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ERRATA

<u>Page</u>	<u>Line</u>	<u>Should Read</u>
24	Fn. 4	but never to justify, some of the excesses of men who had for long years been the helpless victims of oppression - has exposed me to misunderstanding, of course.'
47	29-31	on finding such 'immoral' behaviour among the Tabernacle youth. ⁴⁶ The Young Men's Committee
57	13	Presbyterian Theological Hall, Knox College
63	18	the Principal of the Theological Hall, Knox College
73	12	Presbyterian Theological Hall, North felt that recent
74	10	at the Theological Hall, Knox College, but these had proved to be
77	Fn. 3	1928), p.354
81	Fn. 49	April 1929
82	Fn. 56	31 July 1929
88	Fn.114	to a posttribulation premillennial point of view
89	Fn. 126	of the Theological Hall, Knox College, for
104	2	Its
105	Fn. 15	<i>Baptist</i> , vol.42 no.461 (July 1926)
107	Add 11-12	Minute Book of Members' Meetings 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1929.
109	Add 39-41	Davidson, Allan K., "A Protesting Presbyterian: the Rev. P.B. Fraser, defender of the faith", <i>Proceedings of International Religious Studies Conference</i> , 22-25 August, 1983, Central Institute of Technology, Heretaunga, New Zealand, pp.166-94.
110	Add 44-46	Marsden, George M., "Defining fundamentalism", <i>Christian Scholars Review</i> , vol.1 no.2 (Winter 1971), pp.141-51.

JOSEPH W. KEMP
AND THE IMPACT OF
AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISM IN NEW ZEALAND

A directed study
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree

of

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CONTENTS

	page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ii
CONTENTS	iii
GLOSSARY	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter 1 THE FORMATION OF JOSEPH KEMP'S REVIVALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM	7
Chapter 2 THE IMPACT OF JOSEPH KEMP'S AMERICAN FUNDA- MENTALISM, c.1920 to c.1933	35
Chapter 3 KEMP'S FUNDAMENTALISM: A TWO-EDGED SWORD	95
BIBLIOGRAPHY	107

GLOSSARY

ADIAPHORA - things indifferent; matters not regarded as essential to faith and therefore permissible. The more rigid forms of Protestantism tend to hold that everything not explicitly permitted in scripture is forbidden, while other more accommodating forms regard many traditional practices as *adiaphora*.

BIBLICAL INERRANCY - the belief that the words, and not just the thoughts, of the biblical writers were inspired. The Bible is therefore deemed to be free of all error, whether of doctrines, fact, or precept. Princeton theology of the late nineteenth century fused inspiration and inerrancy in such a way that any demonstration of error in the Bible threatened both belief in the veracity of scripture and the authenticity of the Christian faith itself. Princeton doctrines of inerrancy regarded scripture as an infallible representation of the past, owing to their basis in the pre-Kantian and pre-Darwinian epistemologies of Bacon and Newton. Such doctrines played a significant role in the fundamentalist/modernist controversies.

BIBLIOLATRY - book-worship or Bible-worship. A pejorative term for theories of inspiration which place such emphasis on the authority of scripture (including inerrancy theories) that human reason is subjugated to the conclusions of literal interpretation.

DISPENSATIONALISM - dispensationalism finds in the biblical record evidence that God deals differently with human beings during successive eras of biblical history. Each dispensation brings a new test of 'the natural man', who inevitably fails each test, resulting in judgement and catastrophe. Dispensationalism was popularized by the Scofield Reference Bible, published in 1909. C.I. Scofield's seven-fold dispensational scheme became a kind of orthodoxy. His seven dispensations were: Innocence (before the Fall), Conscience (from the Fall to the flood), Human Government (ending with Babel, but still continuing for contemporary Gentile nations), Promise (from Abraham to Moses), Law (ending in the death of Christ), Grace (from the cross to a period of great tribulation, followed immediately by Christ's return to earth and victory at Armageddon), and the Kingdom (personal reign of Christ for a millenium, ending with Satan 'loosed for a little season' but quickly defeated. The close of the Millenium ushers in the 'new heavens and new earth' of eternity).

DISPENSATIONAL PREMILLENIALISM - a species of premillennialism which sees the second coming of Christ as a necessary response to the failure of human beings to meet the vital test of the last dispensation of human history. While all dispensationalists are, by definition, premillennialists, not every premillennialist is a dispensationalist. Dispensational premillennialism is a worldview of

even greater pessimism than premillennialism, since it amplifies human failure in successive phases right throughout history.

ESCHATOLOGICAL - concerning the theology of the 'last things' at the end of human history. Eschatology speculates on the second coming of Christ, the final judgement and eternal fate of humanity.

EVANGELICALISM - non-sacerdotal Protestantism committed to the historic Protestant understanding of 'the evangel', i.e. the preaching of the gospel. Evangelicals uphold the sole authority of scripture, denying the authority of any church to impose its own interpretation upon the individual. They emphasise personal commitment, and believe in: the near return of Christ to redeem the elect; the supreme importance of preaching, and the necessity of missionary endeavour to bring the evangel to all ethnic groups. Evangelicals reject the doctrines of Baptismal regeneration and the Eucharistic sacrifice, and are suspicious of Roman Catholicism and High Church Anglicanism. Conservative evangelicals in the early twentieth century refused to accommodate Protestant orthodoxy to liberal theology.

FUNDAMENTALISM - a militantly anti-modernist theological movement born in 1920 in the United States of America, characterised by exclusivistic doctrinal vigilance, opposition to liberal theology, anti-evolutionism, revivalism, premillennialism, biblical literalism, individual moral purity, separateness of the church from the world, and anti-worldly attitudes. Fundamentalism acts as an extreme right wing of conservative evangelicalism.

HERMENEUTICAL - pertaining to the art or science of the interpretation of scripture.

HIGHER CRITICISM - the critical study of the literary methods and sources used by biblical writers. The use by scholars of the tools of literary analysis; archaeological discoveries and comparative linguistics in the nineteenth century to gain a better understanding of the Old and New Testaments created a revolution in thought from a fixed conception of scripture to a naturalistic explanation. The term was first used in 1881 to describe the discipline of biblical criticism pioneered earlier that century.

MILLENIALISM/MILLENARIANISM - the belief in the coming of the millenium, a thousand year reign of Christ and the redeemed on earth in the future. Millennialism is based on Jewish apocalyptic speculation and a literal interpretation of Revelation 20:1-7. Modern critical theologians reject such speculation, leaving millennialism to be expounded by literalists and adventists.

MODERNISM - a term first applied at the start of the twentieth century to a movement within Roman Catholicism, which aimed to bring the tradition of Catholic belief into closer relation with the modern outlook in philosophy, history, biblical criticism and social

concepts. Modernism refers generally to a subspecies of liberal theology, which stresses the idea that God is immanent in human cultural development and revealed through it, with the corollary that human society is moving towards the realization of the Kingdom of God. Modernists mediated between Christianity and the modern cultural, scientific and intellectual achievements by incorporating many of both the assumptions and conclusions of those achievements into Christianity.

POSTMILLENNIALISM - Postmillennialists saw the prophecies in the book of Revelation concerning the defeat of the anti-Christ being fulfilled in the present age, clearing the way for a golden age of social reform, an end to injustice and oppression, and revolutionary innovations in science, technology and learning. God's grace is seen to operate through slow evolutionary processes, culminating in a millenium of peace and prosperity. Postmillennialists believe that the millenium will occur on an international basis under perfected human leaders.

PREMILLENNIALISM - Premillennialists believe that a future millenium of blessedness will be initiated only as a result of the second coming of Christ. The world becomes so corrupt and sinful that God sends Christ in an imminent, apocalyptic second coming to bring an end to all human history. Based on a literal interpretation of Revelation 20:1-10, premillennialism holds that on Christ's return the dead will be raised, believers still alive will be 'raptured' or 'caught up' to meet Christ in the air, to reign with Christ for a thousand years. After this time, it is believed that Satan will be allowed a brief period of activity, brought to an end by the Last Judgement. This entails a pessimistic view of the power of human beings to bring about lasting social reform or to usher in a golden age of justice on earth.

PROTO-FUNDAMENTALISM - The body of 'fundamentalist' theological concerns evident in the decades immediately prior to the formal advent of the fundamentalist movement in 1920. Any unqualified use of the term 'fundamentalist' before 1920 is anachronistic, since it does not acknowledge sufficiently the transformation of proto-fundamentalist concerns into a fully-fledged theological movement during the cultural crisis of the immediate postwar period in the United States of America.

REVIVALISM - A broad popular religious movement based on a belief in the necessity of spiritual revivals and mass evangelism to enliven and enlarge the membership of churches. Revivalism places great importance on earnest corporate prayer, soul-stirring music and urgent appeals for salvation. The spiritual and psychological function of revivalism is to rescue souls and bring faith and hope to an uncertain world. Revivalistic activity may result in the creation of new forms of ecclesiastical organisation and worship to meet needs overlooked by the established churches.

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary rise of politically-active fundamentalism within conservative Christianity in New Zealand has left many observers puzzled. Although the New Zealand fundamentalist action group, the Coalition of Concerned Citizens, has denied direct links with the American 'Moral Majority', it is clear that the contemporary fundamentalist resurgence in New Zealand owes much to politico-religious movements in the United States of America. Some Christians who see fundamentalism as a distortion of the Christian faith have been quick to point out this American connection. In so doing, they implicitly reject the movement as being alien to more recent developments and attempts to create a distinctly indigenous theology in New Zealand. Can fundamentalism be ejected thus as a foreign body?

While not intending to diminish the social and political significance of the contemporary fundamentalist resurgence, it must be remembered that in the first instance fundamentalism emerged in America in the 1920's primarily as a militantly anti-modernist religious movement.¹ Its main concerns were theological, with political concerns being secondary.² Conservative Baptists and Presbyterians argued that 'modernist' attempts to re-interpret the traditional teachings of the Christian faith in response to modern developments in science, philosophy, and biblical criticism had crossed the boundary between orthodoxy and heterodoxy.

The few scholars in New Zealand who have attempted to understand the contemporary fundamentalist resurgence have limited themselves, in the main, to sociological approaches. Some observers have been surprised to learn that fundamentalism was originally a religious movement, aimed not against the long arm of the State or a nebulous 'secular humanism', but against fellow Christians of liberal tendencies. Although scholarly studies of fundamentalism have

abounded in the United States for at least two decades,³ there has, as yet, been no recognition by historians that in New Zealand fundamentalism is a genuine expression of religious aspirations within conservative evangelical Protestantism. No study has posed the question whether it is valid to describe any sections of New Zealand Protestantism as 'fundamentalist', or to delineate the sense in which this term may be used even if in a qualified manner. Because 'fundamentalist' has become a pejorative term for biblical literalism, some studies have used the term in a misleading and anachronistic manner.⁴

In New Zealand, as in Australia, there were no serious fundamentalist/modernist controversies in the 1920's.⁵ There was no concerted attempt to drive modernists from positions of leadership within their various denominations. Many important theological distinctions between liberals and conservatives, however, were not only clearly drawn in the 1920's, but resulted in the formation of new specifically fundamentalist Christian organisations. The schism between university students in New Zealand belonging either to the Student Christian Movement or to the conservative Evangelical Unions of the Intervarsity Fellowship has its origins in the closing years of the decade.⁶

Theological disputes in New Zealand in the nineteenth century were antipodean echoes of disputes in Europe and England. It would seem probable, therefore, that American fundamentalism would have very little impact on conservative Christians in New Zealand in the 1920's. This would have been the case, had it not been for the attempts by the largest Baptist church in the dominion to secure an internationally recognized preacher. This man, the Rev. Joseph William Kemp (1872-1933), changed the face of conservative evangelical Protestantism in New Zealand. Kemp became the minister of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle in 1920 after a pastoral career in Scotland and New York. It was Kemp who, more than any other ordained minister, mediated American fundamentalist concerns to a small but significant proportion of conservative Protestants in New Zealand. Through Kemp, New Zealand

fundamentalism came to depend more on its American counterparts for theological justification, than reflect a continuation of nineteenth century attempts to defend Protestant orthodoxy in New Zealand. Although far from being an extreme fundamentalist, Kemp is the influential religious figure of the 1920's who most nearly exemplifies consistent fundamentalism in its militant and separatist form in New Zealand.

This study does not purport to be a biographical study of Joseph William Kemp in the usual sense. It does not raise questions of motivation or try to provide an assessment of Kemp's character as a human being. Geoff Pound has provided a helpful portrait of Kemp's personality, and I do not intend to comment on his conclusions in this matter.⁷ Far more important for the purposes of this study are Kemp's theological concerns and the relationships between those concerns and the differing social contexts of his various pastorates. Kemp's impact on certain sections of New Zealand society cannot be explained adequately by a purely secular historical framework. While those from more liberal Christian traditions might pass over Kemp's views as obscurantist and even anachronistic, Kemp's theological concerns cannot be discarded so lightly. His adoption of a premillennialist stand in matters of eschatology had far-reaching effects on the way Christians lived the society of their day.⁸ Likewise, postmillennialists were driven by their theological position to a radically different attitude towards contemporary culture and the prospect of human progress. In this study, theology and social history become intertwined as the complexity and subtlety of Kemp's intellectual basis are explored.

This study intends to demonstrate that Kemp was the prime interpreter of American fundamentalism in New Zealand in the 1920's. Furthermore, his fundamentalist impact in various spheres of influence was greater than that of any other leading fundamentalist figure. The study challenges the accepted evangelical explanation that Kemp's revivalism accounts for his impact. An examination of the complex interrelationship between Kemp's revivalism and his militantly anti-

modernist fundamentalism will show that Kemp used his revivalism to build the base from which he could exercise fundamentalist leadership. Kemp's fundamentalism has been overlooked by those who would wish to affirm his British conservative evangelicalism to the exclusion of his American fundamentalism. Kemp's failure to transform his New York congregations along revivalistic lines accounts, in part, for the failure of conservative evangelical writers to give Kemp's American experiences due emphasis.

In Chapter One the formation of Kemp's revivalism and fundamentalism is discussed. The differing philosophical bases of fundamentalism and modernism will be emphasised. The second chapter discusses Kemp's role as the prime interpreter of American fundamentalism in New Zealand. It demonstrates that Kemp can be accurately described as a militant anti-modernist. This chapter gives reasons for the failure of fundamentalist leaders like Kemp to create in New Zealand a fundamentalist/modernist controversy, or to split Protestant denominations institutionally along conservative/liberal lines. The final evaluative chapter discusses the impact of Kemp's fundamentalism on popular piety, drawing on oral testimony by both lay people and ordained ministers. It shows that Kemp's fundamentalism had a double-edged impact, both constructive and destructive.

This study has been based mainly on primary sources. There are, as yet, no theological studies of New Zealand fundamentalism. Various works on conservative evangelicalism have provided helpful points of comparison. Kemp's ministries in Scotland and America have been studied through secondary sources, which include Winnie Kemp's 1936 biography.⁹ A larger academic study could have examined the formation of Kemp's proto-fundamentalism in America in greater depth by analysing Kemp's sermons held in American archives. Kemp's continuing relationships with the leaders of the fundamentalist movement of the 1920's could be supported by research overseas. Access has not been granted to the curriculum materials and minutes of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute.¹⁰ It has not been possible, therefore, to examine in detail the fundamentalist teaching given

hundreds of its students. Nevertheless, a wealth of primary source material has allowed an analysis of Kemp's fundamentalism and provided an adequate basis for interpretation. It is hoped that this study will make one small contribution to a much neglected area of New Zealand historiography: religious history written from a critical yet sympathetic perspective, which takes account of both the complexity of theological ideas and of the complex interrelationships between church and society.

