.

<sup>223</sup> Folder 2, Diocesan Letters, Anglican Diocese of Dunedin (AG-349-009/018), Hocken.

<sup>224</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 1.

<sup>225</sup> "The Religious Racket," *Truth*, 31/8/1918, 4.

preserve New Zealand's justice and freedom.<sup>226</sup> A correspondent to *Truth*, using the *nom de plume* "An Anglican Protestant," wrote: 'Many of them [members of the P.P.A.] are good, sound Protestants, and belong to the Anglican Church.'<sup>227</sup> Given the numbers that attended the P.P.A.'s public meetings, it is certain that many Anglicans were present, both in Dunedin and nationwide, though there is no way to be sure of their attitudes to the movement or their reasons for being there.

It is likely that the Anglican Church's antipathy to the P.P.A., and its lack of Anglican support, was due to the P.P.A. bearing 'a heavy imprint of fundamentalist Free Church thought.'<sup>228</sup> The P.P.A. rejected ritualism and elaborate ceremony as 'superstitious' and attacked the Mass. High church Anglicans were unlikely to support such declarations, and what support the P.P.A. gained from Anglicans tended to be concentrated among low-church anti-ritualists.

### **The Protestant Political Association and the Presbyterian Church**

The Presbyterian Church had a very different relationship with the P.P.A. Barber has written that by the end of 1917, most Presbyterian leaders were opposed to Elliott and the P.P.A.<sup>229</sup> Satchell wrote that 'with the exception of the ailing Scorgie ... [the] Presbyterian Church remained largely aloof from the P.P.A.'<sup>230</sup> This seems unlikely, both in the context of the church and that of its membership. Presbyterian clergy were frequently present on the platform at meetings of the P.P.A. Scorgie, former minister of Mornington Presbyterian Church, chaired one meeting of the P.P.A. in Dunedin and spoke at several others, the Milton meeting was chaired by its Presbyterian minister in the Presbyterian Church hall, meetings were held in the Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church, a packed meeting was held in Invercargill's St. Paul's Presbyterian Church hall and presided over by the Bluff Presbyterian minister, and a Presbyterian minister was among the men assaulted by opponents of the P.P.A. in Feilding.<sup>231</sup> The extent of the support of Presbyterian clergy for the aims and ideals of the P.P.A. can be seen in their remarks at branch meetings. Scorgie told the crowds that '[the] young men at the

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<sup>226</sup> Robert Pollock, letter to the editor, *Envoy*, November 1917, 248, 251.

<sup>227</sup> "An Anglican Protestant," letter to the editor, *Truth* (Wellington), 25/5/1918, 5.

<sup>228</sup> Moores, 223

<sup>229</sup> Laurie Barber, "1901-1930: The Expanding Frontier," in McEldowney, 85.

<sup>230</sup> Satchell, 27.

<sup>231</sup> "Protestant Political Association. Address by Rev. Howard Elliott," *Witness*, 8/5/1918, 22; "Protestant Political Association. Address by Rev. Howard Elliott," *Witness*, 22/5/1918/ 45; "Protestant Political Association," *Outlook*, 13/5/1919, 21; "Protestant Political Association," *Witness*, 19/9/1917, 22; Watt, 39-40.

front to-day were Protestants ... it was only the shirkers that were not Protestants.<sup>232</sup> The *Times* reported on the inaugural meeting of the Mornington branch of the P.P.A. where William Trotter, Mornington Presbyterian Church's new minister, was the principal speaker. Trotter had seen 'great possibilities for the association' and was 'in sympathy with any movement that would tend to counteract the political influence of the Catholic Church.'<sup>233</sup> The 1919 report of the Protestant Principles Committee to the General Assembly recommended that all Protestants support the P.P.A.<sup>234</sup> It is not clear if Dickie and Davies, among other Presbyterian ministers, were ever members of the P.P.A., but they clearly had considerable sympathy with its aims and in their attacks on Catholicism used many of the same justifications as Elliott.<sup>235</sup> Gibb was frequently on the platform at P.P.A. meetings during 1917 and 1918.

It is, however, unclear how popular the movement was among the membership of the Presbyterian Church. There were only two letters printed in the *Outlook* concerning the P.P.A., one supporting it and one opposed. The latter questioned the Protestant and Christian nature of the P.P.A., arguing that the lack of Sunday School teachers in areas with high P.P.A. membership suggested that its members were not committed to the work of the church.<sup>236</sup> Moores believes that the lack of coverage about the P.P.A. in the *Outlook* was due to its preoccupation with the prohibition campaign.<sup>237</sup> It is true that the *Outlook* devoted much time and many column inches to prohibition, but other topics were covered and it seems unlikely that this was the sole reason for the P.P.A.'s absence from its pages. Deputations by members of the P.P.A. to Presbyterian parishes had mixed results. In late 1919 the Deacons of First Church refused to allow the church to be formally linked to the P.P.A., but noted the congregation's 'strong Protestant principles' in the resolution.<sup>238</sup> It was similar at meetings of the Roslyn Session and Deacons' Court.<sup>239</sup> In all cases, the representatives were received and heard by the committees but no formal action followed from the visit. Whyte proposed a resolution at a P.P.A. meeting in Port Chalmers Presbyterian Church that directly endorsed

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<sup>232</sup> Frank Whelan, letter to the editor, *Times*, 7/5/1918, 7.

<sup>233</sup> "Protestant Political Association," *Times*, 5/7/1918, 8.

<sup>234</sup> "Report of the Protestant Principles Committee," *Outlook*, 11/3/1919, 29-30.

<sup>235</sup> G. King, 283-284.

<sup>236</sup> "SS Superintendent," letter to the editor, *Outlook*, 20/8/1918, 21.

<sup>237</sup> Moores, 221.

<sup>238</sup> Minutes 3/11/1919, Deacons' Court minute book 1900-1923, First Church of Otago (AI 9/2 99/90/148), PCANZAO.

<sup>239</sup> Minutes 9/9/1919, Session Minutes 1901-1929 (BE 3/7 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO; Minutes 9/9/1919 and 21/10/1919, Deacons' Court minutes, Roslyn Presbyterian Church, 1907-29 (BE 5/1 4PZ 19 Ros), PCANZAO.

religious education in the state school system, something contrary to the P.P.A.'s aims.<sup>240</sup> Methods used by Elliott cost him support. Some Presbyterian ministers, including Gibb, found him too erratic and volatile and effectively withdrew their support by the end of 1918. Satchell argued that 'the use of [Dunedin] Presbyterian Church buildings by the P.P.A. was uncommon,' yet there were Sessions in Dunedin that allowed their church buildings to be used by the P.P.A.<sup>241</sup> No Session censured its minister's involvement with the P.P.A., and meetings of the P.P.A. in Otago and Southland must have included Presbyterians, purely because of the large number of Presbyterians in these provinces. In addition, Satchell's statement regarding Dunedin support for the P.P.A. ignores the very definite support given to the P.P.A. by clergy, church members and individual congregations, as well as the strong sympathy expressed by many Presbyterians and Presbyterian committees with the P.P.A.'s aims and opinions. Dunedin's Presbyterians may not have joined the P.P.A. in overwhelming numbers, but one should not ignore the fact that many actively sympathised with it and actively supported it.

### **The Protestant Political Association Outside the Churches**

Baker wrote that editors of the non-denominational press refused to print letters supporting Elliott and denouncing Catholics, possibly in an attempt to deny the P.P.A. publicity and to stop an already potentially explosive situation getting out of control.<sup>242</sup> Baker's comments are surprising, as there were many articles, letters to the editor and editorials concerning the P.P.A., both for and against, published in the major daily and weekly newspapers. Indeed, there is considerably more evidence of the split within society over the P.P.A., and of the arguments used by its supporters and detractors, in the non-denominational newspapers than in the denominational press.

Both the *Times* and *Truth* published large numbers of articles and letters to the editor in support of the P.P.A. Correspondents argued that Catholicism did enjoy covert preferential support from the Government and that Catholicism was a threat to New Zealand that could only be combated by a Protestant political party. "Justice is Right" argued that an end to the 'preferential treatment' enjoyed by Catholics was necessary to 'secure peace [and] to prepare for war.'<sup>243</sup> J. Wilson believed that Protestants had been 'powerless' until the formation of the

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<sup>240</sup> "Protestant Political Association. Contrary Views on the Education Question," *Outlook*, 13/5/1919, 21.

<sup>241</sup> Satchell, 27.

<sup>242</sup> Baker, 127-128.

<sup>243</sup> "Justice is Right," letter to the editor, *Times*, 8/5/1918, 6.

P.P.A., and that the Catholic church had gone out of its way to alienate itself from New Zealand society.<sup>244</sup> “Amos H.” foreshadowed this view, believing that the P.P.A. was a much needed response to the Catholic Federation. Indeed, “Amos H.” believed that the P.P.A. was needed to organise for the ‘war after the war’ that he maintained was coming, a war that would pitch Catholics against Protestants.<sup>245</sup>

Belich has written that ‘Elliott may have seized a lot of imaginations, but he did not seize *Truth*’s.’<sup>246</sup> Belich is only partially correct. Certainly, *Truth* was a steadfast opponent of Elliott and the P.P.A., and argued against it and its aims. What is also true is that *Truth*’s antipathy to Elliott and the P.P.A. was not shared by all its readers. *Truth* printed a deluge of correspondence supporting the P.P.A. “JH” believed that it was ‘time there was someone like Howard Elliott to warn every Protestant of what is going on with regard to the Catholics.’<sup>247</sup> “Truth Seeker of Gore” believed that *Truth* had been too supportive of Catholics, reiterating the P.P.A.’s motto when he described how the preferential treatment of Catholics by the Government was threatening his rights and freedoms and the Dominion’s future.<sup>248</sup> Douglas Morris wrote that it was ‘high time’ that Protestants were allowed to ‘defend their rights’ in New Zealand.<sup>249</sup> He too believed that *Truth* was too supportive of Catholicism in general and the Catholic Federation in particular. Similar views to these were voiced by many others, including “an Anglican Protestant,” “Special Privs for None,” S. Martin, “Fair Play” and “Reader.”<sup>250</sup>

Satchell highlighted the relative weakness of Dunedin’s P.P.A. when compared to Invercargill, Auckland and Wellington. Local branches in Dunedin North, Dunedin South and Dunedin Central were self-sustaining, but branches in Caversham and Mornington were less successful. It was not until 1919 that a branch was formed in Roslyn and attempts to plant one in Mosgiel were unsuccessful.<sup>251</sup> Again, Satchell’s points should not be overemphasised. There were enough people supporting the P.P.A. in Dunedin to warrant well-attended and repeated city-

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<sup>244</sup> J. Wilson, letter to the editor, *Times*, 18/5/1918, 11.