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 In contrast to historians who reduced fundamentalism to economic, regional, political, psychological, or sociological categories, Ernest R. Sandeen was one of the first historians to take seriously the theological concerns of the fundamentalist movement. He stipulated twin roots for the movement in nineteenth century Princeton theology and in the millenarian movement. See *The Roots of Fundamentalism, British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1970. Cited hereafter as *Roots*.
- 2 See Paul A. Carter, "The fundamentalist defence of the faith", in *Change and continuity in twentieth-century America: the 1920's*, edited by John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner and David Brody, Ohio State University Press, 1968, pp.179-214, for a discussion of the political dimensions of early fundamentalism.
- 3 See William E. Ellis, "Evolution, fundamentalism, and the historians: an historiographic review", *The Historian*, vol.44 no.1 (Nov 1981), pp.15-35.
- 4 Richard L. Roberts' study has used the term anachronistically to refer to Dwight L. Moody's theology: 'This revival, led by such men as the American evangelist D.L. Moody, was fundamentalist and individualistic ... evangelical Christians from different backgrounds banded together in evangelical and fundamentalist fellowships...'. See Roberts, 'The growth of interdenominational mission societies in New Zealand', research essay, University of Auckland, 1977, pp.2-3. Moody died in fact in 1899, more than twenty years before the start of the fundamentalist movement. One tribute saw him as being in a position to play a mediating role between the warring theological factions of the 1920's. See James F. Findlay, jun., *Dwight L. Moody, American evangelist, 1837-1899*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1969, p.413.
- 5 See David Parker, 'Fundamentalism and conservative Protestantism in Australia, 1920-1980', Ph.D. thesis, the University of Queensland, 1982.
- 6 See P.E. Sutton, 'The New Zealand Student Christian Movement, 1896-1936', M.A. history thesis, Canterbury University College, 1946, pp.72-80, on the decision of Dr W.H. Pettit to break away from the Auckland S.C.M. after John R. Mott's visit to New Zealand in 1926. See also Peter J. Lineham, 'Evangelical Witness at Canterbury University; a history of the EU/CU 1930-1974', unpublished typescript, 1974, pp.1-2.
- 7 See Geoffrey R. Pound, 'Rev. Joseph William Kemp and the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle 1920-1933', M.A. research essay, University of Auckland, 1978.
- 8 For this and all subsequent technical theological terms, see glossary.

- 9 Kemp, Winnie, *Joseph W. Kemp, the record of a Spirit-filled life*, London, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, [1936].
- 10 The archives of the Bible College of New Zealand (formerly the New Zealand Bible Training Institute) have been closed in 1986, because an archives policy has not yet been formulated and adopted.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FORMATION OF JOSEPH KEMP'S REVIVALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Shortly after the end of the First World War the minister of the largest Baptist church in New Zealand tendered his resignation 'with deep reluctance'.¹ After eleven-and-a-half years of active ministry at the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle church, the Rev. R.H. Knowles Kempton acknowledged that tensions within his own congregation and broad social changes in Auckland had contributed to this decision. The general shift of population to the suburbs made regular attendance more difficult at such an inner-city church on Queen Street. Kempton lacked continuous support from 'representative and reliable members', whenever they were away for months at a time on business. A new competitive religious environment had also to be contended with, as young people found the evening services at theatres and mission halls more appealing.² Kempton had no desire to outstay his usefulness. While the congregation had greatly appreciated his ministry of consolation throughout the war, some were alienated by his subsequent outspokenness on the need for social reform.³ At an evening service in March 1919, Kempton tried to speak fairly about 'the other side' of Bolshevism, pointing out what was Christian in its ideals.⁴ At the same time he disassociated himself from the excesses of those who had resorted to 'terrorism' as a consequence of the social conditions endured prior to the Russian Revolution of 1917. His views were very well received at an extended aftermeeting, attended by four hundred of the general public, many of them members of the Labour Party.⁵ Middle-class Tabernacle members did not wish to gainsay Kempton's new-found appeal to the working class, but they felt personally attacked by the implicit criticism of their capitalism. His courageous attempt to grapple with contentious public issues was not appreciated by the majority of the Tabernacle congregation. The alienation of the pastor from his people precipitated his resignation and led to his acceptance of a call to Hanover Street Baptist church in Dunedin.⁶

Tabernacle members decided to follow their tradition of calling a gifted preacher from Britain. The church was proud of its heritage of evangelical preachers, foremost among them the Rev. Thomas Spurgeon, one of the twin sons of the great Victorian preacher, the Rev. Charles Haddon Spurgeon.⁷ At first the name of the Rev. R.S. Gray, former minister of Hanover Street Baptist church, had been considered, but he was not available.⁸ Kempton, himself British, knew all three men on the final shortlist. In a confidential reference he assured Tabernacle officers that the Rev. Harry J. Horn of Peckham, the Rev. W. Graham Scroggie of Charlotte Chapel, Edinburgh, and the Rev. Joseph W. Kemp were all 'spiritual men', none representing any radical new departure.⁹ While the Rev. Horn could not consider a call, Scroggie recommended his predecessor at Charlotte Chapel, the Rev. Joseph W. Kemp. At a special meeting of one hundred Tabernacle members, the chairman, F.N. Andrews, emphasised Kemp's qualifications. He had held 'important churches in Edinburgh and New York, who was a pastor, preacher and Bible student of foremost rank, a Keswick speaker, and one whose ministry especially in Edinburgh, had been owned of God in a large accession of membership and by a period of true revival.'¹⁰ He seemed to be singularly equipped for the task of revitalising the Tabernacle. He could be counted on to provide a sound biblical ministry. Tabernacle members also believed that, in contrast to Kempton, Joseph Kemp would avoid political controversy.¹¹ The decision to call Kemp was unanimous. Before accepting this invitation, Kemp requested clarification of a number of points concerning matters both practical and theological. He was anxious to know the membership numbers and travelling expenses. More important to Kemp, however, was the Tabernacle's theological viewpoint and attitude towards aggressive evangelism and a biblical ministry.¹²

Kemp's expectations for ministry in New Zealand were shaped by his previous ministry in both the United Kingdom and in the United States of America. In particular, his experience of emergent or proto-fundamentalism during his two New York pastorates placed him in a unique position on coming to New Zealand. His active involvement in prophetic conferences in America brought him into direct contact with many of those outstanding premillennialists who later became leaders

within the fundamentalist movement of the 1920's. The First World War confirmed Kemp's pessimistic view of the possibility of human progress. It also provided convincing proof that the optimistic liberals were wrong. In the immediate postwar period Kemp shared with a large number of conservative evangelical Christians an overwhelming sense of cultural crisis. This alarm at modern trends, more than any other factor, created the new militant movement against modernism and liberal theology called fundamentalism. It is against this background that Kemp's ministry in New Zealand (1920-1933) must be considered.

Born in Hull, Yorkshire, in 1872 and orphaned at nine years of age, Joseph Kemp's religious pilgrimage had been strongly influenced by the revivalist atmosphere of the late nineteenth century. While not converted on the 'sawdust trail' through the tent mission of a popular revivalistic itinerant evangelist, Kemp could, nonetheless, point later to a precisely dateable conversion experience as a fourteen-year-old.¹³ The advice given Kemp as a page-boy anticipated certain aspects of late Victorian revivalism. J.H. Russell, who was instrumental in preparing Kemp for his conversion, exhorted him to read his Bible every day and to remember 'when you read it, it is God's voice speaking to you. Believe *every word of it*. If you ever meet people who tell you it is not true, don't listen to them, but believe it, although you do not understand it.'¹⁴ But the revivalism which proved to be such a formative influence on Kemp was known not only for its biblical literalism. At one extreme at least, revivalism became 'in the late Victorian period an aspect of that anti-modernist, anti-materialist, anti-democratic and often anti-intellectual movement which had secular as well as religious forms, and which might in religious terms be labelled the cult of "Christ against Western culture."¹⁵ Kemp was naturally predisposed to such revivalism through the experiences of his childhood. The damage to the Kems' family life through alcoholism was a solemn reminder of the innate sinfulness of human beings.¹⁶ The insecurity of his years as an orphan also created a longing for a faith unambiguous in its import.

Joseph Kemp felt equipped for Christian ministry only after an intense second experience. Stimulated by the Keswick teachings of J.M. Scroggie, in particular his address *Be ye Separate*, Kemp perceived himself as moving from the state of being a 'carnal Christian' to a 'spiritual' one, through a personal act of 'consecration' in which he was 'filled with the Spirit'.¹⁷ By this time Keswick teachings had already played an important role in the formation of the transatlantic revivalism that provided the theological and institutional basis of much of the later fundamentalist movement.¹⁸ Kemp's opportunities for ministry came in the form of Bible Class teaching and evangelistic preaching with the Prospect Street Presbyterian church in Hull.¹⁹

Despite his limited educational opportunities as an orphan, Kemp was able to undertake a full-time course of biblical instruction at the Glasgow Bible Training Institute (B.T.I.) from September 1893 to June 1895.²⁰ This was made possible through the sponsorship of an elder from the Prospect Street Presbyterian church. The Glasgow B.T.I. had been established by the Glasgow United Evangelistic Association, in order to equip lay people for evangelistic and missionary work, after the manner of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago.²¹ Formed in 1874, this association owed its existence to a mission conducted in 1873 by the American revivalists, Moody and Sankey. This highly significant mission had ushered in a new era of transatlantic revivalism on British soil. During Kemp's youth Moody built up a new revivalist empire, the base from which much of the militantly anti-modernist fundamentalist movement was to grow. Kemp's studies at the Glasgow B.T.I. provided a thorough schooling in the transatlantic revivalism, which was to become the chief hallmark of his later ordained ministry in Scotland.

The official curriculum studied by Kemp at the Glasgow B.T.I. gives little indication of the institute's theological tone.²² If influenced specifically by Moody, the B.T.I. would have reflected his soul-rescuing, culture-denying and individualistic Christianity.²³ It also looked forward to the theological debates in the 1920's between

fundamentalist 'defenders of the faith' and modernists. The Glasgow B.T.I. and similar revivalist organisations clearly anticipated the later debates, in that the revivalists 'always allegedly stood for a religious tradition said to be in danger, for a Holy Book in which, it was claimed, almost no one else truly believed; for the rejected layman against the powerful but unconverted cleric.'²⁴ Kemp's instructors at this interdenominational institute avoided contentious doctrines and did not linger on *adiaphora*. Kemp's disquiet at the peremptory treatment accorded the subject of baptism, however, became a factor in his decision to be baptised by immersion as a believer in June 1895, after graduating with a Diploma of Merit of the first grade. Membership of the Cambridge Street Baptist church in Glasgow followed.²⁵

For two years after graduation, Kemp and fellow student, Peter M'Rostie, were engaged in a variety of itinerant revivalistic work. A Cumnock newspaper reported that the 'Moody and Sankey' style partnership produced no innovation in doctrine and was sound theologically.²⁶ The transatlantic nature of Kemp's revivalism was confirmed in his first pastorate at Kelso Baptist Chapel, where a newly-formed Christian Endeavour Society flourished.²⁷

Kemp's training for leadership in Baptist ministry did not take place at a denominational college. This accounts in part for certain doctrinal emphases evident throughout his ordained ministry, in particular his espousal of premillennialism and dispensationalism.²⁸ These emphases were to place Kemp outside the mainstream of Baptist thought in both the British Isles and in New Zealand. The Rev. Joseph Kemp's Kelso pastorate, from 1897 to 1898, ²⁹ gives the first indication of his interest in premillennialism. This was a minority viewpoint against the background of the dominant postmillennialism of the nineteenth century.³⁰ Those Protestants who became increasingly disillusioned, however, with modern trends found a certain intellectual attraction in the cultural pessimism of the premillennialists. Kemp's premillennialism underwent further refinement as he absorbed the dispensationalism pioneered earlier in the century by the gifted Brethren teacher, John Nelson Darby.³¹ At his next

pastorate in Hawick (1898-1902), Kemp used a calico chart to instruct his congregation about 'the different dispensations from the patriarchal age to the present age of grace'.³² In his treatment of the Bible as a prophetic puzzle to be solved, Kemp showed his strong disagreement with the liberals, who viewed Christianity and the Bible through the lens of cultural development. Kemp imposed seven dispensations on the past, present and future, in meta-historical manner. He combined a pessimistic view of the world's future with an interventionist eschatology, hoping in the imminent and apocalyptic second coming of Christ to usher in the millenium. By this time he was clearly a dispensational premillennialist, as were many of the first fundamentalists.³³ As modernism grew in the early twentieth century, Kemp's dispensationalism became increasingly important, because it provided a rationale for believing in the demise of the institutional church.³⁴ One main biblical legacy of dispensationalism was to be seen in fundamentalism's adoption of its hermeneutical principle of 'literal where possible'. Kemp's espousal of dispensational premillennialism was to have even greater significance in the years immediately following the First World War. In his future ministry in New Zealand Kemp would continue to instruct his congregations in the *minutiae* of dispensationalism. Such teaching accounted for the 'great falling away' from the churches and encouraged the faithful to separate themselves from all forms of 'worldliness'.

Kemp's reputation as a successful revivalistic preacher was established beyond any doubt at Charlotte Chapel, Edinburgh, during his ministry from 1902 to 1915.³⁵ Commencing this pastorate at thirty years of age, Kemp gave Charlotte Chapel his best years of health. He soon observed the piety of those swept up in the 1904 Welsh revival and desired to see similar fervour back at Charlotte Chapel.³⁶ A simple formula of prayer and Bible study won out over the temptation to undertake university study.³⁷ Kemp read constantly the sermons of the theologically-combative Charles Haddon Spurgeon.³⁸ A thousand people were converted during Kemp's second year of ministry, owing to the forcefulness of his preaching and the attractiveness of his revivalism. Kemp encouraged those of the Charlotte chapel

congregation who felt powerless in the face of difficult economic circumstances to have 'power with God' through all-night prayer meetings.³⁹ Typical revivalist taboos against novel-reading, dancing and theatre-going were in evidence.⁴⁰ By 1907 the former nominal church had become the largest Baptist church in Scotland. A new 'School of the Bible' provided a solid scriptural foundation for new converts. Two hundred-and-thirty people received Kemp's biblical instruction on a regular basis. This was later expanded to include a Bible Correspondence Course, for which Kemp became internationally famous.⁴¹ A pattern for Kemp's future ministry was established with the publication of a monthly magazine which contained extensive Bible study notes.

The Rev. Joseph Kemp was among the 200,000 or more leading ministers and laymen to receive a full set of *The Fundamentals* published from 1910 to 1915.⁴² The prewar years gave conservative evangelical Christians in America little cause to believe that the views expressed in *The Fundamentals* would come to represent, in the immediate postwar years, the battleground of a fully-fledged anti-modernist fundamentalist movement. Funded by two American oil tycoons, free copies of *The Fundamentals* were sent to every leading Christian figure in the English-speaking world.⁴³ The sixty-four American and British authors who contributed to the publication had revivalist concerns for evangelism and missionary work.⁴⁴ This interdenominational protest against modernism aimed to build and maintain alliances between conservative evangelical Christians of widely varying backgrounds. Although the evangelists and Bible teachers of the dispensational and Keswick movements predominated among the contributors of *The Fundamentals*, the concern of the editors for moderation was such that the doctrinal emphases of these two movements were virtually absent from the booklets. A generally reformed camp made up the coalition.⁴⁵

Kemp's exposure to the arguments in *The Fundamentals* defending traditional views of scripture alerted him to the allegedly 'insidious' effects of much modern biblical scholarship. A

significant number of the authors were alarmed at the destructive effects of the biblical criticism of the German scholars, Julius Wellhausen and Ferdinand Baur.⁴⁶ Biblical criticism constituted, for the more militant authors, a threat to the fundamentals of Christian belief greater than any other intellectual development of the nineteenth century. New naturalistic explanations of the origins of the scriptures had been part of a larger shift of focus of intellectual inquiry in the nineteenth century from questions of eternal truths to questions of origins, process and development. The use by scholars of the tools of literary analysis, archaeological discoveries and comparative linguistics to gain a better understanding of the Old and New Testaments created a revolution in thought from a fixed conception of scripture to a naturalistic explanation. This critical study of the literary methods and sources used by biblical writers, termed 'higher criticism', had become the most controversial intellectual issue in American Protestantism that century.⁴⁷ Together with the increasing impact of Darwinism, liberal theology, and the social gospel movement, higher criticism served to alert conservative Christians to a process they came to regard as compromise and apostasy from traditional Christian belief and the true teaching of the scriptures. The threat of higher criticism forced some conservatives to take a position akin to revived bibliolatry. *The Fundamentals* were distinguished, however, by their moderate tone and relative gentility. This was in part due to the conservatives' lack of dialogue with liberalism. Rather than criticising the philosophical pre-suppositions and theological bases of modernism, the writers of *The Fundamentals* simply sought to prove that given doctrines were biblical, primarily through the hermeneutical tool of proof-texting. Kemp's attacks on higher criticism in his later New Zealand ministry would draw substantially on these arguments, which he quickly mastered.