<sup>245</sup> “Amos H.,” letter to the editor, *Times*, 26/1/1918, 8.

<sup>246</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 116.

<sup>247</sup> “JH,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 5.

<sup>248</sup> “Truth Seeker of Gore,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5.

<sup>249</sup> Douglas Morris, letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5.

<sup>250</sup> “An Anglican Protestant,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5; “Special Privs for None,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5; S. Martin, letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5; “Fair Play,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5; “Reader,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>251</sup> Satchell, 26.

wide meetings of the organisation, which even Satchell described as ‘strong displays of enthusiasm,’ as well as for multiple branches to be established.<sup>252</sup> What Satchell highlights is a comparative weakness of P.P.A. activity, not an absence.

Substantial numbers of New Zealanders were opposed to the P.P.A., and these people too aired their views in the press. Many of these correspondents questioned the P.P.A.’s assertion that Catholics enjoyed special privileges. “Reinforcement” wrote to *Truth* saying there was ‘no justification’ for the P.P.A.’s attacks and was ‘grateful’ for *Truth*’s stance opposing Elliott. “Democrat” called for politics and religion ‘to be divorced forever.’<sup>253</sup>

Correspondents, columnists and editors questioned Elliott’s and the P.P.A.’s patriotism. They believed it was detrimental to New Zealand’s war effort for any organisation to be fostering internal strife when the Dominion should have been uniting against the common foe. They also rejected the P.P.A.’s claims that Catholics were unpatriotic. H. Y. Edmonds registered his ‘most emphatic protest at the tactics being adopted by the Protestant Political Association.’<sup>254</sup> “Justitia” argued that the ‘No Popery’ campaign in the U.S.A. was openly linked to a pro-German movement and was trying to undermine America’s war effort.<sup>255</sup> “RS” believed that the ‘sectarian fire’ being fuelled by the P.P.A. was only ‘serving the interests of the Kaiser.’<sup>256</sup> “Veritas” called Elliot ‘a hateful sedition monger’ and ‘Not a Coward’ defended the Pope against Elliott’s ‘blackguardly attack.’<sup>257</sup> “Civis” was accused by “John Knox” of being ‘pro Roman Catholic.’ “Civis” replied: ‘I am anti everything and everybody that at this critical time is against our solid unity,’ continuing that he was equally opposed to ‘Seditious Sinn Feiners’ and ‘Orange agitator[s].’<sup>258</sup> “*Truth* Reader” disbelieved Elliott’s assertion that the Catholics who had volunteered had ‘questionable motives,’ believing instead that all who served in the armed forces did so from the same patriotic impulse.<sup>259</sup>

Editors of many of New Zealand’s newspapers clearly disagreed with the aims and methods of the P.P.A. Dunedin’s *Evening Star* called for New Zealanders to ignore the divisive arguments

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<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>253</sup> “Democrat,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>254</sup> H.Y. Edmonds, letter to the editor, *Truth*, 7/9/1918, 3.

<sup>255</sup> “Justitia,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>256</sup> “RS,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>257</sup> “Veritas,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 25/5/1918, 5; “Not a Coward,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 5.

<sup>258</sup> “Passing Notes,” *Times*, 15/12/1917, 4.

<sup>259</sup> “*Truth* Reader,” letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.



promoted by the P.P.A. and instead unite against the common German foe.<sup>260</sup> *Truth* too called for unity against Germany. It believed that the P.P.A. was risking precipitating 'bitter sectarian strife' which had the potential to lead to 'civil war,' and advocated using powers under the War Regulations Act to make it illegal for religious intolerance to be preached or promoted.<sup>261</sup> In a later editorial *Truth* accused Elliott of 'playing Germany's game,' and accused the P.P.A. of being 'as bad as the Hun.'<sup>262</sup> The *Times* printed no editorials on the P.P.A., though this did not stop the newspaper from publishing much correspondence from readers on the subject, nor "Civis" from commenting on the P.P.A. and sectarianism.

It is unclear why there was so little reporting of the P.P.A. in the denominational press as opposed to the large numbers of commentaries and letters in non-denominational papers. It could perhaps have arisen from a desire not to stir up controversy and to deny Elliott the oxygen of publicity. The lack of coverage in the *Envoy* may well have reflected the official stance of the Anglican Church. The *Outlook*, on the other hand, regularly published correspondence on contentious issues, and without doubt would have been reflecting the views of at least a portion of its readership by discussing the matter. Whatever the reason, the press coverage received by the P.P.A. in newspapers such as the *Evening Star*, *Times* and *Truth* is significantly greater than that in the *Outlook* and the *Envoy*.

### **Impact of the Protestant Political Association**

The P.P.A. polarised New Zealand. Substantial numbers joined the P.P.A. but many New Zealanders were either indifferent or opposed to it, rejecting its aims and methods. What is harder to quantify is the actual impact of the P.P.A. on New Zealand as a whole. Politicians had some trepidation over the forces that the P.P.A. had unleashed in New Zealand. At one point the Attorney-General recommended that, despite the disorder and threat posed by Elliott and the P.P.A., arresting him and suppressing the P.P.A. would be worse.<sup>263</sup> The Cabinet and Government were clearly fearful of the consequences of such a step.

The P.P.A.'s forays into politics fail to provide clear indications as to its power. Its independent candidate in the 1918 Wellington Central by-election lost to the Labour party but Liberal leader Joseph Ward, a Catholic, was convinced that the work of the P.P.A. was a vital

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<sup>260</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 23/5/1918, 14.

<sup>261</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 22/9/1917, 1.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 4/5/1918, 5.

<sup>263</sup> Baker, 127-128.

contributing factor in his losing of the Awarua seat in the 1919 election.<sup>264</sup> Much effort had been made by the P.P.A. to unseat Ward, with public meetings and a newspaper campaign designed to expose him as ‘the absolute tool of the Catholic Hierarchy and ... the greatest enemy of the Protestants of New Zealand.’<sup>265</sup>

It is difficult to ascertain the extent of collusion, if any, between Reform’s Prime Minister Massey and the P.P.A. Cadogan believes that many Reform politicians would have shared the P.P.A.’s aims, even if they were not formal members: ‘Of course, many in the Reform Government were simply acting true to form.’<sup>266</sup> Massey’s Orangeism would have resulted in a degree of sympathy with the P.P.A.’s arguments, while William Nosworthy had declared in Parliament that he hoped ‘never to sit in a cabinet with a German or a Catholic.’<sup>267</sup> However, Cadogan’s argument targeting Reform loses some of its potency when it is remembered that Josiah Hanan (Minister of Education 1912, 1915-1919), whose refusal to award school bursaries to children of dead soldiers attending Catholic schools was a carefully targeted public snub to Catholicism, was a member of the Liberal party, albeit while serving as part of the National Government.<sup>268</sup> Miles Fairburn wrote that Massey’s landslide win in the 1919 election was in large part due to the support Reform enjoyed from the P.P.A., and that the P.P.A.’s activism condemned the Liberal party to irrelevance by 1928.<sup>269</sup> Fairburn also asserts that, over the long term, many of the P.P.A.’s goals were implemented. State scholarships for pupils attending denominational schools were withdrawn, as was subsidised rail transport. The Marriage Act of 1920 countered the Pope’s 1908 *Ne Temere* decree. Wartime censorship rules were retained to prevent the spread of seditious, pro-Sinn Fein and socialist literature. Flag-raising ceremonies at state schools became compulsory. While these activities may have been symbolic, they were in harmony with the aims and ideals of the P.P.A.<sup>270</sup> According to Olssen, scholarship in the 1960s had purported to show that Massey ‘cultivated anti-Catholicism’ and

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<sup>264</sup> Fairburn, 194; Watt, 36, 42-45.

<sup>265</sup> Watt, 43-44.

<sup>266</sup> Cadogan, 49.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>268</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>269</sup> Fairburn, 195.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 201-202.

presented him as ‘the portrait of a bigoted Ulsterman’, while other work ‘confirmed Massey and his fellow Reformers as peevisish puritans.’<sup>271</sup>

Set against these arguments are those of Brooking, Belich and Olssen himself, who all believe that Massey distanced himself from the P.P.A., recognising the political risks entailed by associating himself and Reform too closely with it, but reaping the benefits of the P.P.A.’s activism.<sup>272</sup> Massey enjoyed a working relationship with Joseph Ward during the war years which, while never close and sometimes tense, helped guide New Zealand through the turbulent years of conflict. Overt sectarianism or dogmatic anti-Catholicism by Massey would have destroyed this relationship. All three of Dunedin’s winning candidates were endorsed by the P.P.A.<sup>273</sup> Yet cause and effect should not be too tightly connected. Other factors that may have helped destroy the Liberal Party, not least the successful conclusion of the war under Massey’s leadership, in the first instance and, longer term, the rise of the Labour Party and class-based politics displacing the Liberals as the party of the working class, should not be ignored. Belich wrote that Massey was ‘too shrewd a politician to overindulge in anti-populist Catholic bashing’ and that Massey’s own faith ‘transcended sectarianism.’<sup>274</sup> Olssen’s examination of correspondence between Allen and Massey revealed that the P.P.A. ‘far from being considered an ally, was viewed as a menace.’<sup>275</sup> These arguments speak to Massey’s skill as a politician as he positioned himself to benefit from the P.P.A.’s support without endorsing it. Massey had a *penchant* for the political centre ground and extremism was not in his, or Reform’s, character.<sup>276</sup>

When considering the P.P.A. it is important to remember that it was a religious organisation, albeit one with an overt political focus. Its aims and purposes were to assert Protestant rights against supposed special treatment for Catholics. The declaration made by its members upon joining made this explicit. Members declared that they were “a British subject and a Protestant,” that they rejected ‘as superstitious the Romish doctrine of the Mass’ and that they were not married to a ‘Romanist nor will I marry one.’<sup>277</sup> The arguments for and against the

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<sup>271</sup> Erik Olssen, “Towards a Reassessment of W. F. Massey: One of New Zealand’s Greatest Prime Ministers (Arguably), in J. Watson and L. Paterson, eds, *A Great New Zealand Prime Minister? Reappraising William Ferguson Massey* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2011), 20.

<sup>272</sup> Olssen, “Waging War,” 306; Brooking, 105.

<sup>273</sup> Satchell, 38.

<sup>274</sup> Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, 116.

<sup>275</sup> Olssen, “Towards a Reassessment,” 23.

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*,” 19.

<sup>277</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 22/9/1917, 1.

P.P.A. used religion to justify their positions. Clergy of all Protestant denominations were members and leaders, speakers and promoters. The P.P.A. had clear political ends, but these ends were to secure rights for people holding particular religious beliefs. Other motivations for the rise of the P.P.A., such as ethnicity, political views and class, almost certainly played a part in its appeal. However, its religious aspect cannot be denied.

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### **Sectarianism and Socialism**

A.R. Grigg has argued that socialism in the pre-war period was strenuously opposed by the churches.<sup>278</sup> All denominations opposed socialism as a political philosophy and the labour movements that espoused it, and this opinion was reinforced by the 1912/13 labour unrest.<sup>279</sup> Guy quotes Barry Gustafson, who argued that ‘the Church of England and the Presbyterian Church did not appear friendly towards Labour, either as denominations or as sources of individual members.’<sup>280</sup> Close examination of the attitudes of the three main denominations towards socialism makes it clear that a more nuanced view existed within these churches. Hostility and suspicion towards socialist movements were tempered by sympathy for and understanding of workers and their aspirations for higher wages and better conditions. The churches recognised that there was a pressing need to address inequalities within New Zealand in an attempt to bring about an understanding between capital and labour. Statements such as Grigg’s are perhaps too strong and do not necessarily reflect the actual situation.

Presbyterian committees, such as the State of Religion and Morals Committee, the Home Missions Committee and the Committee on Church Life and Work, urged the church to address the labour question. The 1910 General Assembly declared its ‘sympathy with all workers in their rightful efforts to improve the condition of their fellow men’ and recommended that all Presbyteries establish committees to understand the aims of the Labour movement.<sup>281</sup> The Church Life and Work Committee reported in 1912 on the ‘sufferings and hardships’ that were the ‘common lot of workers.’<sup>282</sup> The 1913 report of the Committee on Industrial Unrest prompted the General Assembly to pass a resolution that recorded its

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<sup>278</sup> A. R. Grigg, “Prohibition, the Church and Labour. A Programme for Social Reform 1890-1914” in *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15, no. 2 (1981): 150.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 152-153.

<sup>280</sup> Guy, 207.

<sup>281</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1910*, 12-13.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.* 1912, 6A-7A.

‘profound sympathy with the just claims of Labour’ and its ‘conviction’ that workers were entitled to a ‘living wage.’<sup>283</sup> The 1914 Anglican Dunedin Synod acknowledged the need to find a solution to the conflict between labour and capital. That synod declared its support for ‘any sane and reasonable movement that may tend to the betterment of the industrial classes’ and endorsed attempts to address the demands of labour.<sup>284</sup> The great majority of New Zealand’s Catholics were drawn from the poorer and less skilled sectors of society and had few representatives in authority.<sup>285</sup> Catholics were therefore more likely to be sympathetic to the socialist parties and their policies.

Christian socialists also existed, appropriating Christ and the Biblical message to their own ends. Presbyterian clergymen Dutton and Waddell were closely identified with the labour movement, as was Anglican priest Mortimer.<sup>286</sup> The Christchurch branch of the Church Socialist League had twenty-one members, four of them clergymen.<sup>287</sup> The *Maoriland Worker* published articles stressing Christ’s credentials as a “worker”, referring to him as the ‘Carpenter of Nazareth’ or ‘Worker of Nazareth.’<sup>288</sup> During and after the 1913 strike Jesus was often portrayed as a victim of state brutality, evoking memories of Christ’s trial and scourging at the hands of the Jewish leaders and Roman authorities.<sup>289</sup> Some argued that the churches were structures created by men, not God, and were therefore fundamentally irreligious.<sup>290</sup> True religion was to be found in the Sermon on the Mount and the early church, not in the churches and church structures of early twentieth century modernity.

Work with the poor and destitute also demonstrated churches’ social awareness and concern. Waddell had revolutionised St Andrew’s ministry to Dunedin’s poor. From 1883 St Andrew’s Presbyterian Church had worked closely with the Salvation Army to improve social services to the poor and destitute, built a Mission Hall and inaugurated Dunedin’s first free kindergarten

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<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* 1913, 45-46.

<sup>284</sup> Diocese of Dunedin, *Synod Proceedings 1914*, 22.

<sup>285</sup> Rory Sweetman, “Who Fears to Speak of Easter Week? Antipodean Irish Catholic Responses to the 1916 Rising,” in *The Impact of the 1916 Rising*, ed. Ruan O’Donnell, (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2008), 72.

<sup>286</sup> Kieran O’Connell, “Be Strong and Show Thyself a Man”: Christian Masculinities in Southern Dunedin, 1885-1925” in *Building God’s Own Country: Historical Essays on Religions in New Zealand*, eds. John Stenhouse and Jane Thomson, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2004), 171.

<sup>287</sup> Guy, 207.

<sup>288</sup> Geoffrey Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus. Social and Religious Transformations of an Image, 1890-1940* (Bern, Switzerland; New York: P. Lang, 2011), 130; “‘War Cry’ and Shirkers,” *Worker*, 9/1/1918, 5; “Labour’s Challenge to Reaction”, *Worker*, 13/2/1918, 4.

<sup>289</sup> Troughton, *New Zealand Jesus*, 130.

<sup>290</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

in 1889 to cater to ‘neglected children.’<sup>291</sup> Deaconesses were employed to work among the poor within the parish’s bounds. Sean Brosnahan is right in stating ‘Waddell demonstrated a wider view of social issues than most Presbyterians’ but it is also true that Waddell’s efforts, while led by him, enjoyed the support and commitment of much of his congregation.<sup>292</sup> This congregation was one of the most economically diverse in the city, indicating that social concern was not the preserve of the poor or one or two middle class reformers but could span the socio-economic spectrum.<sup>293</sup> Given this, Brosnahan’s assertion that ‘Waddell was quite unrepresentative of New Zealand Presbyterians during his own lifetime’ may not be entirely accurate, implying as it does that Waddell had little support within the denomination.<sup>294</sup>

However, in parallel to these expressions of sympathy was an avowed suspicion of organised labour, socialist parties and socialism. The Presbyterian General Assembly condemned meetings by labour organisations held in Auckland as ‘essentially a crusade against the Church.’<sup>295</sup> James Gibb, convener of a committee investigating New Zealand’s industrial unrest, reported that any change from ‘economic individualism to economic socialism’ would ‘leave human society in a condition as wretched and as far from the Kingdom of God as ever.’<sup>296</sup> The General Assembly’s 1913 vote to nationalise the ‘great public utilities’ had 38 out of 108 commissioners oppose it.<sup>297</sup> Individual clergy such as Waddell, along with some members of Presbyterian congregations, clearly supported the labour movement but it was equally clear that he was a minority figure. Presbyterianism was broadly suspicious of Labour and many viewed it as an essentially atheistic force. Anglicanism’s generalised hostility can be seen in the controversy accompanying John Mortimer’s appointment as vicar of Caversham. Mortimer’s reputation as ‘a thorough ... Socialist [original emphasis]’ preceded him, earned through his having made ‘rather a stir’ in Christchurch during the 1913 strikes.<sup>298</sup> Later correspondence revealed that some Dunedin Anglicans believed him to be a ‘Red Fed,’ a popular term of the time for an extreme socialist. Some thought of him as an ‘earnest fellow’ who would be ‘acceptable to a working class community,’ but his socialist credentials were

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<sup>291</sup> Brosnahan, 140.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 137.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>295</sup> PCNZ, *Proceedings 1912*, 6A-7A.

<sup>296</sup> *Ibid.*, 6A-7A.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 1913, 45-46.

<sup>298</sup> Letter, [sender’s name unreadable] to Capt. Easter 14/8/1914, Miscellaneous correspondence, St. Peter’s Caversham (AG-040/120), Hocken.

clearly a concern to some Anglicans.<sup>299</sup> The Catholic hierarchy's pre-war attitudes were summed up by Redwood's denunciation of socialism as contrary to Christianity and fundamentally opposed to the interests of the poor and working class.<sup>300</sup>

The reasons for the antipathy between churches and socialism have been examined by Guy, Grigg and O'Connell, among others. In part the opposition of the churches was due to the attacks against Christianity and religion that motivated some of the labour movement's leaders, and that opposition was communicated via their periodicals. Marxism and socialism were, broadly speaking, anti-clerical, were opposed to organised religion and frequently attacked it. Socialist leaders drew unfavourable comparisons between churches that urged believers to 'love thy neighbour' but allowed "neighbours" to go poor and hungry.<sup>301</sup> The evident wealth of many of the churches was criticised as being unbiblical and some argued that it would be put to better use in helping the poor and needy.<sup>302</sup> Capitalism was rejected by some socialists as being contrary to the Biblical concept of 'brotherly love,' opening the churches to charges of hypocrisy.<sup>303</sup> Anti-clericalism motivated some attacks on the churches. Samuel Lister, editor of the late nineteenth century socialist newspaper *Otago Workman*, was strongly opposed to churches and clericalism but 'was a believer in the Christianity as expressed in the Bible.'<sup>304</sup> Many radical socialist leaders seemed to welcome civil disorder and, eventually, revolution, stances unlikely to endear themselves to many New Zealanders, church-goers or not.<sup>305</sup> Guy argued that some within the churches believed that the labour question was not a matter for churches to consider, as it was a 'secular' issue, not a 'sacred' one.<sup>306</sup> The arguments used by many leaders on both sides of the debate fostered a view that an individual could not be Christian and pro-Socialist.<sup>307</sup> This was seemingly believed by many, though not all, as the small number of Christian Socialists indicates.

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<sup>299</sup> H. Gossett, letter to Archdeacon [unreadable], 12/9/1914, Miscellaneous correspondence, St. Peter's Caversham (AG-040/120), Hocken.

<sup>300</sup> Grigg, 150-151.

<sup>301</sup> O'Connell, 181.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid.

<sup>303</sup> Ibid., 184.

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., 179.

<sup>305</sup> Guy, 203-04.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 199.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid., 201.

## Socialism during World War One

The Anglican Church's increasingly hostile attitude towards socialism featured prominently within the pages of that denomination's press. Socialism became equated with treason, destruction, theft, laziness, death and anti-democratic revolution. Bishop Julius, who was sympathetic towards socialism, clearly demonstrated this view in 1917 when he condemned the miners of Greymouth as men who 'prefer[red] German to British rule.'<sup>308</sup> He believed that they had fled into the bush rather than be conscripted, and he rejected arguments that their occupation should exempt them from military service. New Zealand's socialists were lazy, refusing to 'work for the possession of a good house or a lucrative business.' Instead, these people would incite revolution to obtain these possessions by force.<sup>309</sup> The *Envoy* described Australian socialists as possessing 'a kind of deadly satisfaction that so many workers are being trained in view of the struggle that comes after [the war]' – "workers" had been trained to fight and kill by the very state they aimed to overthrow.<sup>310</sup> The *Envoy* described the conflict with socialism as the 'coming war' where all 'who love freedom, who are proud of all that the Empire's flag stands for, must be prepared to endure, suffer, strive in the days that are coming.'<sup>311</sup> Articles in the Anglican press freely portrayed the savagery and atheism of Bolshevism, establishing a socialist/Bolshevik nation as the antithesis of New Zealand values.<sup>312</sup> Socialists were revolutionaries, people committed to plunging the country and Empire into civil war in order to attain their ends.