The revivalism and millennialism so important to Kemp were indispensable dimensions of the theological position enunciated in *The Fundamentals*. In addition, Kemp clearly shared with the writers of *The Fundamentals* a conviction about the necessity to counter the naturalistic arguments of the higher critics. Kemp did not resort,

however, to the hermeneutical tool of proof-texting to support his case against higher criticism. On the contrary, he attacked the naturalistic explanations of the liberals by adhering to a heightened supernaturalism in his interpretation of highly selective passages of scripture. In particular, Kemp's second book published during his Edinburgh ministry, *Outline Studies on the Tabernacle in the Wilderness*, drew on an article in *The Fundamentals* by Dr D. Heagle.⁴⁸ Kemp employed typological biblical interpretation to give a new spiritual meaning to the apparently meaningless details of the construction of the tabernacle. The alleged supernaturalism of Moses' tabernacle allowed 'no room for human wisdom' and was regarded by Kemp as a convincing case against unbelieving rationalism.⁴⁹

During his Edinburgh ministry Kemp's revivalism created opportunities for him to make contact with some of the men who were to become leaders of the fundamentalist movement in the 1920's. In July, 1907, he and his wife, Wilhemina, visited the United States and Canada for the first time and met the Rev. A.C. Dixon.⁵⁰ Two years before this pastor of the Moody Church, Chicago, was to edit the first five volumes of *The Fundamentals*, Kemp preached his own orthodoxy from Dixon's pulpit.⁵¹ The warm reception given Kemp's authoritative preaching style in America was a prelude of things to come. He also addressed some of the large summer Bible conferences, which had a strong premillennialist thrust.⁵² When Kemp returned home to Scotland, the greater international dimensions of his career became evident. A number of American proto-fundamentalists accepted his invitations to speak at a new series of monthly conferences. At the 1910 World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, Kemp met the man who later came to symbolise American fundamentalism, William Jennings Bryan.⁵³ Kemp's success at Charlotte Chapel was such that in 1915 he received a pastoral call to perform a similar act of revivalistic transformation across the Atlantic in New York.⁵⁴

Being no stranger to many of the American revivalists and premillennialists, Kemp assumed that his congregation at Calvary Baptist Chapel, New York, would be receptive to his tested

An artist's impression of Moses' Tabernacle, described in Exodus 26 and 27, from Kemp's book *Outline studies on the tabernacle in the wilderness*. Kemp regarded the minute details of construction, each with its own hidden spiritual meaning, as convincing evidence against the unbelieving 'rationalism' of the higher critics.

The TABERNACLE in the WILDERNESS

Exodus XXVI & XXVII

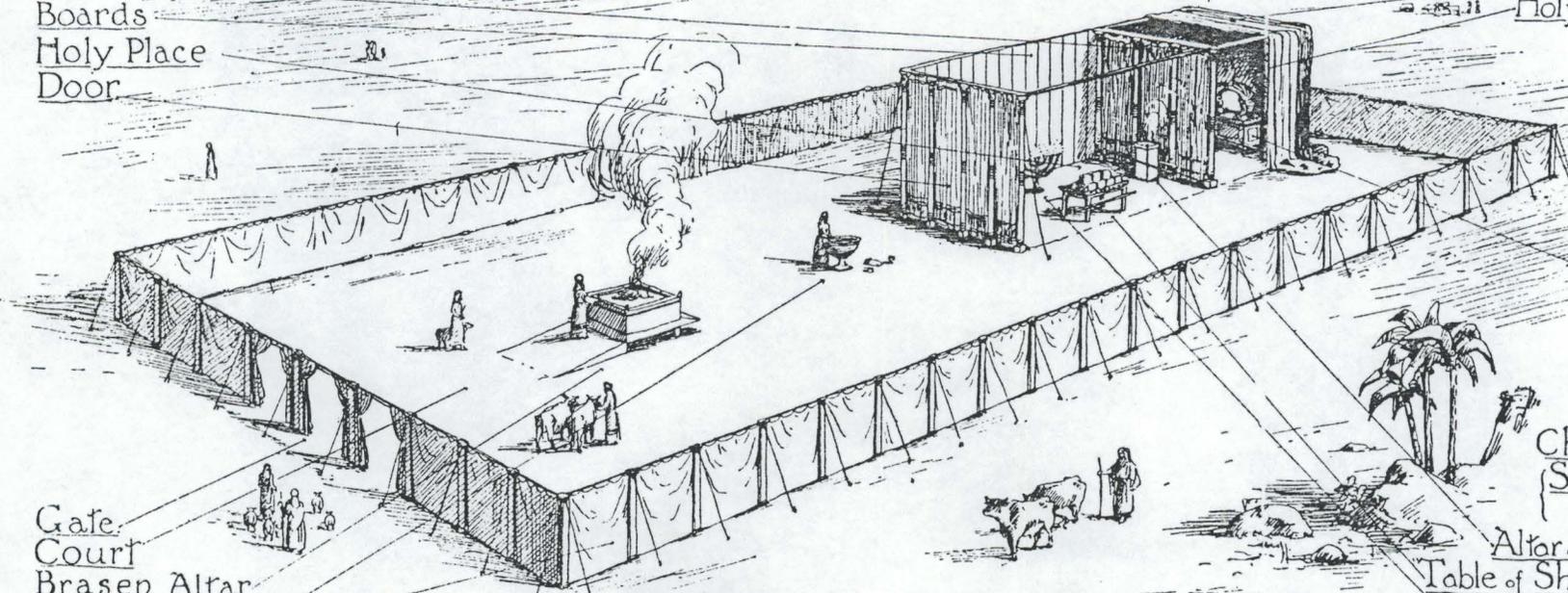
Published by JOSEPH W. KEMP, Charlotte Chapel, Edinburgh.



Encampment

Veil
Boards
Holy Place
Door

Coverings
Holy of Holies



Gate
Court
Brasen Altar
Laver & Foot
Hangings

Ark
{ Mercy
Seat
Cherubim
{ Shekinah
Glory
Altar of Incense
Table of Shewbread
Candlestick

Tow Cur 1909

revivalistic methods.⁵⁵ Within two months Sunday attendance had increased from a hundred to five hundred.⁵⁶ Kemp exercised additional ministries through an interdenominational School of Bible Study and through his Bible Correspondence Course, which continued from his new American base. A 'Mid-Week Bible Study School' attracted much public attention. Despite these successes, Kemp experienced the difficulties of a British minister in an American pulpit. He was fortunate enough to have a confidant in the famed fellow British minister, John Henry Jowett, who was pastor of the Fifth Ave Presbyterian church two blocks away. Kemp shared with Jowett a British distaste for the American practice of not purging church rolls.⁵⁷ Although Calvary Baptist church appeared to be outwardly healthy, Kemp had found artificially inflated membership statistics. Many 'members' on the roll could no longer be located, and Kemp described as 'ecclesiastical hypocrisy' the advertising of such figures.⁵⁸ A rigorous membership review could mean a loss of prestige. Church attendance was not an activity restricted to a small minority in American society, and Protestantism in New York was highly competitive business for any preacher in the marketplace. Kemp's logic persuaded most Calvary Baptist members to agree to the removal of a thousand names from the church rolls. Despite such acquiescence, a 'gruelling time' of internal strife followed, reinforced by the unrest experienced on America's imminent entrance into the war. Kemp's unpredictable state of health also heightened the congregation's sense of anxiety, and led ultimately to his resignation in February, 1917. Kemp's theological position in the Calvary pastorate anticipated that of his successor and owed little to that of his predecessor. While the Calvary Baptist congregation had been exposed to a mildly critical approach towards scripture at the end of the nineteenth century, members in the first years of the twenties saw their church transformed by Kemp's successor into an important fundamentalist centre.⁵⁹ His main successor at Calvary Baptist Chapel in 1918 was no other than the 'accusative fundamentalist', the Rev. John Roach Straton, who was to play a leading role in the fundamentalist/modernist controversies.⁶⁰

Kemp's next pastorate was at the New York Metropolitan Baptist Tabernacle, during which time he established the Metropolitan

Bible Training and Missionary Institute. In this he drew on his Scottish experience, an intriguing retransplantation of Moody's original conception. Kemp's standing was such that he was invited to become Superintendent of Men in the Moody Bible Institute.⁶¹ Kemp continued to preach at prophetic conferences. Through these he was able to deepen his friendships with premillennialists of like mind. Premillennialists had a new-found sense of the rightness of their cause in this immediate postwar period. The outbreak of the Great War had provided a powerful stimulus to their cultural pessimism. It also demolished the liberal dream of inevitable progress, and provided a convincing demonstration that the progressives, including Darwin, had been wrong. The war was among the many eschatological signs they found implicit in certain key scriptural passages. It not only intensified the sense of urgency felt among the dispensational premillennialists. Because Americans in general saw themselves as protecting the values of democratic civilization from the onslaughts of the 'Huns', they tended to view German barbarism as being the direct consequence of the corrupting power of secular philosophies: evolutionary 'might is right' Nietzschean superman philosophies. Thus in 1918 the evangelist Billy Sunday could say: 'If you turn hell upside down you will find 'Made in Germany' stamped on the bottom'.⁶² More important in terms of emergent fundamentalism, however, was the fact that the Great War allowed the premillennialist precursors of fundamentalism to identify modernism with the materialistic *Kultur* of the 'swinish Hun', in a powerful new denunciation.⁶³ Given such direct contemporary relevance, huge crowds attended the prophetic conferences at which Kemp was privileged to be a speaker. Some of the main speakers alongside Kemp were to become leading lights in the fundamentalist movement in a few short years.⁶⁴ The memory of such grand gatherings was to sustain Kemp in his ministry in New Zealand,⁶⁵ where evangelicalism was generally a world apart from this degree of American millennialist excitement. Kemp was dismayed to discover that he could not sustain this sense of excitement indefinitely.

A complete breakdown of health after two years in his new pastoral position saw Kemp return to Scotland with his family for a rest. This may have been precipitated by his habit of overwork, but

it also pointed to more ominous health problems that eventually cut his life short.⁶⁶ He was given strict medical orders not to preach. While resting in Scotland, Kemp received the call to the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle. Once the Tabernacle officers had satisfied him on the points of clarification which he requested, Kemp accepted the Auckland position with a telegram citing Romans 15:29: 'And I am sure that, when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.'⁶⁷

Joseph Kemp stepped onto the wharves of Auckland the same year that the term 'fundamentalist' entered common currency. The militancy of the newly born fundamentalist movement was evident at its formal beginning, when a usually moderate American Baptist minister said that those who still clung to the 'great fundamentals' and were prepared to do 'battle royal' for the fundamentals would henceforth be called fundamentalists.⁶⁸ In America the fundamentalist/modernist controversy was characterised by acrimonious disputes between traditionalists and liberals, attempts by conservatives to 'purge' liberals from positions of theological influence in the denominations, and by the formation of separatist fundamentalist organizations. No such controversy was to erupt in New Zealand, despite concerted efforts by heresy hunters such as Kemp. The Presbyterian denomination, so wracked by dissension in America, had been preserved in New Zealand from a 'shallow' liberalism by its confessional and religious ethos and by the teaching at its theological hall.⁶⁹ There was a lack of any vociferous debate in the nineteenth century on Darwinism, which was to become the key fundamentalist issue in 1925 at Dayton, Tennessee.⁷⁰ There had been very few heresy trials in the New Zealand Methodist and Presbyterian denominations, and controversies over doctrine and worship were 'essentially provincial echoes of disputes that had their origins in Europe and Britain.'⁷¹ Smaller nonconformist groups in New Zealand, such as the Plymouth Brethren and the Congregationalists, lacked the intellectual depth, if not the theological acuity, of their counterparts in Britain.⁷² Despite the visits of the American revivalists California Taylor (1865), Torrey and Alexander (1901-1902), and Chapman and Alexander (1913),⁷³ New Zealand denominations remained tied theologically to Britain's apron

strings. Given all these factors, there was very little modernism in the dominion for a combative fundamentalist preacher to attack in the 1920's. Kemp's theological foes for the whole of his ministry in Auckland were those who seemed to threaten the fundamentals of the faith not in New Zealand, but in America. Despite the lack of a local modernist threat, Kemp still saw his new task primarily in terms of safeguarding evangelical truth from the threats of 'heretical' liberal theology.

Joseph Kemp was to view the changing values of the twenties in New Zealand in terms of his experiences in the Scottish and American cultures. On his arrival in Auckland he promptly observed that the Tabernacle had become 'a down-town problem'.⁷⁴ The Tabernacle congregation did not live, however, in an isolated religious vacuum. The 1919 post-war spending spree by the government had created only a brief optimism. Anxiety, pessimism, and uncertainty pervaded New Zealand society in 1920 as a brief post-war depression set in.⁷⁵ In addition to its effects of bankruptcy among the business community, poor health and unemployment, the depression had limited effects on the well-established middle-class business families who formed the mainstay of the Tabernacle membership. Individuals who coped well in the general turmoil saw economic prosperity in the largely individualistic terms of personal obedience to God. Kemp's revivalism would appeal, however, to the lower classes, as it held out the hope of transformation. The sense of uncertainty that pervaded New Zealand society in 1920 created a climate in which any forceful preacher who consistently denounced unsettling modern theology would be likely to gain a favourable public response. Modernism could become an obvious scapegoat for contemporary problems, even if the predominantly pietistic nature of New Zealand Protestantism militated against the emergence of a vigorous theological liberalism. In the 1920's Protestants were to be stirred into action by a variety of public issues.⁷⁶ Until 1925, they also gained a sense of solidarity from the Prime Minister, W.F. Massey, an Orangeman who legitimated their anti-Catholic sentiments and gave them a stronger sense of Protestant identity.⁷⁷

Among other local long-term effects of the war was the dislocation of families. A younger generation, whose horizons were somewhat wider than their parents', questioned the older absolute moral values.⁷⁸ The fear among conservative evangelical Christians, that a younger generation was slipping away, created concern over film censorship, the changing roles of women, more daring fashions, and lastly, an atmosphere supportive of fundamentalism.⁷⁹ During his Auckland ministry Kemp fastened on to many public anxieties, citing them as evidence of a new threat to traditional Christian values. As a consequence of these trends, those holding a conservative position became, first, far more militant in combating moral vices. Their militancy was fired, in many cases, by a premillennial belief in an imminent cultural crisis and a collapse of civilisation. They did not believe that society as a whole could be saved, and saw as paramount the preserving of the moral purity of faithful Christian believers. Contemporary moral vices were seen in individualistic terms, rather than in the wider social gospel terms of general societal problems or injustice. Secondly, a fortress mentality became entrenched within a newly-developing Christian sub-culture. For some, the most important element in being a Christian was as complete as possible a separation from 'the world'; those not completely separated from the 'worldly' were considered unworthy of the name. New tests for orthodoxy became those of this Christian subculture.⁸⁰ An evangelical Christian who went to a dancehall incurred the risk of being judged not only theologically unsound, but almost beyond redemption if such aberrant behaviour continued.

Kemp's success in New Zealand has been attributed both to the dogmatism of his personality and to his mastery of revivalistic techniques.⁸¹ The weight of evidence suggests, however, that the traditional evangelical explanation of Kemp's impact needs to be challenged. A careful consideration of his thought leads to the conclusion that Kemp held to an American fundamentalist theological position, which was itself always part of a wider revivalistic tradition. During the course of his Auckland ministry he was clearly seen as a fundamentalist by those of both conservative and liberal theological persuasion. Arguments based solely on his forceful

personality or attractive revivalism are therefore inadequate as explanations. The Rev. Joseph Kemp was much more than a successful revivalist in his last pastorate. Furthermore, such arguments do not sufficiently acknowledge that the very social conditions which fostered a widespread sense of uncertainty, fear about the future, and evangelical alarm at the declining influence of the churches in society also created a receptive environment for American fundamentalism. It was these aspects of the postwar world which allowed fundamentalist attitudes to take root and flourish among a small but significant section of New Zealand Protestantism. It will be seen that Kemp's experience of emergent fundamentalism during his two New York pastorates placed him in a unique position on coming to New Zealand. Among defenders of the faith in New Zealand Kemp alone had the international standing, through which to generate informal transdenominational fundamentalist alliances. These had never before existed in New Zealand religious history.

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 Auckland Baptist Tabernacle United Officers' Meeting, 26 May, 1919, Minute Book of United Meetings of Elders and Deacons (United Officers), 23 August 1915 to 20 November 1919.
- 2 Ibid., Tabernacle United Officers' Meeting, 12 May 1919. At this meeting Kempton acknowledged that on Sunday evenings 'numbers of young people, chiefly Gallery attendants, went to Theatre services and mission halls'. Theatre services appealed to those of a socio-economic status lower than that of the predominantly middle-class Tabernacle. Baptists and Brethren were generally opposed to the idea of using theatres for church services. It became a matter of necessity, however, for the evangelical 'nondenominational' groups who found very few 'neutral' halls available for hire.
- 3 The patriotism of the Tabernacle was demonstrated in the loss of 33 young men out of the 205 from the Tabernacle who enlisted. See W.A. Kendon, *Souvenir programme and short history of Auckland Tabernacle Baptist Church, 1855-1955*, Auckland, The Institute Printing & Publishing Society Ltd., 1955, p.20.
- 4 Kempton replied to claims made by critics in the correspondence columns of the *New Zealand Herald* by stating that: 'My attempt to deal with "the other side" of Bolshevism - to point out what was Christian in its ideals, and what could be placed to its credit in the way of sound achievement, and to explain, but never to justify' some of the excesses of those who had been victims of oppression, created some confusion and misunderstanding. *New Zealand Herald*, 4 April 1919, p.3.
- 5 "Bolshevism discussed. Debate upon sermon. Letters from Russians. Soviet Ideals and Methods", in *New Zealand Herald*, 1 April 1919, p.8.
- 6 This is the conclusion reached by George Beilby, who sees the alienation of a number of members as the prime factor in the acceptance of this call. See G.T. Beilby, *A handful of grain, the centenary history of the Baptist Union of N.Z.*, vol.3, 1914-1945, Auckland, N.Z Baptist Historical Society, 1984, p.96. The church reporter stated that: 'Members of the extreme labour party were present, who seemed well versed in the causes of the present upheaval in Russia and other countries, and contended that the capitalist is answerable for all the ills that flesh is heir to, and that he so dominated the world's Press that all our news is biased', *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.36 no.425 (May 1919), p.76. Five letters critical of Kempton were published in the *New Zealand Herald* as follows: S.L.P. Rimmer, 3 April 1919, p.9; 'A Loyal Briton', 7 April 1919, p.9; H.H. Barker, jun., and 'Reason', 9 April 1919, p.13; and 'Anti-Bolshevik', 11 April 1919, p.7. Kempton tried to clarify his position a second time on 10 April 1919, p.11.
- 7 On Thomas Spurgeon's transformation from 1881-89 of the first

Baptist congregation of Auckland and the building of the Baptist Tabernacle, see Craig Skinner, *Lamplighter and son*, Nashville, Broadman Press, 1984, pp.57-119. Skinner discusses aspects of the relationship between the old Spurgeon at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, London, and the young Spurgeon at the new Auckland Tabernacle. For details of the British background of other Tabernacle ministers, the Revs. James Thornton (1855-62), Joseph Clark (1896-1907), and R.H. Knowles Kempton (1908-1919), see Kendon, pp.13-14, 18-20.

- 8 The Rev. R.S. Gray has been described as 'one of the most important figures in Baptist life' from his arrival in New Zealand in 1891 to his death in 1922 at the age of 59. He was one of the key leaders of the Prohibition movement, and perhaps 'the best gift Australia ever made to the NZ Baptists', according to A.H. MacLeod, in "Randolph St. Cyr Gray", *Bulletin of the New Zealand Baptist Historical Society*, no.8 (July 1980), p.8. At a Tabernacle United Officers meeting on 28 July Gray was described as 'pre-eminently the man for the position'. At the time, he was considering a three year full-time position as national organiser for the Efficiency Board, in order to extend the influence exerted by evangelical Christians through the ballot box against the sale of liquor. But a United Officers meeting on 22 October was told that Gray had been appointed as the first full-time Baptist Union Organizing and Travelling Secretary. The Rev. J.J. North was to identify Gray subsequently as almost the polar opposite of the Rev. Joseph Kemp, 'cast in different moulds' but both having an honoured place. See "Various Baptists", *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38, no.464 (Aug 1922), p.145.
- 9 United Officers' Meeting, 23 November 1919, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle United Meetings of Elders and Deacons (United Officers), 23 August 1915 to 23 November 1919.
- 10 Members' Meeting, 3 Dec 1919, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle Members Meetings, July 1911 to June 1920. The Keswick Convention is an annual summer gathering of evangelical Christians held at Keswick in the Lake District. It began in 1875 through the influence of the Moody-Sankey revival of that year, together with the efforts of the vicar of Keswick, Canon Dundas Harford-Battersby. A priority is placed on prayer, Bible study addresses, and overseas missions. The Keswick Convention aims to promote 'practical holiness' and avoids contentious doctrines. Reflecting its interdenominational scope is the Keswick motto 'All one in Christ Jesus'. See J.C. Pollock, *The Keswick story, the authorized history of the Keswick Convention*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1964.
- 11 A member of the Metropolitan Tabernacle in New York found that, during the first World War, 'seemingly every preacher in New York City' was preaching on the subject of war. Jeannette Bloomer was grateful that Kemp never preached a war sermon, and could give her more than 'the bite of spiritual food' she craved. "Memories", n.d., Kemp Papers, Box 0202, Baptist Historical Society, Auckland.
- 12 United Officers' Meeting, 22 April 1920, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle United Meetings of Deacons and Elders (United Officers), 3 Dec 1919 to 31 July 1929.

- 13 Winnie Kemp, p.2. The date given here is 'one day in September 1886', when Kemp responded to the challenge put by an old sailor. A report in the *New Zealand Baptist* suggests, however, a somewhat later conversion. T.F. Hill reported that: "Sunday, September 30, was a very memorable day in our minister's history, for he announced to us that it was exactly 40 years ago that day since he as a youth became converted", vol.44, no.489 (Nov 1928), p.346.
- 14 Winnie Kemp, p.2.
- 15 Kent, John, *Holding the fort, studies in Victorian revivalism*, London, Epworth Press, 1978, p.357. Modernists, on the other hand, reflected the apologetic of the school of the German theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834), in their rejection of the long-standing commitment in Western thought to an artificial distinction between religion and culture. Modernists mediated between Christianity and the modern cultural, scientific, and intellectual achievements by incorporating many of the assumptions and conclusions of those achievements into Christianity. The distinctions between the natural and the supernatural, between the church and the world, between Christians and those of other positions, and between social and religious progress, were accordingly softened. See George M. Marsden, "Defining fundamentalism", *Christian Scholars' Review*, vol.1, no.2 (Winter 1971), p.147.
- 16 See Pound, p.44.
- 17 Winnie Kemp, p.3. The Keswick understanding of 'being filled with the Spirit' with its emphasis on consecration is not to be confused with the Pentecostalist understanding, which entailed evidences of 'speaking in tongues' and other gifts listed in I Corinthians 12:8-10.
- 18 See George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture: the shaping of twentieth-century evangelicalism: 1870-1925*, Oxford/New York, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp.77-79.
- 19 The work of this congregation seems to have been especially vigorous. By 1898, thirty years after the founding of the Prospect Street church (affiliated with the Presbyterian Church of England) the proportion of Presbyterians in Hull had increased ten-fold, as against a doubling of the general population. From 1885 to 1892 the number of Sunday School scholars increased from 572 to 1076. See *Thirty years' work in connection with Prospect Street Church, Hull, 1868-1898*, [anon.], The Presbyterian Church of England, n.d., pp.1, 26-27. The church clearly regarded Joseph Kemp as one of its 'sons' in an official history written in 1923. Kemp is acknowledged among twelve 'sons and daughters' involved in ministry 'at home and abroad'. Three years after the commencement of Joseph Kemp's New Zealand ministry, he is described as 'Joseph Kemp, formerly a Baptist minister in Edinburgh, and now in America', in "Where our fathers praised Thee." *Chapters towards a history of Prospect Street Church, written for the children of the "Saints", who "take pleasure in her stones"*, [anon.], Hull, Presbyterian Church of England, 1923, pp.28-29.
- 20 Letter from Principal Geoffrey W. Grogan, 25 August 1986.

- 21 F.V. Waddleton says: 'It appears then that the concept of the Institute crystallized within a vigorous though sectional movement drawing upon the figure of Moody himself, expressed in the Association which arose from his campaigns in Glasgow and taking root largely in those sectors of evangelicalism which were then becoming less confessionally and practically straitjacketed though it always remained sufficiently clear in its stand on fundamental issues to command a somewhat wider evangelical confidence'. See 'The Bible Training Institute, Glasgow', unpublished dissertation for Glasgow Diploma in Advanced Education, 1979, p.21.
- 22 Waddleton says: 'Initially the two ten-month years were sharply distinguished, the first concentrating on the Old Testament; principles of interpretation; systematic theology; homiletics and practical methods; whilst the second covered, in somewhat greater detail, the New Testament; the history of the canon; church history; Biblical theology; apologetics; English, elocution and music.', *ibid.*, p.16.
- 23 See Findlay, pp.227-61.
- 24 Kent, p.356.
- 25 See Pound, pp.2-3.
- 26 Winnie Kemp, pp.10-11.
- 27 See Winnie Kemp, p.13. Begun in America in 1881, the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour was the first widespread non-denominational youth organization in the American churches. It required a high degree of commitment, and its weekly devotional meeting became, once a month, a consecration meeting.
- 28 Marsden describes dispensationalism as 'essentially an anti-developmental and anti-naturalistic way of explaining historical change', in George M. Marsden, in "Fundamentalism as an American phenomenon, a comparison with English evangelicalism", *Church History*, vol.46 no.2 (June 1977), p.230. The famous populariser of dispensationalism, C.I. Scofield, based his schema on the belief that the 'Word of Truth ... has right divisions ... so any study of that Word which ignores these divisions must be in large measure profitless and confusion.', in "Rightly dividing the Word of Truth", Revell paper edition, Westwood, n.d. [1896], pp.12-16, cited by Marsden, *ibid.*, pp.230-31.
- 29 Winnie Kemp gives the date of his induction as April 4, 1887 and the month he left Kelso as July 1898, *ibid.*, pp.12, 14. An official history of Baptists in Scotland, however, dates Kemp's Kelso ministry from 1894 to 1896. See *History of the Baptists in Scotland from pre-Reformation times*, edited by Geo. Yuille, Glasgow, Baptist Union Publications Committee, 1926, p.284.
- 30 Marsden views the modernist idea that God is immanent in cultural development and revealed through it, and the corollary that human society is moving toward the realization of the Kingdom of God, as new versions of postmillennialism. See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, p.49.

- 31 See Sandeen, *Roots*, in particular his chapter "John Nelson Darby and dispensationalism", on Darby's transatlantic dispensational ministry, pp.59-80.
- 32 See Winnie Kemp, p.16.
- 33 See Ernest R. Sandeen, "Toward a historical interpretation of the origins of fundamentalism", *Church History*, vol.36, 1967, pp.67-73.
- 34 George Marsden has noted the similarities between Keswick teachings, already familiar to Kemp, and the intellectual traits found in dispensationalism. Both were pessimistic about the state of the institutional church, seeing it as insufficiently spiritual. Both portrayed the individual as caught in a struggle between a personal deity and a personal devil, revealing a heightened emphasis on the supernatural. Ambiguities and middle ground were eliminated, as both dispensationalism and Keswick teachings involved a tendency to interpret some Biblical passages literally. See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, pp.257-58.
- 35 Kemp is immortalised in the memory of the Charlotte Chapel congregation to this day. The publication in Scotland of articles based on Geoff Pound's research essay drew an indignant reponse from two elderly spinsters at Charlotte Chapel. They took exception to a passing comment that Kemp was a man 'unevenly sanctified', and alleged that Pound was 'touching the Lord's anointed in a destructive way'. Letter from Geoff Pound, 22 June 1985.
- 36 Winnie Kemp, pp.30-32.
- 37 This temptation is personified in the biography, which states that Kemp 'loved to study, and in this fine University city was an opportunity, said *the tempter* [my emphasis], to further his studies and take a degree', Winnie Kemp, p.20.
- 38 C.H. Spurgeon (1834-92) was an evangelical Calvinist, whose rigid opposition to liberal methods of biblical exegesis resulted in schism from the Baptist Union. Claiming that liberal Baptist teaching was down-grading biblical truths, Spurgeon's concerns led to the 'Downgrade Controversy' of 1887-89. When his protest at liberal trends was disregarded, he and other conservative Baptists withdrew from the Baptist Union. Although deeply grieved, Spurgeon refused to become a separatist and form a new denomination.
- 39 Kemp's emphasis on individual salvation in times of social and economic stress was not unusual during this period. According to William G. Enright, the evangelical pulpit of the nineteenth century 'consistently responded to the challenge of urbanization with the proclamation of individual salvation. Man's personal salvation, not social reform, was the essence of the message. To the preacher social evils could only be eradicated through a personal encounter with Christ which would in turn bring the regenerative graces of Christian virtue to all classes of

- society.' Despite this concern, Enright concludes that one 'tragedy of Victorian Scotland was the failure of the Church to reach the working class', in "Urbanization and the Evangelical Pulpit in Nineteenth-Century Scotland", *Church History*, vol.47 no.4 (Dec 1978), pp.405, 407. I am indebted to Bryan Gilling, a history student at the University of Waikato, for this reference.
- 40 Winnie Kemp, pp.34-35.
- 41 Hill, Thomas F., "History of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, the Bible correspondence course", *The Reaper*, vol.3 no.11 (Jan 1, 1926), pp.282-85. In 1912 this course was published by *The Life of Faith*, a magazine which published Keswick addresses and contained articles on general evangelistic work.
- 42 Sets of *The Fundamentals* even reached ministers in New Zealand. On the publication of the last volume, the editor of the *New Zealand Baptist* noted that probably 'most of our ministers have received copies of little yellow booklets entitled "The Fundamentals", containing articles by various writers of Evangelical soundness', *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.32 no.380 (Aug 1915), p.146.
- 43 See Sandeen, *Roots*, pp.188-207.
- 44 For a discussion of the treatment of evolution in *The Fundamentals*, see David N. Livingstone, "B.B. Warfield, the theory of evolution and early fundamentalism", *The Evangelical Quarterly*, Jan 1986, p.69-83. I am indebted to Brian Colless, Senior Lecturer in Religious Studies, Massey University, for this reference.
- 45 Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, p.119.
- 46 Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918) argued that parts of the first five books of the Old Testament (the Pentateuch) traditionally assigned to Moses were in fact drawn from four main sources: J (after Jehovah), E (after Elohim), D (after Deuteronomy), and P (after the Priestly code). This became known as the Wellhausian theory of the Pentateuch. The same scholarly methods, when applied to the New Testament by Ferdinand Christian Baur (1792-1860), constituted a major challenge to traditional views of Christianity. New Testament history became more dogmatic than historical, and the literal authority of the gospels was questioned by his late dating. According to the historian, Ferenc Morton Szasz, Baur's dating system only reached America in the 1890's, by which time it had been already overthrown by the earlier dating systems of Albrecht Ritschl and Adolph Harnack. While conservatives rejoiced at this apparent endorsement of the historicity of the gospel accounts, the findings of Old Testament biblical criticism could not be gainsaid. See Ferenc Morton Szasz, *The divided mind of Protestant America, 1880-1930*, Alabama, The University of Alabama Press, 1982, pp.20-29.
- 47 Lower criticism is concerned exclusively with recovering from surviving manuscripts and other evidence the text of biblical books as penned by the writers. Since 'higher criticism' was only

coined as a term in 1881, the more correct term to use before this is the more encompassing term 'biblical criticism'. The American modernist theologian who exemplifies the philosophical and theological influences of German biblical criticism is Charles Augustus Briggs, (1841-1913). His influential volume *Biblical Study* published in 1882 portrayed higher criticism and the New Theology as the true defenders of the Bible. Conservatives were depicted as indulging in bibliolatry in treating the Bible as a magical object instead of treating it for what it is - "paper, print, and binding." See William R. Hutchison, *The modernist impulse in American protestantism*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1976, pp.93-94, and Lefferts A. Loetscher, *The broadening church, a study of theological issues in the Presbyterian church since 1869*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954, pp.48-62 on the Briggs heresy trial.