Many Presbyterians demonstrated a similar level of hostility. The *Outlook* published articles and editorials warning readers about the socialist threat. John Collie, later a professor in the church's Theological Hall, wrote: 'It would be fatal for us to pander to any socialistic or semi-socialistic views of the church's function in the world.' He believed calls for Christianity to embrace socialism indicated a 'debased conception of what the church's work is.'<sup>313</sup> Socialism was dangerous, 'divorced from the influences' of Christianity and 'evil.'<sup>314</sup> Presbyterians too feared that the war against Germany would be succeeded by widespread war between the

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<sup>308</sup> "A Bishop's Bleat," *Truth*, 21/7/1917, 12.

<sup>309</sup> "Current Events," *New Zealand Churchman* (Dunedin), December 1920, 99.

<sup>310</sup> Editorial, *Envoy*, October 1916, 273.

<sup>311</sup> "Current Events," *Churchman*, December 1920, 99.

<sup>312</sup> "Current Notes," *Envoy*, August 1919, 174.

<sup>313</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 17/4/1917, 4.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 7/8/1917, 4.



classes and were warned against the possibility of a 'disastrous industrial conflict.'<sup>315</sup> Preaching at Port Chalmers Town Hall during a public service of thanksgiving marking Austria-Hungary's surrender, Whyte described German socialists as 'the darkest devils of all, tenfold more the children of hell than the Prussians.'<sup>316</sup> Only 'the power of applied Christianity' could defeat 'in essence and effect anti-Christian' Bolshevism.<sup>317</sup> The socialist threat to New Zealand was equated with that of Germany. Dixon, in his address to the 1919 General Assembly, spoke of the 'intolerable tyranny' of 'Prussianism and Bolshevism.'<sup>318</sup> A common thread is easily discernible in the mainstream Anglican and Presbyterian attitude, building on fears articulated within the churches at the start of the century. Socialism was essentially irreligious, atheistic, seditious, and dedicated to violent revolution and conflict. These fears had become hardened and more widespread in the crucible of war.

This is not to deny the presence of socialists within each denomination and their increasing influence. Gibb's sympathy towards socialism, developed during the war, was conditioned by his faith, and by war's end he had become a committed Christian socialist.<sup>319</sup> He was fearful that the Labour Party would become Bolshevik and argued that true socialism could not be divorced from Christianity. The war confirmed Waddell's and Mortimer's belief that only a new social order could bring international and societal peace. It is certain that there would have been lay Presbyterians who also supported some form of Christian socialism. What needs to be remembered is that their socialism, and that of many other clergy and laity in their denominations, was firmly rooted in Christian values and was as much a rejection of bolshevism as capitalism.

Attitudes within Catholicism towards socialism underwent an almost complete *volte face* during the course of the war. Unlike the Presbyterian and Anglican Churches, where attitudes hardened as the war continued, the Catholic Church's official position towards socialism softened considerably. Prior to Kelly the *Tablet* demonstrated a level of suspicion and condemnation towards socialism similar to its Anglican and Presbyterian equivalents. Lurid details were published of a plot by a Chicago anarchist syndicate to poison the city's leaders, including the Catholic archbishop, at a civic dinner. Those who had planned this event were

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<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 19/11/1918, 4.

<sup>316</sup> "The Topic: The Lessons of the Peace," *Outlook*, 17/12/1918, 16.

<sup>317</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 31/12/1918, 4-5.

<sup>318</sup> "The Universal Crisis and the Universal Church," *Outlook*, 25/2/1919, 17-19, 21-25.

<sup>319</sup> Barber, "Social Crusader," 208-09, 212.

labelled as ‘anarchist-socialists’ and were motivated by ‘[a] revolt against ... all authority, human and divine.’ The article concluded by urging people to ‘hunt them [the anarchist-socialists] down like rats.’<sup>320</sup> The Easter Rising was condemned as anti-clerical and socialist, ‘little better than anarchism.’<sup>321</sup> Sinn Fein leaders were linked to the International Workers of the World organisation, which, in other articles, was described as an organisation dedicated to preaching the ‘gospel of sabotage and industrial revolution.’<sup>322</sup>

The attitude of the *Tablet* and the Catholic church in general changed dramatically once Kelly was appointed editor. Articles stressed that the wealthy were merely stewards of their riches and they should learn to share their wealth for the common good rather than hoard it. Socialists had applied ‘reason’ to affirm the Pope’s efforts to ‘ameliorate the lot of the soldiers and to promote peace among the belligerents.’<sup>323</sup> Kelly looked forward to the coming redistribution of wealth from rich to poor, which would see the end of luxuries for the rich. He believed that the rich would have to ‘work little or much, which will do them no great harm.’<sup>324</sup> Kelly praised the labour movement and labour parties in New Zealand and Britain for their attempts to bring peace. He supported the British Labour party’s plans for post-war reconstruction, describing them as ‘a well-planned scheme devised by men who have considered more deeply than any of our legislators the interests of the poor and the weak,’ and believed that ‘every word of it’ applied to New Zealand and New Zealand’s legislators.<sup>325</sup> In early 1918 Kelly made the step to fully endorsing the Labour Party manifesto. In his editorial he wrote:

The Catholic Church has always heard the voices of the poor and the oppressed. ... Christ’s teaching condemns the ways of the rich who batten on the poor, and while it clearly preaches that the capitalistic system is unjust and unchristian it also lays down the only sure lines along which democracy can march towards a lasting prosperity and a beneficent equality. The doctrine of a living wage, as well as the suggestion for the nationalisation of mines and railways, is contained in the masterly encyclical of the workman’s Pope, Leo XIII.<sup>326</sup>

In a later issue he divided the world into ‘Capitalists and Democrats,’ disenfranchising capitalists and capitalist countries and divorcing them from any part of the democratic process. Kelly wrote that the poor were ‘better’ in ‘His [Christ’s] sight’ than the rich and to think

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<sup>320</sup> “The Poison Dinner,” *Tablet*, 13/4/1916, 29-31.

<sup>321</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 18/5/1916, 29-30.

<sup>322</sup> *Ibid.*; “Current Notes,” *Tablet*, 25/5/1916, 17.

<sup>323</sup> “Current Topics,” *Tablet*, 7/6/1917, 18.

<sup>324</sup> *Ibid.*, 6/12/1917, 14.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 25/4/1918, 15.

<sup>326</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 2/5/1918, 25-26.

otherwise was to be ignorant of 'His law' and contemptuous of 'His religion.'<sup>327</sup> In one article he alleged that the popularity enjoyed by socialism was 'entirely attributable to its "camouflage Catholicism".'<sup>328</sup> O'Shea too spoke of the 'suppressed Catholicism of Labour.'<sup>329</sup> Kelly advocated that the liberty, brotherhood and dignity that socialists wanted were 'founded on Christianity' and believed that the Catholic church had a prominent part to play in bringing 'Democracy ... out of the darkness.'<sup>330</sup>

This move to embrace and endorse socialism and labour party ideals was not one made by Kelly in isolation. In July 1918 the Christchurch cathedral branch of the Catholic Federation agreed to make a special effort to attract workers, believing this to be 'following the example of the Divine Founder of the Church Whose disciples were workmen.' The branch also agreed on its 'unswerving support in upholding the dignity of Labour and consequently the welfare of the masses.'<sup>331</sup> Bishop O'Shea of Wellington, at a meeting of the Wellington Diocesan Catholic Federation, argued that 'it was not strange' for Catholics to 'express sympathy and approval' with the efforts of Labour to obtain better conditions and pay for workers.<sup>332</sup>

In tandem with the Catholic Church's defence of socialism went an endorsement of Bolshevik Russia. The *Tablet* defended Russia's new rulers and their policies to deliver a socialist society. Kelly upheld the Bolsheviks as an 'example to ourselves.' Russia was praised for its 'unselfish endeavours' to secure an independent Poland, and readers were reminded of Bolshevik attitudes to 'England's treachery to her Allies in her treatment of Ireland.'<sup>333</sup> Irish nationalists in New Zealand placed much hope in Russia's advocacy for a united and independent Ireland. In several articles Kelly wrote of Russia's 'keen interest' in the 'wrongs of Ireland' and of Russia's 'demands' for Britain to recognise the 'right of Ireland to self-government.'<sup>334</sup>

### **Socialism and Sectarianism**

Catholicism's endorsement of socialism and Bolshevism took on an avowed sectarian nature in late 1918 in a series of articles and public meetings. Edge, a Catholic priest, delivered a paper

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<sup>327</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 20/6/1918, 14.

<sup>328</sup> "The State and Labour," *Tablet*, 11/7/1918, 7, 9-10.

<sup>329</sup> "Some of the Social Duties of Catholics," *Tablet*, 18/7/1918, 34.

<sup>330</sup> Editorial, *Tablet*, 7/11/1918, 25-26.

<sup>331</sup> "Catholic Federation," *Tablet*, 4/7/1918, 22.

<sup>332</sup> "Some of the Social Duties of Catholics," *Tablet*, 18/7/1918, 34.