- 48 Cited by Kemp as one of the 'Books of Reference'. See David Heagle, "The Tabernacle in the Wilderness: did it exist? A question involving the truth or falsity of the entire Higher-Critic theory", *The Fundamentals*, [1910-15], vol.4, pp.7-45. Kemp's first book was published in 1910, entitled *Outline studies in the book of Revelation*.
- 49 Kemp, J.W., *Outline studies on the tabernacle in the wilderness*, London/Edinburgh/New York, Marshall Brothers Ltd, n.d. [post 1909], p.4.
- 50 It is not clear whether Kemp's reputation was such that he was invited to America by these leaders. According to the *Auckland Star* of 22 May 1920, Kemp, during the time of his ministry in Scotland, 'more than once visited the United States and Canada, serving temporarily in the Moody Church at Chicago, and in other well-known Evangelical pulpits.'
- 51 A.C. Dixon gave up his editorial work in 1911, when he accepted a call to become pastor of the Metropolitan Tabernacle church in London, founded by the late Charles Haddon Spurgeon. The next five volumes were edited by the Rev. Louis Meyer, and upon his death in 1913, the Rev. Reuben Archer Torrey, Dean of the Bible Institute of Los Angeles, completed the editorial task with the publishing of volumes eleven and twelve. Dixon later considered Kemp's revivalistic work at Charlotte Chapel to be more lasting and further reaching than the Welsh revival. See Winnie Kemp, p.84.
- 52 *The Reaper*, vol.3 no.8 (October 1, 1925), p.200. The *New Zealand Baptist* noted that 'Mr Kemp is known as a speaker upon the platforms of the Keswick Convention, and at Second Advent Conferences on both sides of the Atlantic', vol.37, no.438 (June 1920), p.93. For the significance of these conferences in emergent fundamentalism, see Sandeen, "The prophecy and Bible conference movement", *Roots*, pp.132-161.
- 53 *The Reaper*, vol.3, no.7 (Sep 3, 1925), p.169. See also "William Jennings Bryan, statesman-fundamentalist", in C. Allyn Russell, *Voices of American fundamentalism: seven biographical studies*, Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1976, pp.162-189.

- 54 The call came not as a consequence of Kemp's maintaining the American presence at the monthly meetings, but owing to a personal recommendation by the Rev. A.C. Dixon. Dixon's testimonial to an officer of the Calvary Baptist church, New York, is discussed by Winnie Kemp, p.84.
- 55 According to William R. de Plata, Kemp found Calvary 'a shadow of its former influential self, a large, wealthy, fashionable "downtown church" living on its past reputation.' See de Plata, *Tell it from Calvary: the record of a sustained gospel witness from Calvary Baptist Church in New York City since 1847*, New York, Calvary Baptist Church, 1972, p.38.
- 56 *The Reaper*, vol.3, no.9 (Nov 5, 1925), p.227. During this period Kemp pioneered his new pastorate without the direct emotional support of his wife. Winnie Kemp arrived with their two children, John and Mary, within five months. According to Thomas F. Hill, American newspaper reports referred to Kemp as 'Dr Kemp', following the custom of calling every 'preacher of distinction' by this courtesy title. He notes that: 'While fully entitled to the prefix, by erudition, attainment and pulpit ability, he never sought it, and, in fact, disclaimed it. Caesar refused the kingly crown, and the academic crown placed on his brow by his admirers, was respectfully declined by Rev. Joseph W. Kemp', *ibid.*, p.228.
- 57 De Plata, p.38. Kemp sought Jowett's advice, and in a tribute to him said of this time: 'We each had our difficulties, as most Britishers in American pulpits have. At a gruelling time at Calvary Baptist Church I consulted him, and it was then he said, speaking of his own work: "Mine is not a bed of roses. I have found the churches here will stand your ministry, but not your administration." That is exactly what I found. It was good to have his sympathetic viewpoint.', in "Ministerial Memories, IV, Jowett of Birmingham", *New Zealand Baptist*, Oct 1932, p.319. Neither the Kemp biography nor biographical articles gives any indication of the specific difficulties Kemp faced as a British minister in an American pulpit.
- 58 Winnie Kemp, p.85. See also Warren R. Wiersbe, *Listening to the giants; a guide to good preaching and great preaching*, Michigan, Baker Book House, 1980, p.177.
- 59 Kemp's predecessor, the Rev. Robert Stuart MacArthur, maintained a theological position far removed from those of the proto-fundamentalists, seeing no contradiction between science and Christianity, and admitting the possibility of biblical errors. See de Plata, "MacArthur: the growing years, 1870-1911", *ibid.*, pp.23-35, and George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, p.107. Marsden overlooks Kemp's pastorate in his claim that: 'Robert Stuart MacArthur, pastor of Calvary Baptist Church in New York City (which became a fundamentalist center [sic] under his successor, John Roach Straton), in 1899 strongly defended traditional Christianity while maintaining that "A true doctrine of inspiration may admit mistakes, or at least the possibility of mistakes, in history and biographical statements, while it denies error in matters of faith and morals..."', *idem.*
- 60 According to William R. de Plata, Calvary Baptist church was

without a pastor for a year following Kemp's resignation. When it merged with Collegiate Baptist Church of the Covenant on February 21, 1918, Dr Oscar Haywood, Collegiate's pastor, became pastor-at-large of Calvary Baptist church. This arrangement only lasted for a month, followed by a call to Dr John Roach Straton. See de Plata, p.38, and chapter "Straton: the battling years, 1918-1929", *ibid.*, pp.40-53. See also and Russell, "John Roach Straton, accusative fundamentalist", *ibid.*, pp.47-78.

- 61 Sanders, J. Oswald, *Expanding horizons, the jubilee history of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute*, Auckland, Institute Press, 1975, p.7.
- 62 Quoted by Ray H. Abrams, *Preachers present arms*, New York, 1933, p.79.
- 63 See Robert Moats Miller, *Harry Emerson Fosdick, preacher, pastor, prophet*, New York/Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985, p.113.
- 64 Winnie Kemp mentions one particular conference in the Carnegie Hall, New York City, which drew 'abnormal crowds', and included on the platform Drs. Chapman, Gaebelien, Ottman, Griffith Thomas, Scofield, Torrey, Burrell, and Carson. See p.86.
- 65 Loc. cit. Winnie Kemp says: 'It was a great and gracious time. These great gatherings and fellowships were very precious memories to him in far-away New Zealand.'
- 66 Winnie Kemp says: 'Mr. Kemp's days in New York City came very suddenly to a close in 1919. He had a complete breakdown, which necessitated his resignation from all work. After a year of distressing illness, during which many alarming symptoms (anticipating his last final seizure) were very evident, God most graciously allayed his trouble, and answered prayer for his recovery.', p.86. It is not clear whether this was a physical or a psychological breakdown. On Kemp's final breakdown of health in 1932, see pp.118-20.
- 67 This quotation is from the Authorized Version favoured almost exclusively by Kemp and other conservative evangelical Christians at this time.
- 68 The editor of the influential Baptist paper, *The Watchman-Examiner*, Curtis Lee Laws, coined the word 'fundamentalist' at the 1920 Northern Baptist Convention, where conservatives formed an anti-modernist protest along formal organizational lines. Laws wrote: 'that those who still cling to the great fundamentals and who mean to do battle royal for the fundamentals shall be called "Fundamentalists." By that name the editor...is willing to be called', in *The Watchman-Examiner*, July 1, 1920, p.834.
- 69 Breward, Ian, *Grace and truth, a history of Theological Hall Knox College, Dunedin 1876-1975*, Dunedin, Theological Education Committee, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1975, p.24.
- 70 John Stenhouse says: 'The simple polarization/conflict model of

the relations between science and religion in the nineteenth century needs to be abandoned in the New Zealand context. There was no polarization. The leading scientists were and remained orthodox religious believers, in contrast to the militant agnostics among believing British scientists like Huxley and Tyndall. The leading churchmen, whilst firmly rejecting the materialistic evolutionism of Haeckel, eagerly sought rapprochement between Christianity and modern science, certain that evolution and Christian belief were compatible. The aggressive Christian anti-evolutionists, closer to the traditional picture, probably got a hearing in the smaller Protestant denominations less exposed to contemporary intellectual culture.', in "'The Wretched Gorilla Damnification of Humanity': the 'battle' between science and religion over evolution in nineteenth-century New Zealand", *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.18, no.1 (April 1984), p.161. See also Stenhouse, 'The "battle" between science and religion over evolution in nineteenth century New Zealand', Ph.D. thesis, Massey University, 1985.

- 71 Breward, Ian, "Religion and New Zealand society", *New Zealand Journal of History*, vol.13, no.2 (Oct 1979), p.141.
- 72 Ian Breward says: 'Minority groups like Plymouth Brethren, Pentecostals and Quakers appear to reflect many of the characteristics of their British forebears, without the intellectual cutting edge which has produced local leadership comparable to that provided by the British. A more interesting variant is provided by the Congregational Union which, despite its British strength, never flourished here and has now virtually disappeared within Presbyterianism, the precise opposite of the Union in England', *Religion in New Zealand society*, Presbyterian Historical Society of New Zealand, 1979, p.8. The Baptists also formed a minority nonconformist grouping in New Zealand society. Apart from the exceptional New Zealand Baptist leader, the Rev. Dr J.J. North, most locally-trained men also lacked the intellectual cutting edge of their British-trained counterparts. Commenting on more recent developments in Baptist thought, Breward notes that 'like their British counterparts, New Zealand Baptists have developed a tradition of scholarship and social involvement, which sits uneasily alongside suspicion of ecumenical involvement and growing ties with North American Southern Baptists that have greatly strengthened the tradition of conservative evangelicalism', *ibid.*, p.9.
- 73 The usage of names here follows customary usage. John Wilbur Chapman (1859-1918) worked as a Presbyterian evangelist with the evangelistic songleader Charles McCallon Alexander (1867-1920) during his last ten years.
- 74 "Suggestions for the Office Bearers' Meeting", by Joseph Kemp, 20 October 1920, Minute Book of United Officers Meetings, 1919 to 1929.
- 75 See R.M. Burdon, "The false morning", in *The new dominion, a social and political history of New Zealand, 1918-1939*, Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1965, pp.34-48.
- 76 See Lawrence H. Barber, 'The Social Crusader: James Gibb at the

Australasian Pastoral Frontier, 1882-1935', Massey University, Ph.D. thesis in History, 1975.

- 77 Massey died in office in 1925. On Massey's Protestant influence, see P.S. O'Connor, "Mr Massey and the P.P.A. - a suspicion confirmed", in *New Zealand Journal of Public Administration*, vol.28 no.2 (Mar 1966), pp.69-74. Relationships between anti-Catholic sentiment and politics are clearly drawn in: P.S. O'Connor, "Storm over the clergy - New Zealand 1917", *Journal of Religious History*, vol.4 no.2 (Dec 1966), pp.129-148; "'Protestants', Catholics and the New Zealand Government, 1916-18", in G.A. Wood and P.S. O'Connor, eds., *W.P. Morrell: a tribute. Essays in modern and early modern history presented to William Parker Morrell Profesor Emeritus, University of Otago*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1973, pp.185-297; and "Sectarian conflict in New Zealand, 1911-1920", in *Political Science*, vol.19 no.1 (July 1967), pp.3-16.
- 78 Involvement in the war exposed evangelical Christians, both directly and indirectly, to social practices what would have been inconsistent with the usual evangelical prohibitions, viz. drinking, gambling, dancing and the theatre.
- 79 In New Zealand Kemp was known for his denunciations of new standards of public morality. In America, the sense of social crisis thrust into the public arena a new type of fundamentalist leader, the moral reformer. William B. Riley and William Jennings Bryan were most noted for their public moral stands. See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, p.161.
- 80 A leading Baptist minister, the Rev. L.A. North, later reflected on the legalistic approach to Christianity he found among many Baptists in Auckland as a result of Kemp's ministry. He was told by a fellow student that 'a man who smoked could not be a dedicated Christian. That was nonsense to me, for my father, the most Christian man I know, had his pipe at the end of a busy day.' North saw such rigid insistence as contrary to the Baptist principle of liberty of individual conscience on such matters. See *L.A. North, the man and his memoirs*, edited by G.T. Beilby, [Auckland], the New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, 1983, p.22.
- 81 See Winnie Kemp, pp.90-141, Pound's research essay and forthcoming M.A. thesis on Kemp's revivalism by Douglas Ireton, a history student at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Joseph Kemp in late middle age, as New Zealanders found him.



CHAPTER TWO

THE IMPACT OF JOSEPH KEMP'S
AMERICAN FUNDAMENTALISM, c.1920 to c.1933

More than any other religious figure in the 1920's, the Rev. Joseph Kemp imported American fundamentalist concerns into New Zealand and reinterpreted them for conservative evangelical Christians with British theological roots. Kemp's unique position as the prime interpreter of American fundamentalism has been overlooked in New Zealand historiography, largely because of the success of his revivalism. Kemp's very prominence as an evangelical leader, however, when studied against the background of his American fundamentalist sympathies, invites an assessment of the impact of his American fundamentalism on both New Zealand religious life and on the wider society. This case study of Kemp's New Zealand ministry (1920-33) intends to demonstrate the impact of American fundamentalism at the very same time that the fundamentalist/modernist controversies raged in America.

Many claims have been made in the name of New Zealand religious history regarding the impact of American religious beliefs on popular piety.¹ Although one major historian has referred to 'odder and American religions' in a passage suggesting bizarre and hysterical cultural offshoots generated during the economic pressures of the early 1930's, this description trivialises what was a much longer-established religious tradition.² It is significant, nonetheless, that Keith Sinclair should identify certain religious trends at this time as being American in origin.³ His very choice of terminology seems to point to a religious movement more highly structured than that which was temporarily created by itinerant American 'faith healers'. Fundamentalism is the only American popular religious movement which

had 'made a great many converts', retained certain features of American identity, and attained a position of public prominence in New Zealand society by the early thirties. That Joseph Kemp played a crucial role in such developments has been claimed by Peter J. Lineham, an authority on New Zealand conservative evangelical Christianity, who says that 'although it took some time for Kemp's approach to gain acceptance, it laid possible foundations for populist fundamentalism.'⁴ Asserting that fundamentalism in New Zealand was 'essentially a backwoods movement', Lineham nevertheless credits Kemp as being 'well able to stir up evangelical and fundamentalist fervour in the dominion.'⁵ Furthermore, one history student has even alleged that the 'whole subject [of modernism and fundamentalism] was fiercely debated in Auckland in the 1920's and received much attention in the daily newspapers.'⁶ Geoff Pound supports this bold statement by citing as evidence only two specifically fundamentalist conferences hosted by Kemp at the beginning and end of the decade.⁷

These claims regarding the populist following of American fundamentalism may be examined by analysing Kemp's continuing fundamentalist allegiances with his American co-religionists. This allows an assessment of the impact of his fundamentalist theology in a number of spheres from 1920 until his death in 1933. This assessment will show that Kemp is much more than a revivalist. Kemp adhered to a strict fundamentalist position, in contrast to those New Zealand revivalists and conservative evangelicals who regarded the American fundamentalist/modernist controversies as alien to local concerns. He had specific fundamentalist aims in each sphere of influence. Kemp set fundamentalist objectives, while still maintaining his older revivalistic sympathies. The tensions inherent within Kemp's fundamentalism became evident in his Auckland ministry after a number of years, precisely because fundamentalism is a theological sub-species of revivalism. In contrast to strict confessional Presbyterians of fundamentalist persuasion, Kemp could draw on his revivalism as a means of moderating his aggressive fundamentalist stands for the truth as he saw it. It is these aggressive stands, however, that mean that Kemp can be justly described as a militant anti-modernist, therefore meeting the main criterion for being called a fundamentalist.

It will be seen that Joseph Kemp responded to the changing social conditions of the postwar period in much the same manner as the American fundamentalists. His biblical ministry must be viewed against this social context, and not limited to a merely ecclesiastical sphere of significance. Furthermore, Kemp's unique contribution to an emergent fundamentalist movement in New Zealand can be assessed only when a comparison is made with other religious figures in the dominion who responded to the challenges of the day in a fundamentalist manner. The discussion of Kemp's four main spheres of influence will draw comparisons with the aims and methods of these other figures. The case study will explore the extent to which Kemp responded to a perceived modernist threat in New Zealand, and the extent to which he skillfully utilized the polemics he learned from his American fundamentalist allies without identifying a local modernist 'enemy'. Given the lack of a vigorous theological liberalism in New Zealand, was Kemp's fundamentalist animosity merely a ritual one? The phenomenal growth of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle to become the largest Baptist church in Australasia will be examined in terms of the dynamic combination of Kemp's fundamentalism and revivalism. The regional variations in denominational strength in New Zealand will be seen to be a factor in Kemp's successful attempt to make Auckland a fundamentalist centre in New Zealand. Kemp's impact on Auckland will be considered in the light of his astuteness in gauging the moral concerns of many in the city. The case study will ask why Kemp's fundamentalism had a particular appeal to conservative evangelical Christians in a time of rapid social change, when many of the older moral values were being challenged vigorously. Kemp's founding of new specifically fundamentalist national institutions will be analysed for transdenominational significance. It will be seen that Kemp's impact on the Baptist denomination in New Zealand was not a lasting one, although he represents the start of later American fundamentalist tendencies.

Since this study focusses on the impact of Kemp's American fundamentalism, it is necessary to establish first that Kemp can be accurately described as a militant anti-modernist. An examination of

Kemp's attacks on liberal theology will demonstrate that Kemp was a convinced fundamentalist. In contrast to the mainstream of Baptist thought in New Zealand, Kemp refused to view the American fundamentalist/modernist controversy as a totally foreign phenomenon, having little local significance.⁸ He claimed that repercussions of the controversy were manifest 'in every part of the Globe where the Protestant Faith has been embraced.'⁹ Kemp's anxiety at these contemporary trends was such that, in 1924, he spent a whole year warning the Auckland public of the dangers of modern theology. His Thursday evening interdenominational Mid-Week Bible Study that year placed special emphasis on 'those aspects of truth which are being so violently attacked by the Modernist School'.¹⁰ It was Kemp's perception of the militancy of modernism that invoked his equally militant reaction to all liberal theology, including modernism. This very militancy of attitude sets fundamentalism apart from other evangelical and revivalistic movements. Kemp's willingness to do 'battle royal' for the fundamentals clearly distinguishes him as an ardent fundamentalist. Kemp took a position contrary to the assessment by the prominent Baptist leader, the Rev. J.J. North, that the differences between conservatives and liberals had been 'stupidly overstated'.¹¹ Kemp insisted, instead, on maintaining a sharp differentiation between, and polarization of fundamentalists and modernists. It was appropriate that the increasing militancy of his fundamentalism should find expression in the adoption of military metaphors. Kemp's new lecture series was entitled: 'The War in the Churches - Modernism v. Fundamentalism.'¹² Kemp's crusade against modernism attracted numbers to the Mid-Week Bible Study greater than ever before, confirming the claim that his fundamentalism gained a wide populist and interdenominational following. His lashing of modernism did not lack eloquence or topical interest. Kemp's vitriolic attacks on modernism, while serious in theological intent, also provided a religious spectacle and had entertainment value in a city known nationally for its wide variety of amusements. Only one sermon survives from that year's battle royal for the fundamentals.¹³ An analysis of Kemp's sermon alone cannot demonstrate the impact of his fundamentalism on his hundreds of hearers. Nonetheless, the impact of the theological ideas themselves must not be underestimated. The actual impact of Kemp's militant anti-modernism on pew-sitters and

on popular piety will be suggested in the concluding evaluative chapter. By this stage the formerly earnest evangelical was clearly a 'fighting fundamentalist'.¹⁴

In this sermon Kemp emphasised the supreme importance of his subject and its relevance to all evangelical Christians. The future, if not the survival, of evangelical religion would be 'largely influenced by the attitude Christian leaders of today assume towards the forces of disintegration which are now at work in the Christian Church.'¹⁵ He alerted his audiences to a 'a great quarrel about beliefs' which threatened to split Protestant denominations in America along conservative/liberal lines. This had already threatened the Protestant hegemony in America. Schism was already evidenced by the birth of specifically fundamentalist organisations.¹⁶ Kemp was in a unique position to interpret the American theological controversies for his New Zealand hearers. Although they could read about the fundamentalist/modernist controversy in newspaper reports carrying dramatic headlines, nothing substituted for Kemp's personal acquaintance with the main protagonists. Kemp received direct clarification of the theological stands taken by modernists and fundamentalists through his correspondence with leaders in both camps.¹⁷ Aucklanders could thus better understand the 'war' raging within the different American denominations 'with almost relentless fury'.¹⁸

In this battle conciliatory stands had been unsuccessful. Kemp commented on them briefly.¹⁹ Kemp held up as exemplars thirteen fundamentalist leaders who were prepared to 'do battle for the faith of their childhood'.²⁰ William Jennings Bryan was clearly the most conspicuous among the fundamentalists, not only for his anti-evolution stands, but also for his militancy in calling modernists 'infidels, agnostics, apostates, atheists and enemies of the Bible.'²¹ Kemp ranked the separatist fundamentalist, the Rev. William B. Riley, next in importance.²² This premillennialist and founder of the Christian Fundamentals Association rejected the claim that anti-evolutionists were anti-intellectual in his assertion that 'thinking men have not given up Genesis'.²³ Kemp saw as noteworthy the stand taken by the

'eminent Fundamentalist', the Rev. J. Frank Norris, in securing the expulsion of a modernist from Southern Methodist University, and several evolutionists from Baylor University. Kemp cited the more scholarly Professor J. Gresham Machen as describing modernism as less Christian than Roman Catholicism, itself a 'perversion of Christianity'.²⁴ It is significant that Kemp should describe Machen's academic home, Princeton Theological Seminary, as 'a Fundamentalist stronghold'. In so doing, he allied himself with the more extreme fundamentalist position of biblical inerrancy, viewing it as inseparable from a strong defence of the faith. American fundamentalists were by no means unanimous in this matter.²⁵ Kemp upheld the Dean of the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago, Dr James M. Gray, as a guarantor of orthodoxy. Other significant fundamentalists identified by Kemp were: Drs Laws, Masee, Munhall, Shields, and Torrey; A.C. Dixon, Dick Wilson and evangelist Billy Sunday.

Kemp then proceeded to attack the modernists, who seemed intent on destroying traditional evangelical Christianity. Like the American fundamentalists, Kemp reacted strongly to the new note of militancy which had characterised modernism after the war. Kemp's description of the Episcopalian, the Rev. Dr Percy Stickney Grant, as the most daring and fearless modernist leader, reflected this new combative tone. Filled with a new sense of urgency, liberals consigned their traditional image of being the party of peace, tolerance, and comprehensiveness to less threatening times. Alarmed at the pervasive hold of premillennial teachings on the American public as a result of war-time experiences, liberals had become more radical and aggressive in an attempt to overcome what they viewed as a dangerous theological obscurantism. In Kemp's opinion, modernism had gone so far off the track of orthodoxy that Grant had stripped Christ completely of divinity. Without belief in a 'miraculous' Bible or in a supernatural Jesus or in 'the duty of a preacher to hide his convictions', Grant must surely have completely rejected 'orthodox Protestantism'.²⁶ Kemp asserted that Harry Emerson Fosdick, who wielded 'enormous influence', had also abhorred 'virtually the entire theological system of orthodox Protestantism'.²⁷ In all, Kemp discussed the opinions of five American modernists, and then listed

twice as many from the 'School of Modern theologians and critics' in the British Isles.

Kemp insisted on this militancy of contemporary modernism, by countering newspaper reports that fundamentalists had distorted the views of modernists in order to discredit them. He did not simply dismiss modernism out of hand. He carefully adumbrated the consequences he saw modernism bringing to both Christian belief and human society. Kemp charged modernism with being 'positive and aggressive in its antagonism' towards the Christian religion.²⁸ Modernism had become not only 'atmospheric', but also demonic: 'The Prince of teh [sic] power of the air has his own broadcasting system and the very air is full of the voices of unbelief'.²⁹ Kemp did not wish to deny modernists freedom of expression, but claimed that they should broadcast their teachings only 'at their own expense'. Modernists working 'without any compunction of conscience' in evangelical institutions should be 'denied the right to pollute the house that gives them shelter'. Kemp charged modernists with unethical behaviour in using the language of orthodoxy, while investing it with meaning contrary to its 'evangelical significance'. Furthermore, Kemp claimed that aggressive modernism had graduated from 'capturing pulpit and professor's chairs', to promulgating the poison of its 'deadly errors' within mission stations. Lastly, Kemp enjoined his hearers to take the same attitude towards modernism as that of Christ towards the scribes and the Pharisees in the gospel record. New Zealand defenders of the faith must fight 'this battle' in the Spirit of Christ, given that modernism had 'openly declared war upon every Fundamental of the Christian faith and every day brings tidings of some new act of violence to the truth.'³⁰

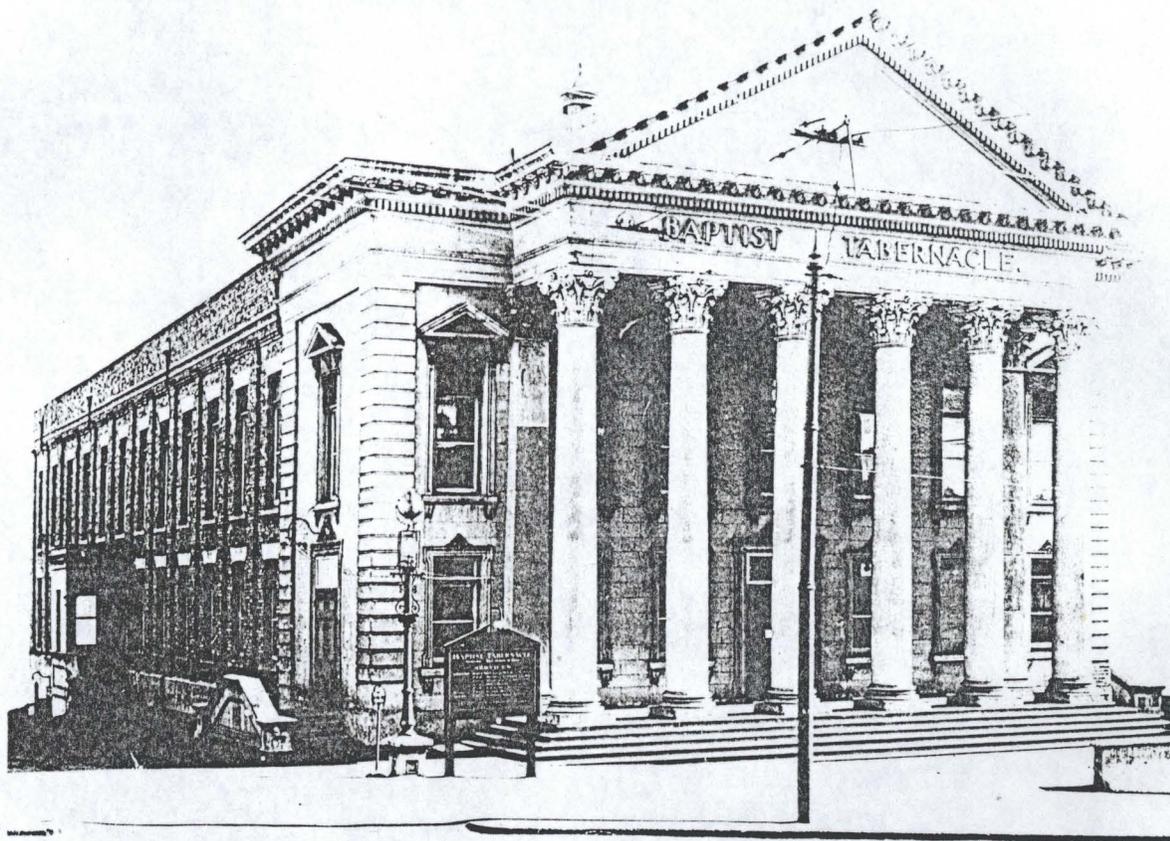
In his quest to safeguard the orthodoxy of traditional Protestantism, Kemp charged modernism with denying the 'supernatural origin' of scripture, the 'infallibility of Christ', the 'Virgin Birth of Jesus', the vicariousness of his death, the 'fact of His bodily resurrection', and 'the personal return of the Lord Jesus Christ'.³¹ Such rejection would necessarily result in a 'tolerant attitude

towards sin', and dispensing with 'the new birth', according to Kemp's view of evangelism and regeneration. Insisting on a sharp distinction between 'human reason' and 'Divine Revelation' on the one hand, and 'the wisdom of man' and 'the Word of God' on the other, Kemp claimed that one logical implication of modernism was the acceptance of the principle of evolution. He exactly echoed his American fundamentalist mentors in linking German militarism to German rationalism, which was seen as the philosophical basis of the modernist theological position. Kemp also drew a direct connection between the amending of the divorce laws, and the questioning of the decalogue by liberals.³² He attributed the alarming increase of the number of converts to Roman Catholicism to the quest for a 'positive and authoritative' faith by those disillusioned by the negations of 'religious modernism'. Kemp doubted whether a liberal would protect Christianity from the inroads of new cults such as Christian Science and Spiritism.³³

Kemp's reasons for opposing modernism have now been clarified, and his militantly anti-modernist fundamentalist position demonstrated. The impact of his American fundamentalism on each of his successive spheres of influence can now be assessed. Starting with his immediate influence on his congregation at the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, the study will work outwards into the successive spheres of influence placed in Kemp's order of priority. This allows assessment in four areas: I. The Tabernacle; II. Religious life in Auckland; III. The national evangelical scene; and IV. The Baptist denomination as a whole. His impact will be assessed thematically, rather than chronologically. The assessment will take the form, in part, of an identification of those characteristics of fundamentalism which predominate in each sphere of influence. Creative modifications made by Kemp in response to the demise of the fundamentalist cause in America will be discussed in the concluding chapter, which will provide an evaluation of Kemp's impact.

I. An enthusiastic Tabernacle crowd welcomed their new minister as the *Niagara* berthed on August 9, 1920. Joseph Kemp, a veteran

The Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, modelled after
C.H. Spurgeon's Metropolitan Tabernacle, London.



of some eighteen Atlantic crossings, was accompanied by his wife Winnie, son John and daughter Mary.³⁴ Kemp had intended originally to visit Auckland for a brief period only, hoping that the sea voyage would have a further recuperative effect following his holiday in Scotland.³⁵ The journey brought to New Zealand a 'preacher of wide repute and an acknowledged leader in Biblical teaching'.³⁶ Kemp's credentials were reported throughout the Dominion.³⁷ The evening of his arrival, Kemp told a Tabernacle meeting that he felt a 'holy compulsion' to come, despite invitations to preach 'on five continents'.³⁸ He would continue to place priority on prayer, evangelism, preaching, and an interdenominational ministry of biblical instruction. In subsequent meetings of welcome Kemp warned Tabernacle members that a church 'might have a great past, orthodox beliefs, God-fearing officers, a regenerate membership, and still be in peril'.³⁹

The Tabernacle had been a respectable, if somewhat staid, Baptist church before Kemp arrived. It had been content to live on its past glory, the glory of the Thomas Spurgeon era. Without Kemp it may have gone the way of most inner-city churches in the days of a population shift to the suburbs. The 'diffused' evangelism conducted through its gymnasium and sports and debating clubs would have failed to make any significant impact on the city. Had Kemp not come, the Tabernacle young people would probably have pursued careers in the business and professional realms and maintained an active social life without any qualms of conscience. The practical concern of New Zealand Baptists to serve their society, which generally outweighed any theological concern, may have predominated. Baptist aversion to creedal formulations is likely to have continued, had it not been for Kemp's fundamentalist creedalism.