<sup>333</sup> "Current Topics," *Tablet*, 31/1/1918, 14.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, 17/1/1918, 14-15; Editorial, *Tablet*, 21/3/1918, 26.

to a meeting of the Auckland Newman Society, arguing that the Reformation had been the root cause of social depravation in Britain. He believed that the Reformation had led directly to child labour, declining living standards, the end of free parish-based education, increasing harshness of the penal code, drunkenness, and drastic cuts in workers' wages. It had 'robbed the English workman of everything' including his pride, dignity, wages, common land, cottages, civil and political rights, hospitals, and trade unions. Edge linked colonial transportation and England's absolute royal power to the Reformation. He described the English suppression of Catholicism as 'the saddest three hundred years known to oppressed labour in any period in human history.' It was only with the reintroduction of Catholicism that Britain's workers were able to begin reclaiming their self-respect and dignity.<sup>335</sup> Edge's paper was serialised over three issues of the *Tablet*. His talk and subsequent serialisation were not isolated events. M. J. Reardon, speaking at the Wellington Social Study Club, told his listeners that 'the present wages system ... is really a by-product of the Reformation' and argued that decline in living standards experienced by peasants and workers was directly caused by the suppression of the monasteries and confiscation of their lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>336</sup>

Links between the Labour party and the Catholic church grew quickly from 1916 onwards. These links were solidified by a common position on a number of policies. Both organisations opposed conscription of clergy, called for a quick and negotiated peace and supported Irish independence. Labour candidates on the Military Service Boards usually supported exemption for clergy and both the Catholic church and the Labour party were frequently the target of attacks by the P.P.A. *The Maoriland Worker*, the official newspaper of the Labour party, and the *Tablet* both opposed the Government's suppression of *The Green Ray*, a radical Irish Nationalist newspaper with strong socialist connections, suppressed for sedition under the War Regulations Act. Redwood's articles on social reconstruction published in the *Tablet* drew support from the Labour party's leaders.<sup>337</sup> Kelly openly endorsed Labour party leader Harry Holland's pamphlet 'Labour's challenges to the National Government' and in October 1919 he

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<sup>335</sup> "The Religion of Progress: What the Protestant Reformation Did for the Workers of England," *Tablet*, 8/8/1918, 10-11, 13; *Tablet*, 15/8/1918, 11, 13; *Tablet*, 22/8/1918, 11, 13.

<sup>336</sup> "A Living Wage," *Tablet*, 19/9/1918, 11, 13.

<sup>337</sup> Sweetman, "Catholicism," 235-239.

called for New Zealand's Catholics to vote for the Labour Party.<sup>338</sup> Even Redwood, who had denounced socialism many times in the past, now publicly endorsed the Labour Party.<sup>339</sup>

The Catholic Church's endorsement of socialism and the Labour Party was not overlooked by the other denominations, nor by the P.P.A. Pulpits denounced and condemned the relationship between Catholicism and labour as an 'unholy alliance and secret conspiracy.'<sup>340</sup> The *Outlook* published in full O'Shea's *Tablet* editorial on social reconstruction. The following week the editor commented that O'Shea's article was proof of Catholicism's intent to 'throw the weight of her influence ... to the side of Labour as opposed to Capitalism. The Catholic Church will henceforth pose as the friend of the poor and the oppressed. ...'<sup>341</sup>

Members of the P.P.A. widely believed in an alliance between the Catholic church and socialism. Catholicism was denounced as the friend of socialism and the enemy of society at its branch meetings and public gatherings.<sup>342</sup> The P.P.A. alleged that Labour party candidates were financially and organisationally dependent on the Catholic church, and claimed that Catholic priests were campaigning and raising funds on behalf of the Labour party.<sup>343</sup> Elliott, speaking at New Plymouth, claimed that every sitting member of the Labour Party in Parliament had been 'put there by the power of the Catholic church.'<sup>344</sup> Allegations were also made that the *Maoriland Worker* was a 'pro-Roman journal' by virtue of the supposed linkages between Catholicism and the Labour movement.<sup>345</sup> The P.P.A. urged unions to remove Catholics from positions of influence and argued that separate, Protestant, unions needed to be established to free workers of control from Rome.<sup>346</sup>

Although some New Zealanders accepted the argument that linked the Catholic church to socialism and the Labour Party there is evidence to indicate that this acceptance was by no means universal. Editors and correspondents in non-denominational newspapers refused to believe allegations that Labour and the Catholic church were one and the same. *Truth* had made its attitude towards sectarianism in general and the P.P.A. in particular very clear, arguing

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<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 245-246.

<sup>339</sup> Olssen, "Waging War," 306.

<sup>340</sup> "The Catholic Church. Relations with Labour. Reply to Criticism," *Witness*, 17/7/1918, 24.

<sup>341</sup> Editorial, *Outlook*, 021/5/1918, 4.

<sup>342</sup> "The Protestant Political Association," *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 1

<sup>343</sup> "The New Zealand Labour Party and Howard Elliott's Charges," *Worker*, 9/1/1918, 5.

<sup>344</sup> "Rev Howard Elliott. Protest by Workers," *Worker*, 27/2/1918, 5.

<sup>345</sup> Editorial, *Worker*, 1/5/1918, 4.

<sup>346</sup> Moores, 273-74.

that Labour's interests were not served by any engagement with sectarian arguments.<sup>347</sup> Similar arguments were made by the *Worker*, which labelled Elliott 'an anti-Labour advocate.'<sup>348</sup> *Truth* argued that attempts to sectarianise the Labour movement were motivated by Capital trying to break the trades union movement's unity. *Truth* warned that a sectarian labour movement would lead to disunity as one union would be divided into many, each with its own confessional affiliation.<sup>349</sup> Correspondents made similar statements. "Democrat" agreed with *Truth*'s stance, writing, 'Let politics and religion be divorced for ever.'<sup>350</sup> "Justitia" wrote exposing the lie that a papal oath had been discovered during a police raid on the Sydney offices of the International Workers of the World organisation, using a communication from the Department of the Attorney General and Justice as proof.<sup>351</sup> Facts contradicted the P.P.A.'s assertions that the Labour Party was dominated by Catholics. Many of its leaders, as well as candidates in the 1919 general election, were avowedly Protestant.<sup>352</sup> Class interest, not creed, was the primary motivator for the Labour party.

Links between Catholicism and socialism are easily explained. The Catholic church was the natural constituency of the Labour party. The majority of Catholics were drawn from the lower socio-economic groups, and socialist policies calling for higher wages, improved conditions and a limit on inflation were bound to be attractive to them. It was natural that the proportion of Catholics who actively supported the Labour party was greater than in other denominations. The Labour Party was seen as the natural successor of the Liberal Party in the struggle for workers' rights and a "fair deal." Many Catholics had supported the Liberal party in the past, particularly during the premiership of Richard Seddon. Their switch in allegiance consequently "confirmed" Catholicism's overarching socialism. At the same time Kelly, O'Shea, Coffey *et al* were always going to be favourable towards organisations supportive of Nationalist Ireland's struggle. These points, together with the charitable mission of the church towards the poor, resulted in it becoming almost inevitable that the two organisations would develop close links. The more the Labour party wooed them, the more the Dominion's Catholics transferred their

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<sup>347</sup> Editorial, *Truth*, 18/5/1918, 1.

<sup>348</sup> Editorial, *Worker*, 19/9/1917, 2.

<sup>349</sup> "War against Wowserism," *Truth*, 4/5/1918, 5.

<sup>350</sup> "Democrat," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>351</sup> "Justitia," letter to the editor, *Truth*, 1/6/1918, 5.

<sup>352</sup> Moores, 280

political allegiance to this new political movement. This in turn spurred on Labour's efforts to secure a greater and greater share of their vote.<sup>353</sup>

It would be dangerous to assume a complete Catholic endorsement of socialism and the Labour party. Catholic voters had been significant supporters of the Liberal party. Some Catholics would have been unwilling to transfer their allegiance to the new Labour party. What Cadogan defines as the Catholic bourgeoisie were more likely to continue their support of the more "respectable" Liberals than the upstart Labour party.<sup>354</sup> Cadogan believed that clergy like Coffey were torn between their endorsement of the Labour party and their historical ties and affection for the Liberal party.<sup>355</sup> Furthermore, Cadogan writes of a 'boardroom coup' at the *Tablet* in 1919 that saw the introduction of Liberal party advertising and editorials that attacked socialism.<sup>356</sup> These events point to a split in political allegiance within the Catholic vote with different groups following their own interests, be they class, ethnicity or Ireland.

It is clear that the socialist debate in New Zealand had a sectarian element. Groups such as the P.P.A., together with individuals within Protestant organisations, believed that Catholicism and socialism were one and the same. In part this stemmed from Catholicism's endorsement of socialism from the second half of the war onwards, but the arguments used against both socialism and Catholicism show marked commonality. Both were seen to be treasonous and subversive, intent on seizing control by violent means. "Proof" of their violence was demonstrated by both the Easter Rising and Russia's Bolshevik revolution and subsequent civil war. "Proof" of their subversive tendencies was provided by the Irish rebels and Socialism's dedication to revolution. Socialism and the Labour Party's obvious appeal to working class voters, many of whom were Catholic, also "confirmed" the link between the two. It is consequently easy to see how Catholicism *en bloc* became associated with socialism and all of the negative connotations that went along with that. What many within the P.P.A. seem to have missed was that Catholicism itself was divided in its support of the Labour Party, with some Catholics retaining their older allegiance to the Liberal Party. Some also supported the Labour Party because of its support for Irish self-determination, rather than because they necessarily supported the Labour Party's policies. Also missing from the equation are people who supported the P.P.A. due to patriotic motives. These people may have been genuinely

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<sup>353</sup> Olssen, "Waging War," 306.

<sup>354</sup> Cadogan, 100.

<sup>355</sup> *Ibid.*, 68.

<sup>356</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

repulsed by events such as the Easter Rising, Irish rebellion, and Socialist calls for revolution and redistribution of wealth. Rather than necessarily supporting the P.P.A., these people may have been actively against revolution and opposed to upsetting the existing social order.

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It is accepted that other forces, such as race and class, may have contributed to sectarian conflict, but at its core it was a religious issue. The mind-set of suspicion and distrust had existed in New Zealand for decades, partly fuelled by the origins of New Zealand's new migrants. Many immigrants were seeking to escape from sectarian Ireland, but others were seemingly intent on recreating it in New Zealand.

During the Great War this conflict spilled outside of its denominational confines into everyday life. The debates and issues of the pre-war period constantly fuelled the fire of difference and suspicion. The period of August 1914 to 1916 should therefore be seen as a truce rather than a resolution between radicals on either side of the confessional divide. The spark necessary to reignite the struggle was provided by Ireland's Easter Rising and by two clergymen, Elliott and Kelly, who became the public faces of the sectarian struggle in New Zealand.

All denominations participated in this sectarian struggle in New Zealand, with the Presbyterian and Catholic churches being the most radically opposed to each other. Although there were within the various denominations some marked divisions of opinion, what cannot be questioned is that church leaders, and many members, demonstrated the arrogance of their convictions. In such circumstances sectarian conflict was inevitable and widespread. It could not be otherwise when many tens of thousands of New Zealanders joined a movement dedicated to opposing a denomination that claimed 165,000 members. Sectarianism spread outside the churches to the non-denominational press, to the public meeting and to the electoral system. Widespread commonality between the language used in the pulpit and denominational press and that found outside the churches is easily discernible, indicating again that there was little to separate and divide the "secular" from the "sacred." Attitudes, opinions and arguments used within the churches were much the same, regardless of where and how they were expressed. Although this phenomenon was short-lived, it provides further evidence that many New Zealanders were willing and able to be counted and to fight for their religious beliefs.