Kemp quickly set to work putting his own house in order before attempting to exert a wider influence across evangelicalism. In contrast to Kempton, he made sweeping changes to the Sunday evening evangelistic service, in an effort to hold Tabernacle young people and attract the unconverted.⁴⁰ Kemp justified the introduction of modern evangelistic techniques by saying that he welcomed modern evangelistic

methods, while holding fast against all modern developments in theology. In this stand, Kemp did not see any inconsistency. Kemp's fundamentalist sympathies were immediately evident, when he identified those aspects of the postwar world which made the task of evangelism more demanding. 'There was a lowering of moral standards, a spread of spiritism and similar cults, and the rise of a godless democracy.'⁴¹ Kemp affirmed that in spite of such unsettling modern trends, the 'Old Book' had not lost its power. The only remedy lay in preaching a gospel undiluted by modernistic compromise. Kemp clearly began his ministry in the forthright even combative manner in which he would continue. Kemp reassured the Tabernacle congregation that the gospel still had universal application and contemporary relevance. All the unexpected ramifications of Kemp's understanding of this gospel soon became only too plain to Tabernacle members.

The first aspect of Kemp's fundamentalism which struck Tabernacle members without warning was anti-worldliness. Anti-worldliness is more than a prime characteristic of fundamentalism. Indeed, as George Marsden has argued, anti-worldliness is the common denominator of all the other characteristics of fundamentalism - opposition to liberal theology, anti-evolutionism, revivalism, millennialism, biblical literalism, individual moral purity, and separateness of the church from the world.⁴² Kemp's perceptions of worldliness had been heightened during his pastorates in New York. On coming to Auckland he viewed the changing values of the 1920's in terms of the dangerous trends seen in that American city. This accounts for his uncompromising stand against 'worldliness' in the Tabernacle congregation.

Kemp's fundamentalist anti-worldly stand vastly expanded the traditional New Zealand Baptist conception of worldliness. Baptists in New Zealand were unanimous in their rejection of worldliness in the form of the drink traffic and 'the turf'. On matters that gave the Plymouth Brethren moral scruples, such as attending picture theatres, dancing, and novel reading, Baptists, however, exercised their all-important principle of liberty of individual conscience.⁴³ The

minority of Baptists in New Zealand who insisted on a thorough-going anti-worldly attitude found themselves outside the mainstream of Baptist thought. Their separationist theology was inevitably supported by the adoption of premillennial dispensationalism. Kemp's doctrinaire approach at the Tabernacle was to earn the description 'Brethrenistic', an unmistakable criticism of his narrowness.⁴⁴ His first battle came less than a month after his arrival. Kemp viewed the matter with such seriousness that he felt that it was imperative to make a stand, even before he was able to provide Tabernacle members with the rationale for the changes he saw as necessary.

It is appropriate that anti-worldliness, being the *sine qua non* of fundamentalism, should be the first fundamentalist issue Kemp pursued at the Tabernacle. For Kemp, the social side of the Tabernacle's tradition was not as authentic as its spiritual side. Previous Tabernacle ministers had, however, strongly supported the recreational and sporting activities of their young people. Like its neighbour, Pitt Street Methodist church, the Tabernacle provided a 'diffused evangelism' through its gymnasium, debating club, and boys' football teams.⁴⁵ On Kemp's arrival all such 'unspiritual activity' was promptly brought to a halt. Kemp's separationist theology was nowhere more evident than in his attitude towards these Tabernacle clubs. He heard in the fourth week of his ministry about a proposed social and dance, organised by young men from the Sunday School's Football Club. Kemp felt the ministry of the Tabernacle had been tainted. In what was to be recognized as his typical autocratic manner, Kemp called the dance off. This new note of authoritarianism in Kemp's ministry was a direct consequence of his alarm at the moral downturn of the postwar years. Kemp's anxiety, first quickened during his time in New York, was confirmed and intensified on finding in such 'immoral' behaviour among the Tabernacle youth.⁴⁶ Christians at the time, whic The Young Men's Committee was called to task immediately by the pastor and the Sunday School Superintendent. However, the young people went instead to the Picton theatre for amusement, an act which was just as sacrilegious in Kemp's opinion. His private observations mentioned not only the 'shame and humiliation of it all', but also included his exclamation: 'How the glory of this Church has

faded'.⁴⁷ When Kemp initiated his major organizational overhaul of the Tabernacle the next month, officers considered whether it was desirable to lend the Tabernacle name to these clubs any more.⁴⁸ He encouraged Tabernacle young men to leave the renamed Metropolitan Association Football Club, and its membership consequently became secularised as Christian influence was removed. The Gymnasium equipment was locked up under Kemp's orders. It was to be nine years before Tabernacle members re-established, in Kemp's absence, a Tabernacle Bible Class Gymnastic Club. On this occasion, however, membership was restricted to members or adherents of the Tabernacle, its Sunday School or Bible Classes.⁴⁹ The last established Tabernacle sport to come under Kemp's prohibition was tennis, though not because he was against it personally. A Saturday game of tennis with the Tabernacle Secretary was his only form of recreation. But Tennis club activities with the 'unchurched' connoted for Kemp a dangerous worldliness that should be avoided at all costs.⁵⁰

Such anti-worldly stances reflect much more than a puritan moral ethic or typical revivalist taboos. Kemp was clearly reacting to the new era ushered in during this postwar period, an era pre-eminently of change. Kemp's stand against allegedly sexually-suggestive dancing points forward to some aspects of the American fundamentalist battle for civilization. For the New York fundamentalist, the Rev. John Roach Straton, biblical, cultural and moral issues were to become fused together inextricably by the mid-twenties. By then, dancing had come to symbolise dangerously modern trends.⁵¹ Furthermore, by the early twenties the battle for the Bible had become synonymous with the battle for civilization. Kemp was alarmed that society halls, presumably in New York, had conditions 'worse than ever were seen in Europe and Africa', as the 'most suggestively immoral dance' was enjoyed by the 'best people'.⁵² A decade previously such dancing had been tolerated only in places of 'evil repute'.⁵³ Because of the congregational nature of Baptist church government, Kemp could impose his separationist theology on the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, while still maintaining the church's traditional links with the Baptist Union of New Zealand. He was not a true separatist, as were those members of the American Baptist Bible

Union, who disaffiliated themselves from their parent body, as a result of becoming militantly fundamentalist.⁵⁴

Kemp's concern for youth at the Tabernacle must be seen against his anxieties for the survival of evangelical religion. This could be guaranteed only by insisting on individual moral purity and by maintaining the purity of traditional evangelical teaching. Kemp's concern for Tabernacle youth sprang, in part then, from his fundamentalist convictions. Kemp needed evangelistic warriors, prayer warriors and young people, prepared to do battle royal for the fundamentals. Consistent instruction in premillennialism became a powerful means of achieving Kemp's aims. Tabernacle young people were constantly reminded to keep themselves separated from the 'worldly' in anticipation of the imminent and apocalyptic second coming of Christ. Once Kemp had established his own New Zealand Bible Training Institute, his ministry to youth was intensified even further.⁵⁵ Despite certain areas of harshness in Kemp's approach, he managed to win the hearts and loyalty of young people. In time his ministry to youth became one of the most distinctive features of his ministry at the Tabernacle. Persuaded by the imperative to preach a pure evangelical gospel, thirty-one young Tabernacle members became missionaries during the course of Joseph Kemp's ministry.

Joseph Kemp succeeded in transforming the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle into a centre for Bible study. Indeed, on his rejection of pastoral calls from his two former New York congregations, Kemp cited as one of his reasons for remaining at the Tabernacle his desire that it exercise biblical leadership in the dominion at large.⁵⁶ Kemp adopted this strategy, because he saw it as the only lasting means of countering modernism, which seemed to attack the Bible at its very core.

Kemp's evangelistic campaigns at the Tabernacle, which frequently denounced contemporary moral evils, contributed to a boom in church membership. This was sustained right throughout his

ministry, reaching a record 1030 in the year he died.⁵⁷ This was seen by Kemp and Tabernacle members as a vindication not only of his warm revivalistic ministry, but also of his uncompromising fundamentalist stands in an age of uncertainty and doubt.

The impact of Kemp's fundamentalism on the Tabernacle was seen more directly in his sheltering of a beleaguered fundamentalist minister, former Presbyterian clergyman the Rev. A.A. Murray.⁵⁸ In the Rev. H.R. Knowles Kempton's day, Murray had been seen as a threat. Kempton felt it would be injudicious, however, to formally complain about Murrays' new evangelistic mission services at the nearby Tivoli Theatre.⁵⁹ In 1920, Joseph Kemp had no qualms about offering Murray the right hand of fundamentalist fellowship. This was one of the first confirmations of Kemp's desire to build new evangelical alliances along fundamentalist lines.

Kemp's fundamentalist impact on the Tabernacle was always moderated by his revivalism. Once its specifically American identity diminished, it became subsumed under other general tendencies. These will be discussed in terms of Kemp's impact on popular piety in the concluding evaluative chapter. Furthermore, a reaction against the American features of Kemp's fundamentalism was evident in the Tabernacle's choice of successor. The call in 1934 to the scholarly British Baptist, the Rev. Dr Alexander Hodge, must be seen as an implicit rejection of the anti-intellectual aspects of Kemp's American fundamentalism, and as an indication of the congregation's desire for further respectability. The main aspects of Kemp's American fundamentalism that had an impact on the Tabernacle, were, therefore, in order of importance: revivalism, separateness of the church from the world, individual moral purity, opposition to liberal theology, biblical literalism, and premillennialism. Kemp used the Tabernacle as a base for a wider ministry to both the evangelical population and to the unchurched of Auckland. The impact of Kemp's American fundamentalism on Auckland will now be assessed.

II. Joseph Kemp's thirteen years of ministry in Auckland transformed the largest city in the dominion into a national fundamentalist centre. More than anything else, the regional variation of denominational strength in New Zealand worked to Kemp's advantage. The strong Baptist and Brethren presence largely accounted for the successful transformation, initiated chiefly by Kemp. It was in this sphere of influence that Kemp's opposition to liberal theology was most manifest. Consistently pursued biblical concerns took priority over Kemp's mass evangelistic revivalistic campaigns which drew headlines from time to time.

In Auckland Kemp was one of a cluster of powerful inner-city preachers. This both reinforced his evangelical ministry and brought the threat of competition. Tabernacle young people who missed one evening service in order to hear the famed British revivalist, the Rev. Lionel Fletcher of Beresford Street Congregational church,⁶⁰ were castigated severely.⁶¹ Kemp succeeded, nevertheless, in drawing the evangelical ministers of the inner-city together for his main revivalist and fundamentalist campaigns. The only clearly separatist fundamentalist minister in this environment was the Rev. A.A. Murray, of the United Evangelical church. The Rev. George Aldridge, minister of the Church of Christ (Life and Advent) in East Street, crossed swords with Kemp over organic evolution and the conditional immortality of the soul.⁶² Kemp's dictum of 'modernism in evangelism' was taken further than Kemp would have ever allowed by the Rev. Jasper Calder. In response to the public rejection of most church services as too stuffy and boring, Calder held jazz waterside services.⁶³ Kemp's lack of corporate social concern in the depression of the late twenties and early thirties was heightened by comparison with nearby Methodist missionary, the Rev. Colin Scrimgeour, known affectionately as 'Uncle Scrim'. His radio broadcasts from 'The Church of the Friendly Road' gave hope to thousands with a gospel less demanding than that fashioned by Kemp's separationist approach. The uniqueness of Kemp's anti-modernist contribution in the religious life of Auckland is clear, given this ecclesiastical background.

The Rev. Joseph W. Kemp with the Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher, from Bereford Street Congregational Church. The militancy of Kemp's anti-modernism was thrown into sharp relief by a direct comparison with Fletcher's purely revivalistic ministry.



In order to fortify Christians against the 'colossal evil' of modernism, Kemp immediately set to work in Auckland duplicating the structures within which lay people had been so successfully instructed in America. Kemp's first fundamentalist strategy was to establish an interdenominational Bible ministry, which would be so powerful that Christians of all shades of Protestant affiliation from all parts of Auckland would be attracted. No interdenominational weekly meeting existed in the city to take people systematically through the Bible. On the evening of Wednesday, 24 August 1920, Kemp taught at the inaugural public meeting of the 'Mid-Week Bible Study'. All interested in 'the spread of the Evangelical Truth' were invited to attend the lecture, 'How to study the Book of Genesis'.⁶⁴ Kemp's intention in this 'Back to the Bible' lecture series was not to entertain by colourful rhetoric. Kemp's sermons were not just performances. While it might be thought that he was no more than a brilliant proselytizer of American fundamentalist concerns, the facts are that he demanded stern and assiduous study. Attenders were told to bring their Bibles and notebooks. The next week the study was held on Thursday, as Kemp desired to maintain his interdenominational ministry without encouraging visitors from other churches to neglect their own Wednesday midweek prayer meetings. Advertisements for the lectures had been fairly bland until the book of Deuteronomy was reached. Kemp described this fifth book of the Pentateuch as 'remarkable' and clearly intended to defend it from attacks which had made it a 'storm-centre of critical controversy'.⁶⁵ Christians disconcerted by liberal teaching flocked to hear Kemp reassure them of the old certainties, which included Mosaic authorship of the entire Pentateuch. By November five hundred people were attending the lectures. Over the summer period Kemp's Thursday evening lectures became part of a Bible and Prophetic Conference, first mooted in October. There his premillennialist and anti-cultural fundamentalist concerns became dominant. Very large audiences were drawn by his topics, 'The Tyranny of Democracy', 'Anti-Christ, the Superman', with its Nietzschean overtones, and 'The Great Tribulation and who will pass through it'.⁶⁶ While Pound has claimed that Kemp frequently resorted to premillennialist themes to draw crowds when attendances were flagging, it is clear that his doctrinaire approach had a definite appeal to conservative evangelical Christians in a time of

great uncertainty and rapid change.⁶⁷ Dispensational premillennialism also provided a powerful critique of contemporary society, and accounted for the emptying of the pews of the established churches, in a city where church attendance had never involved more than a very small proportion of the general population. From Kemp's standpoint, the public response to his fundamentalist teaching was seen as a vindication of his refusal to accommodate evangelical truth to modern biblical understanding.

Kemp's heightened concerns at the moral downturn in society combined with his fighting evangelistic spirit to produce his first major public campaign in Auckland in May 1921. Kemp's authoritative preaching attracted very large crowds throughout the three-month campaign. The greatest public response was not to pure evangelism or revivalism. On the contrary, Kemp's most numerous congregations were those on Saturday evenings, when he devoted the whole meeting to a denunciation of modern worldly amusements.⁶⁸ According to Pound, Kemp instituted in the course of this campaign a Christian boycott against the film industry. Kemp's fastening onto this issue is one example of his astuteness in judging the secular concerns of the time, and reinterpreting them within an evangelical context. Blame for the changing morals of young people had already been laid at the feet of those who screened silent pictures, whose characters were of questionable morality.⁶⁹ Kemp's addresses 'The Dance', 'The Card Table', 'The Theatre', and 'The Racecourse' were not only delivered in 'an able and fearless manner', but also constituted a challenge and evoked considerable criticism in local newspapers.⁷⁰ His attitude was lampooned by a cartoon in the *Auckland Star*, but church members could reassure themselves that at least some hearers changed their ways.⁷¹ They had heard 'of a number of theatre tickets and dancing shoes being consigned to the flames, those who parted with them doing so without a pang of regret, they having found in Christ a real satisfaction and a joy that is full.'⁷² The internationally-famous revivalist had, by now, 'truly made his mark on the city.'⁷³ Although his words were seen as both 'forcible and courageous', they also introduced a discordant note into Baptist life in the country. The new legalism of an influential group of Baptists in Auckland was to be widely

acknowledged in the years to come.⁷⁴ Kemp's first public campaign resembles, in many respects, those conducted by the American accusative fundamentalist, the Rev. John Roach Straton, who was famous for his crusades against social evils. Kemp's and Straton's fundamentalist campaigns both pointed the finger at modernists. Those of liberal theological tendency were viewed as being soft not only on evangelism, having no clear gospel to preach, but also on personal morals, having no sense of absolute right and wrong.