## Conclusion

The wartime experiences of those who remained in New Zealand were very different from those of soldiers deployed abroad. New Zealand was far removed from the theatres of conflict, suffered no invasion or destruction of property and bore none of the physical scars of war that blighted the landscape of many European, Middle Eastern and African countries. The majority of New Zealanders experienced war through their relationships with soldiers, the letters of loved ones, the pages of the newspaper and the new medium of cinema. Nevertheless the war was real for them. Patriotism, excitement, joy, pain, fear, loss and memorialisation of family members, resistance and commitment – all these emotions and more were experienced by New Zealanders who remained in the Dominion during the fifty-one months of conflict.

This thesis has focussed on two underexplored areas of New Zealand's history. The first is New Zealand society's wartime experience. It has examined how society responded to the rigours of war, what many of the ordinary men, women and children experienced and what motivated the vast majority to support a war the like of which none had ever experienced before. It provides a balance to works that have examined only small slivers of society – the conscientious and religious objectors, radical socialists, pacifists and the like – as well as larger groupings, such as women, children and socio-economic sectors that are sometimes examined in isolation from the rest of society. These works are worthy for the contribution they have made to our understanding of the war, but they provide only a restricted view of society at the time.

Much more needs to be done to fill gaps in the scholarship, and future researchers will have an exciting time examining the role of women, children, the Reform and Liberal parties, the National Government, farmers, industrial workers, the Territorial Army, local government, and the intersections between these groups, to name just a few areas ripe for study. Only when these areas have been thoroughly investigated will the great mass of historiography concerning New Zealand's military effort overseas be balanced by a commensurate weight of scholarship around its domestic war experience.

This thesis has primarily addressed the role played by religion within New Zealand's World War One history, examining wartime Dunedin society through the lens of the three largest denominations: Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic. It is accepted that focussing on these three has left the contributions made by the smaller churches, such as Methodists, Baptists,

and Brethren, silent. Including them would have added extra dimensions, complexity and nuance.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the three denominations examined do provide a wealth of evidence from which key conclusions can be drawn.

Religion and religious belief were a vital part of the nation's response to war, helping to sustain and motivate the citizens who remained at home during the conflict. There is strong evidence also that the conclusions reached in the context of Dunedin could be extended to apply at least to the rest of the Dominion.

The first chapter examined and documented how religion was interwoven into many aspects of everyday life. Without this deep, almost symbiotic, relationship, it would be impossible to explain the extent to which religion influenced Dunedin's response to the war. Participation by the residents of the city, and almost certainly by the majority of the citizens of wider New Zealand, in church and church-run activities was extremely high during the First World War and the decades leading up to it, but this was not the only method by which people were exposed to Christianity and Christian beliefs. Many children were enrolled in the Catholic, Presbyterian and Anglican school systems. Churches had considerable input into community and social organisations and services. Secular institutions, such as the state school system and independent newspapers, reflected the pervasive religious context within which they operated. Even social events such as entertainment at bandstands, hymn sing-alongs in public halls and awards at prize-givings reflected the overt religiosity of New Zealand society. It is this familiarity with Christianity and its central tenets that helps to explain why the arguments put forward by churches and the roles they took upon themselves during the war resounded with so many New Zealanders.

Three of the areas examined – patriotism, justifying the war, and recruitment – indicate how religion was used, adopted, adapted and responded to the rapidly changing environment caused by the conflict. The investigation of the impact of sectarianism and sectarian ideas emphasised the importance of religion in the lives of many New Zealanders.

Churches were an important part of New Zealand's patriotic effort. Every Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic congregation and parish in Dunedin, and their affiliated organisations, willingly mobilised themselves for the war effort. These efforts joined with those of schools, community groups and the general public in mobilising private resources for public

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<sup>1</sup> For a fuller explanation of why these smaller denominations were excluded see Introduction, pp 1-6.

war. The work of the churches was no different from the patriotic efforts of the rest of New Zealand and, perhaps due to their organisational background and nationwide structure, was possibly more effective. Certainly the enthusiasm demonstrated within the churches seemed little different from that shown by much of society.

Dunedin churches' expressions of patriotism and support for the Empire's war effort and aims were an important part of their activities during the war years. Most churches held regular patriotic services, many clergy participated in patriotic festivals, and special services were held to reaffirm New Zealand's and the churches' commitment to the war effort. Clergy were a common sight at civic patriotic events, where religious language and metaphor were commonplace. There was little observable distinction between central city and suburban churches and congregations in their patriotic commitment. Outside of the churches, in settings such as newspapers, public meetings and correspondence, Christianity was linked to the Empire and its war effort. God's blessing for the Empire and His support for prosecuting the war was freely assumed and willingly taken. The churches' input was widely accepted, with little questioning, by almost all of society.

It is clear too that religion played a vital part in justifying the war and maintaining morale. Religious belief, values and morals helped explain how such a war had come into being, why it needed to be fought and why New Zealanders should support the war effort until final victory. It fed on the widespread knowledge and acceptance of just-war theory and helped to transform the conflict into one in which the forces of right were ranged against the forces of might. Just war, with its strong Christian component, was widely believed and helped cement continuing support for the war-effort. The life of Christ, His crucifixion and subsequent resurrection were all co-opted to the war narrative, which stressed the collective sacrifice by society in a sacred cause. These views were maintained within the Anglican, Presbyterian and Catholic churches and supported by the vast majority of their members. It was also repeated time and again outside the churches, by parliamentarians, by newspaper editors and by non-religious organisations. Clergy and secular authorities used it in many public meetings and it was largely accepted by their audiences. It was a popular and enduring theme during the war years. The majority of New Zealand society openly endorsed a religious dimension to the conflict.

Religious belief was a valuable tool in convincing men to enlist in the N.Z.E.F. Almost all denominations freely accepted an obligation to convince men to volunteer, and they promulgated the view that service in the armed forces was a Christian duty. Sermons

advocating enlistment were delivered from the pulpit and reprinted in denominational newspapers, as were articles, poems, hymns and stories. Recruits cited religious reasons as motivation to enlist and clergy were prominent in recruiting activities. Churches were prominent in departure ceremonies, blessing and commissioning the soldiers prior to leaving Dunedin. There was little or no dissent from clergy or church members, and support for the churches' actions was near universal. Their involvement was openly endorsed by public figures and by the non-denominational press.

Underlying sectarian trends that had permeated New Zealand society in the decades prior to 1914 were undoubtedly exacerbated by the war and threatened to destabilise New Zealand's war effort. Sectarian religious beliefs informed the opinions and the political affiliations of many New Zealanders, giving the lie to views that New Zealanders cared little for religion. Sectarianism and the threat it posed to New Zealand's domestic harmony was brought into high relief. Sectarian views were not confined to the pulpit or the denominational newspapers, but were demonstrated nationwide in the press, politics and public meetings. Again, it is important to recognise that many New Zealanders rejected sectarianism, but substantial numbers accepted sectarian arguments, using their religious convictions to inform both their interaction with members of other denominations and their political opinions.

This is not to deny that dissent existed to the way churches conducted themselves during the war and the co-opting of Christianity's message to serve the war-effort. Dissent did exist within and outside of the churches. This was demonstrated most notably in the conscription and conscientious objector debates where divisions within Presbyterianism and Catholicism were evident. It was also demonstrated in attitudes towards sectarianism, enlistment in the N.Z.E.F. and conscription. It is not surprising that dissent from the majority viewpoint existed given the large numbers of people involved in each denomination, and provides a cautionary tale for any historian intent on treating any organisation as a monolithic group. What must be remembered, however is that the divisions that did exist were not representative of large or influential groups, either inside the churches or in New Zealand society as a whole. Instead their small size and relatively ineffectual impact on the war indicate the comparative homogeneity of attitudes towards the war across the churches and New Zealand society.

New Zealand's experience during the war and the role of churches showed many commonalities with Australia, Britain and Canada. Almost all churches in these countries, and certainly the main denominations, largely responded to the war positively. Support for the

Empire and the war effort was common, regardless of whether the church was Protestant or Catholic. Clergy were prominent in each country, encouraging men to volunteer for their respective armed forces, participating alongside civic dignitaries and military authorities during recruiting campaigns. There was little difference between clergy and congregation, with the two being in broad agreement that the churches should support the war effort. Similarities across these countries, churches and societies were also evident in the treatment of “shirkers,” pacifists and religious and conscientious objectors. Most churches and their members condemned “shirking,” believed religious objection and pacifism to be wrong, and continued to advocate armed service as a duty. At the same time it was common for church-members and some clergy to argue for the humane treatment of objectors and some advocated on their behalf, despite believing that objectors’ opinions were wrong.

There was a common and widely held belief across these countries and their churches that this was a just war in which God has sanctioned Britain’s cause. Germany was the enemy of civilisation. As a consequence armed service was seen by many as a Christian duty. These opinions had a remarkable longevity, continuing into the post-war period, and were common across New Zealand, Australia, Canada and Britain. War-weariness was experienced in all societies and the churches had a broadly similar role within each society in maintaining support for the war.<sup>2</sup>

New Zealand churches showed little difference from their international equivalents in organising themselves into patriotic organisations to make goods, raise funds and provide charitable aid. Again there was little initially to differentiate Protestant from Catholic churches and much time and effort was spent by church members in these endeavours. Churches were part of the wider patriotic movement that formed in most parts of the empire. Memorialisation of war, intercessions for victory and peace and equating the lives and deaths of soldiers with that of Christ was common across almost all denominations and countries. The form adopted for marking Anzac Day demonstrates the close links between New Zealand and Australia, as well as the connections between civic society and churches.

Sectarianism was common to Australia, Canada and New Zealand, with Catholics facing accusations of disloyalty in each country. Ireland’s prominence in domestic affairs was

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<sup>2</sup> McKernan, 39, 60, 72, 81, 84, 85; Moses, “Australian Anglican Leaders,” 318-319; Vance, 13-14, 35, 37-39, 49; Paul Maroney, “The Great Adventure: the Context and Ideology of Recruiting in Ontario, 1914-1917,” *Canadian Historical Review* 1, vol. 77 (March 1996), 66, 87; Wilkinson, 45, 65, 175, 187; Hoover, 113, 125, 129; Wolffe, 233, 237-238.

mirrored throughout these three countries and in Britain, and New Zealand's diverse opinions and attitudes were similar to those identified in Biagini's study on Irish nationalism.<sup>3</sup>

Despite the above there were differences. Sectarianism in Australia and Canada was reflected differently to New Zealand. Canada's Catholic community was largely Quebecois, while in Australia and New Zealand it was largely Irish, leading to different approaches to the 'Catholic question' when compared to New Zealand. Australia and Canada had a different sized Catholic community than that of New Zealand, both in absolute numbers and proportion, and only New Zealand saw the formation of a political party representing Protestants.

Differences also existed within the conscription debate. New Zealand's introduction of conscription was relatively easy when compared to Canada, and spared New Zealand Australia's divisive and acrimonious experience. New Zealand churches let the introduction of conscription largely pass them by, involving themselves in the debate only once it had become law and then in response to its application, not its introduction. This was very different to Australia, where the Protestant and Catholic churches took prominent and opposing positions over the question. New Zealand's Protestant churches were also largely spared the soul-searching that their counterparts across the Tasman engaged in after the 1918 referendum defeat. New Zealand Catholicism seems to have worked harder to address perceptions of disloyalty than in Australia, and in New Zealand divisions within the denomination over conscription of clergy were often asserted alongside expressions of loyalty to the empire and the war effort. Australian and Canadian Catholics seemed to be more likely to oppose the war than their New Zealand counterparts.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence put forward in this thesis should not be seen as an argument that New Zealand was a theocracy. Christianity informed the decisions and social attitudes of New Zealanders, but laws and regulations were not constrained by religious belief, nor were they vetted by boards of clergy. Churches, church members and clergy did object to laws being passed, but Parliament and the Crown were always sovereign. A "religious takeover" of New Zealand, with

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<sup>3</sup> Eugenio F. Biagini, "The Protestant Minority in Southern Ireland," *The Historical Journal*, 55, 4 (2012), 1161-1184.

<sup>4</sup> McKernan, 32, 35, 65, 90, 97, Robert S. M. Withycombe, "Australian Anglicans and Imperial Identity," *The Journal of Religious History* 3, vol. 25 (October 2001), 303; Sweetman, "Green Flag," 219-220; R. M. Bray, "Fighting as an Ally: The English-Canadian Patriotic Response to the Great War," *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. LXI, (1980), 142, 152; J. R. Miller, "Anti-Catholic Thought in Victorian Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 4, vol LXVI (December 1985), 479-480; Judith M. Brown and William R. Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 126.

some form of church government being imposed on the country, was not remotely possible and never entertained.

The conclusions reached in this thesis indicate that religion, religious belief and their associated morals and ethics played an important part in Dunedin society, and more broadly throughout New Zealand, during the wartime period of 1914-1918. Religion underpinned the response by many Dunedin residents to the war, informed their opinions on the conflict and helped to motivate their actions during those turbulent years. This thesis is a reply to assertions made by some historians that New Zealanders were somehow not interested in religion and that for some reason, unlike the experiences of its close cultural neighbours Australia, Britain and Canada, religion was not important in New Zealand. Christianity was a system of beliefs, attitudes and opinions that represented the background to everyday life. It was not something confined merely to a minority, within church buildings. It was not something even confined to the denominational press or church organisations. Religious belief was ever-present, whatever the context, whatever the circumstances, though not necessarily believed by everyone. Whether this presence was “front and centre” or in the background, it was nevertheless there.

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## Appendix 1: Selected Clergy

The clergy listed below are those active in each denomination during World War One. They are predominantly Dunedin-based but include some from outside Dunedin who have been referred to in the text of the thesis. Where known the full name of the clergyman and location and dates of his charge have been recorded.<sup>1</sup>

### Anglican

- Allan, A.C. Assistant Curate at All Saints Dunedin (1911-16).  
Allen, Charles Richards. Assistant Curate Holy Innocents Woodhaugh (1911-16).  
Averill, Alfred Walter. Bishop of Auckland Diocese (1914-40).  
Burton, Harry Darwin. Honorary canon at Christchurch cathedral (1913-19) and Senior Anglican Chaplain to the forces (1915-18).  
Button, Alfred Cleave. Assistant Curate at St. Paul's Cathedral (1913-15).  
Bush King, Charles John. Curate at St. Matthew's (1911-21).  
Canter, Alfred Laurie. Assistant Curate at St. Peter's Caversham (1915-17).  
Coates, Robert George. Vicar of St. Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay and St. Mark's Green Island (1914-16).  
Cooper, Samuel James. Vicar of St. Mary's Mornington (1921-29).  
Curzon-Siggers, William. Vicar of St. Matthew's (1896-22) and Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1908.  
"Dame Lavender." Children's columnist, *Church Envoy*.<sup>2</sup>  
Fenton, George Herbert Roebuck Oceola. Curate of All Saints' (1915-16) and Vicar of St. Michael's and All Angels Anderson's Bay (1916-1927).  
Fitchett, Alfred Robertson. Vicar of All Saints' Dunedin (1879-1928) and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral (1894-1929).  
Fitchett, William Alfred Robertson. Vicar of St. John's Roslyn (1911-39) and Archdeacon of Dunedin 1915-34. Son of A. R. Fitchett.  
Garland, David John. Secretary of the Bible in Schools League.  
Goertz, Herbert Lewis Barton. Vicar of Holy Trinity Port Chalmers (1912-18).  
Hamblett, William Alexander Harry. Curate at Taieri Plains (1912-15) and Vicar of Mosgiel and Green Island (1915-17).  
Julius, Churchill. Bishop of Christchurch Diocese (1890-25).  
King, Vincent George Bryan. Chaplain to Public Institutions and Diocese of Dunedin (1906-26).  
Mortimer, John Lawrence. Vicar of St. Peter's Caversham (1914-20).  
Nevill, Edmund Robert. Priest associated with St. Paul's Cathedral (1915-16), Sub Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral (1916-20), Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (1916-32). Brother of S. T. Nevill.  
Nevill, Samuel Tarratt, Bishop of Dunedin Diocese (1871-1919), Primate of New Zealand (1904-1919).  
Petrie, Alan Julien. Assistant Curate at St. Matthew's Dunedin (1915-17).

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<sup>1</sup> Clergy details have been obtained from the Anglican Register of Ministers, the Presbyterian Register of Ministers and Stones Directories 1914, 1916, 1917 and 1921.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of "Dame Lavender" is not known and it is possible that "she" was a member of the clergy.

Roberts, William Henry. Vicar of St. Martin's N.E.V. (1912-16) and Vicar of Mosgiel and Green Island (1917-18).

Small, John Charles. Vicar of St. Mary's Mornington, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral (1915-41).

Statham, Charles Hadfield. Assistant Curate at St. Paul's Cathedral (1917-20) and Assistant Priest at St. Paul's Cathedral (1921).

Streete, Ernest. Vicar of Roxburgh (1915-1919).

Watts, Edwin. Church Army (1917-18).

Wethey, Edward Brewer. Curate of Portobello District (1915-16) and Vicar of Warrington, Seacliff and Waitati (1916-21).

Whitehead, Louis Grenville. Warden of Selwyn College (1919-50), Vicar of St Andrews Ravensbourne (1919-29).

Wingfield, Albert. Vicar of Holy Cross St. Kilda (1917-36).

Woodthorpe, Robert Augustus. Warden of Selwyn College (1905-17), Priest in charge of Holy Innocents Leith Valley, St. Andrew's Ravensbourne and St. Barnabas Warrington (1905-16), Acting Vicar St. Martin's N.E.V. (1917).

### **Presbyterian**

Adams, James Ernest. Minister of Chalmers Church (1915-27).

Aitken, James. Minister of Mosgiel Church (1907-16).

Allan, Alexander Macdonald. Presbyterian missionary to South America.

Allan, Robert S. Minister of Musselburgh Church (1914, 1916-17).

Armstrong, Archibald Alfred. Minister of Picton Church (1914-18).

Axelson, Edward Andrew. Agent of Presbyterian Social Services Association (1908-22).

Balfour, Graham Henry. Minister of First Church (1911-23).

Barton, Henry Hancock. Minister of Maori Hill Church (1911-28).

Bates, John James. Minister of West Taieri (1917-19).

Calder, David. Minister of Mosgiel Church (1916-25).

Cameron, Andrew. Minister of Anderson's Bay Church (1884-1919).

Chisholm, James. Minister of Roslyn Church (1901-1910).

Collie, John. Minister of North Invercargill Church (1914-25).

Currie, Samuel Wilson, Minister of Balclutha Church (1885-1925).

Davies, Robert Evan. Minister of Knox Church (1909-1920), Professor of New Testament Language and Literature Studies at Theological Hall (1920-29).

Day, William. Minister of Whangarei Church (1912-18).

Dickie, John. Professor of Systematic Theology at Theological Hall (1910-42).

Dixon, William. Minister of Roslyn Church (1910-21).

Dutton, Daniel. Minister of Caversham Church, Chaplain to the Forces (1914-1918).

Erwin, Robert. Minister of Knox Church Christchurch (1883-1922) and Moderator of Christchurch Presbytery 1916.

Evans, Robert Ernest. Minister of St. David's N.E.V. (1917-23).

Evans, Walter Fairlie. Minister of St. Stephen's Church (1917-24).

Fairmaid, Robert. Minister of St. James' South Dunedin (1909-24).

Gibb, James. Minister of St. John's Church Wellington (1903-26).

Gray, Andrew. Minister of St. Andrew's Ravensbourne (1912-21).

Gray, Henry Begg. Minister of St. David's N.E.V. (1906-16).

Grinling, Albert H. Editor of the *Outlook* during World War One.

Hewitson, William. Master of Knox College (1909-28) and Professor of Practical Training at Theological Hall (1909-28).

Hutchinson, William Ramsay. Minister of Kaikorai Church (1919-25).

Jolly, Isaac. Minister of Ponsonby Auckland (1910-21).

Kilpatrick, John. Minister of Green Island Church (1903-27).

Kinmont, Alexander Williamson. Minister of Taieri East and Allanton (1903-18).

Lymburn, James S. Minister of North Taieri (1908-19).

Madill, Adam. Minister of Whakatane Church (1914-15) and first minister to volunteer for active service.

McCull, Duncan. Minister of Taieri South (1903-15).

McCully, Robert. Minister of Taieri South (1917-21).

McDonald, George. Minister of Otago Peninsula (1912-25).

McIntyre, Isaac Kirker. Minister of St. Stephen's Church (1895-1917).

Miller, John. Minister of St. Clair Church (1913-26).

Murray, Charles. Minister of Sydenham Church, Christchurch (1906-19).

Pattison, James. Minister of Dannevirke and Port Ahuriri Churches (1914-18).

Ponder, James. Minister of Waitahuna Church (1906-18) and Minister of Wallacetown Church (1918-20)

Randerson, Arthur Cyril. Assistant Minister of St. Andrew's Dunedin (1915-20).

Robinson, Joseph Lawson. Assistant at First Church (1911-14) and Chaplain to the Forces (1918).

Scorgie, William. Minister of Mornington Church (1899-1915).

Spence, William. Minister of Taieri West (1909-15).

Stinson, Thomas. Minister of Trinity Church Timaru (1902-28).

Sutherland, Robert Rose McKay. Minister of Kaikorai Church (1879-1919).

Trotter, William. Minister of Mornington Church (1916-30).

Waddell, Rutherford. Minister of St. Andrew's Dunedin (1879-1919).

Watt, Michael. Professor of Hebrew and Church History at the Theological Hall (1887-1921).

Whyte, Alexander. Minister of Iona Port Chalmers (1910-19).

## **Catholic**

Brodie, Matthew Joseph. Bishop of Christchurch Diocese (1915-1943).

Buckley, D. P. Priest attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral.

Burke, William. Dean, active in Invercargill

Cleary, Henry. Bishop of Auckland Diocese (1910-1929).

Coffey, James. Dean and Administrator of St. Joseph's Cathedral.

Collins, C. Priest attached to Holy Cross College, Mosgiel.

Corcoran, W. Priest attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral.

Delaney, J. St. Patrick's South Dunedin.

Dore, Patrick. Military Chaplain, died of wounds following repatriation to New Zealand.

Falconer, J. Priest attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral.

Gasparri (Cardinal).

Grimes, John Joseph. Bishop of Christchurch Diocese (1887-1915).

Hills

Kavanagh, D. Priest attached to Holy Cross College, Mosgiel.

Kavanagh, S. T. Priest attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral.

Kelly, James. Editor of *New Zealand Tablet*.  
 Liston, James. Teacher at Holy Cross College, Mosgiel (1904-1910), Principal of Holy Cross College, Mosgiel (1910-1920), Coadjutor Bishop of Auckland (1920-1923), Bishop of Auckland (1923-1970).  
 Lynch, E. Priest attached to Holy Cross College, Mosgiel  
 Mahoney  
 McDonald  
 McMenamain, James Joseph. Military Chaplain, killed on active service.  
 Mercier, Desire Felicien Francois Joseph. Belgian Cardinal.  
 Morkane, C. Priest attached to Holy Cross College, Mosgiel.  
 Murphy  
 O'Neill, D. Priest attached to St. Joseph's Cathedral  
 O'Reilly, J. Star of the Sea Port Chalmers  
 O'Shea, Thomas. Coadjutor Archbishop of Wellington Archdiocese (1913-35), Archbishop of Wellington (1935-1954).  
 Scanlan, M. Priest attached to Holy Cross College, Mosgiel.  
 Redwood, Francis William Mary. Bishop of Wellington Diocese (1874-1887) and Archbishop of Wellington (1887-1935).  
 Verdon, Michael. Bishop of Dunedin (1896-1918).

### **Other Christian Denominations**

#### *Baptist*

Carlisle, J. N.E.V. Church.  
 Dallastan, C. Caversham Church and Roslyn Church.  
 Eccersall, T. H. Mosgiel Church.  
 Gray, R. S. Hanover Street and Maori Hill Church.  
 Hobday, E. H. Roslyn Church.  
 Jenkin, Stanley. South Dunedin Church and Roslyn Church.  
 Morris, S. N.E.V. Church.  
 Oldrieve, F. Mornington Church.  
 Radford, F. H. Mosgiel Church.  
 Robertson, J. Mornington Church.

#### *Church of Christ*

Arnold, T. N.E.V. Church.  
 Cockroft, D. A. South Dunedin Church.  
 Griffith, S. G. Great King Street Church.  
 McCallum, P. D. Great King Street Church.  
 Watt, C. Roslyn Church.

#### *Congregationalist*

Ashford, W. J. St. Clair Church.  
 Grant, W. M. Port Chalmers Church.  
 Heighway, G. Great King Street Church.  
 Sauders, W. Moray Place Church.  
 Wallace, A. H. Leith Street Church.



*Methodist*

Allen, Alex. Caversham Church.  
Blair, C. Mosgiel Church.  
Burnet, Oswald. Mosgiel Church.  
Drake, E. Anderson's Bay Church, Broad Bay Church, Caversham Church and Kew Church.  
Eaton, Clarence. Central Mission and Octagon Hall.  
Fairclough, P.W. Trinity Church.  
Frost, F. Abbotsford Church.  
Gordon, Aldwyn Remington. Glenaven Church N.E.V. and Ravensbourne.  
Greenslade, William. Mornington Church.  
Griffith, S. Caversham. Dundas Street Church and Glenaven Church North East Valley.  
Hay, William Arthur. Trinity Church.  
Hocking, W. H. St. Kilda Church.  
Hopper, Arthur. St. Kilda Church.  
Marshall, G. T. Port Chalmers.  
Nelson, John R. Trinity Church.  
Newbold, Thomas Walter. Trinity Church.  
Oxbrown, Walter. Dundas Street Church.  
Peryman, Samuel H. D. Port Chalmers.  
Pinfold, James Thomas. Mosgiel Church and Roslyn Church.  
Pybus, T. Arthur. Roslyn Church.  
Raine, Robert. Cargill Road Church.  
Read, Frederick T. Cargill Road Church.  
Richards, H. L. Dundas Street Church.  
Seamer, A. J. St. Kilda Church.  
Slade, W. Octagon Hall.  
Vealie, T. W. Mornington Church.  
Wesley-Bratt. Dundas Street Church and Glenaven Church North East Valley.

*Salvation Army*

Bracegirdle, C. Captain, North Dunedin.  
Charker, A. H. Adjutant, Divisional Young Peoples' Secretary.  
Colvin, Alex. Major, Chief Officer Dunedin Corps.  
Dewe, B. Captain, North Dunedin.  
Dixon, J. R. Adjutant, Dowling Street Barracks.  
Giles, J. A. Adjutant and Chancellor.  
Gunn, D. A. Major and Divisional Commander.  
Hanks, B. Captain, North Dunedin.  
Hultquist, J. Adjutant, South Dunedin.  
Inwood, E. J. Commandant and Secretary.  
Lamberton, J. Ensign, South Dunedin.  
Macauley, Donald. Divisional Secretary.  
McKenzie, H. Captain, South Dunedin.  
Middlemiss, W. G. Adjutant, Dowling Street Barracks.  
Rixon, C. M. Ensign, North Dunedin.  
Simpson, R. Adjutant, Dowling Street Barracks.  
Smith, N. Adjutant, Dowling Street Barracks.  
Toomer, J. J. Major, Chief Officer Dunedin Corps.  
Tyson, J. Captain, Roslyn.

## Appendix 2: Parishes and Congregations in Dunedin

The worship centres listed below were active during World War One in the geographical area encompassing Dunedin City and the boroughs and counties of Green Island, Mosgiel, Otago Peninsula, Waikouaiti and West Harbour.

Note: not all worship centres were parishes in their own right, with some parishes having two or more worship centres spread over several geographical areas.

### **Anglican**

All Saints' North Dunedin  
Holy Cross St. Kilda  
Holy Innocents Woodhaugh  
Holy Trinity Port Chalmers  
Hui Te Rangiora Puketeraki  
Selwyn College  
St. Andrew's Ravensbourne  
St. Barnabas Warrington  
St. John's Roslyn  
St. John's Waikouaiti  
St. Luke's Mosgiel  
St. Mark's Green Island  
St. Martin's North East Valley  
St. Mary's Mornington  
St. Mary's Portobello  
St. Matthew's  
St. Michael's and All Angels Andersons Bay  
St. Paul's Cathedral  
St. Peter's Caversham

### *Anglican Church Extensions*

Church of the Good Shepherd Wakari

### **Presbyterian**

Anderson's Bay  
Blueskin and Merton  
Caversham  
Chalmers  
Chinese Presbyterian Church  
Fairfield  
First Church  
Green Island  
Kaikorai  
Kensington Mission  
Knox Church  
Knox College and Theological Hall (Ross Chapel)  
Maori Hill  
Mornington

Mosgiel  
Musselburgh  
North Dunedin (St. Stephen's)  
North East Valley (St. David's)  
Opoho extension  
Otago Peninsula  
Port Chalmers (Iona)  
Ravensbourne (St. Andrew's)  
Roslyn  
Sawyers Bay  
Seacliff  
St. Andrew's (Dunedin City)  
St. Clair  
St. Leonards  
South Dunedin (St. James)  
Taieri, East  
Taieri, North  
Waikouaiti

*Presbyterian Missions*

Brockville Sunday School and Mission  
Gladstone  
Russell Street  
Tomahawk  
Wakari  
Walker Street

**Roman Catholic**

Church of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour, Seacliff  
Church of St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Leonards/Burkes  
Church of St. Mary of the Immaculate Conception Mosgiel  
Holy Cross College Mosgiel  
Sacred Heart North East Valley  
St. Anne's Waikouaiti  
St. Brigid's Waitati  
St. Francis Xavier's Mornington  
St. Joseph's Cathedral  
St. Mary's Kaikorai  
St. Mary Star of the Sea Port Chalmers  
St. Patrick's South Dunedin

**Other Christian Denominations**

*Baptist*

Caversham  
Hanover Street  
Maori Hill  
Mornington  
Mosgiel

North East Valley  
Roslyn  
South Dunedin

*Brethren*

Kaikorai Gospel Hall  
King Edward Street Gospel Hall  
Mair Street Gospel Hall  
Moray Place Gospel Hall  
Mosgiel Gospel Hall  
Playfair Street Gospel Hall  
York Place Gospel Hall

*Church of Christ*

Burnside  
Morningside  
North East Valley  
Roslyn  
South Dunedin  
Tabernacle (Great King Street)

*Congregationalist*

Great King Street  
Moray Place  
Leith Street  
Port Chalmers  
Ravensbourne  
St. Clair

*Methodist*

Abbotsford  
Andersons Bay  
Belleknowes  
Broad Bay  
Cargill Road  
Caversham  
Central Mission and Octagon Hall  
City Road Mission  
Dundas Street  
Fairfield  
Maori Hill  
Morningside  
Mosgiel  
N.E.V. (Glenaven)  
Otago Peninsula  
Port Chalmers  
Ravensbourne  
Roslyn

Sawyers Bay  
St. Kilda  
Trinity  
Waikouaiti  
Waitati  
Woodhaugh

*Salvation Army*

Dowling Street Fortress  
North Dunedin Barracks  
Port Chalmers Barracks  
Roslyn Barracks  
South Dunedin Barracks

*Others*

Catholic Apostolic Church  
Evangelistic Church of Christ  
Hanover Hall (Exclusive Brethren)