As the American fundamentalist/modernist controversy became more intense, so too did Kemp's attack on modernism in general, and higher criticism in particular.⁷⁵ In 1923 the Mid-Week Bible Study became not only more distinctly anti-modernist, but, more significantly, it became aggressively anti-modernist. Now considered an attractive feature in the religious life of Auckland, the Mid-Week Bible Study no longer drew audiences primarily on the basis of its expository and millennialist emphasis.⁷⁶ Studies on the book of Revelation were displaced in August 1923, by a series of lectures attacking higher criticism, given the evocative title 'The Bible in the Billows'. Kemp's first lecture, 'What is Higher Criticism?', attacked this scholarly theory as propaganda.⁷⁷ The popularization of higher criticism in 'books, magazines, religious weeklies, and in the daily press' meant for Kemp and other fundamentalists that 'the fight was on'. Such popularization had, in fact been taking place since 1880.⁷⁸ Four decades later Kemp alleged that the 'insidious position' of higher criticism had not only 'invaded' theological institutions, and pulpits, but was also being taught to children in Sunday Schools. Higher critics, while claiming to be 'the friends of our Lord', were doing the devil's work from within the churches, according to Kemp.

With the contemporary American controversy ever in mind, Kemp reported one conservative Baptist attempt the previous year to press the Northern Baptist Convention to adopt a creedal test of orthodoxy in the form of the New Hampshire Confession of 1833.⁷⁹ The fundamentalist proponent, the Rev. William B. Riley, had been outmanoeuvred, however, by a liberal minister who argued successfully

that 'the New Testament is the all-sufficient ground of our faith and practice, and we need no other statement'.⁸⁰ The arguments Kemp marshalled in his 1923 attack on higher criticism lacked, however, this same contemporaneity. They added very little to the main arguments marshalled in *The Fundamentals* ten years before. In his claim that he was 'far from deprecating fair-minded criticism', Kemp reflected the views expressed by Sir Robert Anderson.⁸¹ This British Brethren writer had argued that true criticism entered upon its inquiries with an open mind, but German higher criticism with its speculative hypotheses was clearly false criticism. Kemp concurred in attributing such theories to 'German rationalism'.⁸² Much in the manner of the writers of *The Fundamentals*, he pointed out the naturalistic basis and anti-supernaturalist bias of higher criticism. Kemp claimed that the critics intended to eliminate 'everything supernatural from the Book of God'. In so doing he reflected in part Canon Dyson Hague's claim that the central unproven and unprovable hypothesis, or bias, was 'a strong bias against the supernatural' and the miraculous.⁸³ Kemp did not list Bacon and Newton as his epistemological mentors, but his assertion that the 'validity of criticism is determined by its treatment of facts' showed his debt to the pre-Kantian views accepted by the Princetonian precursors of fundamentalism, Charles Hodge, A.A. Hodge, and B.B. Warfield.⁸⁴ Kemp's admiration for this Princetonian tradition was demonstrated not only by his quoting from Dr W. Henry Green as an authority on the contemporary crisis, but also in his assertion that conservatives were being urged to surrender their faith 'in the infallible truth and divine authority of the Holy Scriptures.'⁸⁵ Kemp's fear that missionary work was 'not immune from attack' mirrored the stand taken by the moderate American fundamentalist, Augustus H. Strong.⁸⁶

Reflecting on recent modernist successes in America, Kemp urged his New Zealand hearers and readers to consider the evidence of the 1923 Northern Baptist Convention, in order to judge whether modernists 'sailing under the colours of the Bible, are in reality its most dangerous foes'.⁸⁷ Kemp then argued that modernist teachings destroyed the very basis of Baptist belief, an 'inspired and authoritative Bible'. The second illustration of 'a great trend away

from the moorings of our faith' cited by Kemp involved the questioning at the May, 1923 Presbyterian General Assembly of the 'five points' of essential doctrines reaffirmed without alteration from the agreed 1910 wording.⁸⁸ In what was seen as an appropriate masculine image, Kemp wondered that, given such threats, 'the church does not rise as one man, and demand that men serving under her banner shall be loyal to the faith of our fathers'.⁸⁹ He could only deduce that 'we are afraid of the storm', that might perhaps arise. Lastly, in a veiled threat of eternal judgement, Kemp placed before his audience the 'awful' dilemma: 'You must choose between Christ and Criticism.'⁹⁰

Although quite willing to attack modernism in the United States from a comfortable distance, Kemp did not go on to attack the Presbyterian Knox College, where New Zealand Baptist ministers had been trained, for teaching biblical criticism. Neither did he attack the two denominational theological colleges in Auckland, Trinity College (Methodist) and St John's (Anglican).⁹¹ Kemp's antagonism towards modernism resembles more closely the ritual animosity of some American fundamentalists, than the British tradition of genuine theological interchange among disputants. Kemp's Auckland crusade against modernism proceeded, nonetheless, with even greater aggression in 1924, as already demonstrated. The Mid-Week Bible Study ran almost continuously until Kemp's death, providing throughout the course of his ministry one of the most important transdenominational fundamentalist platforms in the city.

Although Joseph Kemp modified his militant anti-modernist stance considerably after the demise of the American fundamentalist cause in the mid-twenties, this did not prevent him from organizing and leading an assault on modernism in 1929 from the Auckland Town Hall. Kemp's fundamentalist convictions had never diminished during these later years, but the reactive nature of his fundamentalism had been held firmly in check. Kemp's Great Bible Demonstration in March 1929 was intended to counter publicity given the unsettling views of the outstanding expatriate New Zealand modernist, the Rev. Canon H.D.A. Major, founder of *The Modern Churchman* magazine.⁹² Kemp's stand

for the 'holy and historic Faith' drew on the fundamentalist alliances created at the start of his Auckland ministry. A range of speakers all affirmed 'the Holy Scriptures as the fully inspired and wholly trustworthy revelation of God to men, and the final authority in all matters of faith and practice.' This indicated considerable modification of the strict inerrancy position taken by fundamentalists in the early twenties. More than three thousand people attended the anti-modernist meetings in the Auckland Town Hall, including many members of the general public. Kemp implied that the chief purpose was not to stir up controversy for controversy's sake. Neither did he wish to be uncharitable. He did not claim a monopoly of the truth, but wished to restore confidence in the scriptures questioned by Major. In a strongly argued address, "The Menace of Modernism", Kemp portrayed modernism and fundamentalism as antagonistic religions, diametrically opposed to each other. He repeated the favourite fundamentalist theme that modernism, being a menace to morals, threatened modern civilization.⁹³ The three other 'menaces' discussed by Kemp were: the menace to young minds, the menace to the ministry of 'the Word', and the menace to foreign missions.⁹⁴ Local support was provided by the Rev. A.A. Murray of the United Evangelical church, the Rev. Evan R. Harries of St. James Presbyterian church, and a number from the Brethren assemblies.⁹⁵ Without Kemp's dynamic leadership it is doubtful that evangelical ministers in Auckland would have instigated this anti-modernist campaign. Kemp directed the energies of those evangelicals of fundamentalist persuasion to achieve this strong public stand. Furthermore, Kemp gave Auckland fundamentalists a new sense of corporate identity against a common enemy, namely modernism. While Kemp saw as imperative the need to make a public fundamentalist response to Major, the leading expatriate New Zealand modernist, support from Kemp's informal fundamentalist alliance was noticeably lacking when an extreme American fundamentalist came to Auckland in 1930. Joseph Kemp was, by this stage, quite happy to be disassociated formally from Dr French E. Oliver.⁹⁶

Therefore, the main aspects of Kemp's American fundamentalism that had an impact on Auckland were, in order of importance, opposition to liberal theology, biblical literalism, premillennialism, revivalism, individual moral purity and separateness of the church

from the world. The reasons for this response will be suggested in the concluding chapter. Kemp's ministry in Auckland became the base for his impact on evangelicalism throughout New Zealand. Although evolution did not become a national issue in the twenties as it did in the United States, fundamentalists in New Zealand were to gain a new sense of identity and fellowship through the new national fundamentalist institutions which Kemp founded. These he saw as essential to an adequate defence of the evangelical faith.

III. Kemp's national impact shows that he was not only the prime interpreter of American fundamentalism for evangelical Christians in the dominion. His ministry also resulted in the creation of specifically fundamentalist institutions. Kemp's most lasting impact has been in this national realm, evidenced by the survival of these institutions in the late 1980's. Kemp's national impact was felt, first, through a national fundamentalist conference; secondly, through the training of hundreds of lay workers at the New Zealand Bible Training Institute, and thirdly, through the publication of *The Reaper*. Kemp's stand on evolution will be discussed in the light of the failure of fundamentalists to make evolution a major national issue.

Unlike the United States of America, New Zealand society as a whole was only marginally susceptible to proto-fundamentalism before Kemp's arrival in 1920. The essentially pietistic and pragmatic nature of much Protestantism militated against the nurturing of a vigorous theological liberalism on the one hand, and theological literacy among lay evangelicals on the other. While the American fundamentalist movement drew both on its millennialist and Princetonian precursors, fundamentalist strains in New Zealand could not boast the same robust theological antecedents. Premillennial concerns were diffused within the assemblies of the Plymouth Brethren, and within the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations until the formation in 1919 of the Pre-Millennial Advent Association.⁹⁷ Confessional proto-fundamentalist Presbyterians had waged theological warfare on Professor John Dickie at Knox College, to no avail. On Kemp's arrival

in New Zealand, no proto-fundamentalist figure was in a position to exercise national leadership in a nascent anti-modernist movement. Few interdenominational evangelical institutions or conferences existed, which could act as disseminators of American fundamentalist theology. Unlike Australia, New Zealand had no interdenominational college in which to fortify lay people against modernism.⁹⁸ The burgeoning of evangelical institutions with biblical concerns would have to wait until the late twenties at the earliest. Therefore, any fundamentalist leader who wished to make a national impact would have to create new institutions *ex nihilo*. Kemp was the only person to achieve this aim. The national institutions he established, including the Ngaruawahia Convention, were not solely revivalistic in intent. Each disseminated Kemp's fundamentalist theology in its own particular way. To assess Kemp's national impact it is necessary, therefore, to examine each institution in turn. Before this can be done, Kemp's first attempt to create informal fundamentalist alliances among evangelical Christians in New Zealand must be acknowledged.

Kemp was the first minister in New Zealand to plan and host an identifiably fundamentalist campaign. His 'Conference of Christian Fundamentals' was endorsed by ministers from as far away as Ashburton and Wanganui. Commencing on 27 December 1921, the twelve-day conference was a timely one, in Kemp's judgement.⁹⁹ Kemp's conference provided the most searching treatment of 'the fundamentals' in New Zealand to that date.¹⁰⁰ Kemp successfully drew together for the first time nineteen speakers from a range of denominations.¹⁰¹ All recognised the need to make a clear, interdenominational corporate stand for those fundamental evangelical truths being attacked by overseas modernists. The Rev. A.A. Murray, an outspoken anti-modernist and separatist fundamentalist, spoke about the 'Coming of the Lord in relation to the Jew'. From a basis of premillennial argument, he concluded that the termination of the Jews' sufferings could be brought about only by the personal return of Christ.¹⁰² The Rev. Percy Knight, of Pitt Street Methodist church, addressed contemporary fears in his lecture on 'The Dearth of Conversions caused by Present Theological Tendencies'.¹⁰³ On average two speakers addressed each afternoon and evening session, on subjects ranging from

justification, regeneration, and sanctification, to the victorious life, the Spirit-filled life, and various aspects of the second coming of Christ. These wider concerns show that fundamentalist theology always drew from the older revivalist and evangelical traditions. It was Kemp's conference, however, which created a new sense of evangelical solidarity against the common theological foe of modernism. The Presbyterian journal, *The Outlook*, praised Kemp for his courageous venture undertaken during the holiday season. Its one regret was that the teaching 'should have been aimed more definitely towards "creating a crisis" in the experience of the hearers.'¹⁰⁴ At this conference, however, Kemp's revivalism was clearly held in check by his fundamentalism. Relationships formed here provided the basis of an emergent fundamentalist alliance. Kemp intended to make the fundamentalist summer conference a national institution. The promoters were so delighted with its success that they planned to make it an annual fixture.¹⁰⁵ Kemp and his fundamentalist allies had failed, however, to identify a national modernist enemy. Auckland could provide him with no dangerous liberal, for its Anglican and Methodist theological colleges were moribund institutions intellectually, far from being hotbeds of modernism.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, the impulse to hold national fundamentalist conferences on an annual basis could not be sustained. A cohesive national fundamentalist movement against modernism failed to eventuate. In contrast, the promoters of a similar 'Conference on Fundamentals' held in Melbourne nearly a year later succeeded in launching the fundamentalist Bible Union of Australia, which still functions in the late 1980's.¹⁰⁷

Joseph Kemp's national strategy to fight modernism in the denominations and guarantee the survival of evangelical religion is seen most clearly in the decision in 1921 to found his own national fundamentalist lay training centre. Kemp came to regard the New Zealand Bible Training Institute as his most influential ministry.¹⁰⁸ This institute ran along the lines of the Metropolitan Bible Training and Missionary Institute, which Kemp had established in New York. Its emphasis was much wider than the revivalistic thrust of the original Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. Its systematic countering of liberal theology meant that the N.Z.B.T.I. soon became one of the most

efficient disseminators of fundamentalist theology in the dominion. From humble beginnings in an old wooden building in Ponsonby, the institute trained lay church workers and missionaries, meeting a need not provided by the theological halls. A previous attempt to establish a Moody-style interdenominational college in Whangarei had been short-lived. A subsequent attempt was made to establish a fundamentalist United Evangelical Bible Institute in Palmerston North, but the insufficient population base there closed its doors prematurely.¹⁰⁹ Only Kemp was able to see this dream for lay training of unquestionable evangelical 'soundness' become a lasting reality. Kemp saw it as his mission not only to establish a two-year full-time course of instruction, but also to ensure that orthodoxy, as he defined it, was conserved and propagated.¹¹⁰ He saw a 'clamant need for a Bible Training School standing for sound, solid Bible teaching, where the entire sacred volume was accepted as the Word of God'.¹¹¹ As has been demonstrated, Kemp kept closely in touch with the contemporary American fundamentalist defence of the faith, and saw a need for similar defence in New Zealand in 'these days when the old standards of belief in the Book of books have been practically discarded'.¹¹² Clearly, his primary concern was to establish an identifiably anti-modernist institution which would teach fundamentalist theology. Kemp's missionary and evangelistic zeal, once so much a part of his revivalism, was now fired by an increasingly fundamentalist fervour. Several Auckland businessmen soon caught Kemp's vision to establish an institute standing for 'the Inspiration, Authenticity, Historicity, Infallibility and Inerrancy of the Bible, and its recognition as the Word of God'.¹¹³ Teaching commenced in March 1922, with Kemp as Honorary Principal and C.J. Rolls, a missionary from India, as Superintendent.¹¹⁴ Eleven years later Kemp saw the fulfilment a prediction that a hundred missionaries be sent out from the N.Z.B.T.I. during his lifetime.¹¹⁵

Through his combined ministries at the Tabernacle and the institute Kemp was able to encourage his most promising young people to undertake biblical training at the B.T.I.¹¹⁶ Although the institute was interdenominational in its compass, Kemp refused to compromise on what he regarded as basic doctrines. Adverse criticism was evoked by

his unbending attitude, both 'on religious grounds and in the force of his personality which left many overawed and even a little wary.'¹¹⁷ In days where a fiercely anti-Catholic prejudice predominated amongst non-sacerdotal Protestants, Kemp was seen by some as laying down the law and setting bounds for Christian behaviour with an almost papal authority.¹¹⁸ However, students with a patchy schooling came to appreciate deeply his ministry of encouragement and discipline.¹¹⁹ Within five years the institute had outgrown its first home and a new building next to the Tabernacle accommodating 36 men and 34 women from throughout New Zealand was opened debt-free in 1927. Together with his vastly successful Mid-Week Bible Study, the institute provided the focus of a new interdenominational alliance of fundamentalist Christians that would co-operate for a variety of evangelical and fundamentalist purposes. As has been indicated, Kemp did not identify the dangerous New Zealand modernists who seemed to him to be directly threatening the fundamentals of evangelical faith. However, one year after Kemp's death in 1933, a Brethren member of the institute's tutorial staff identified the Principal of Knox College, Prof. John Dickie, as a theological foe to be contended with.¹²⁰ This militantly anti-modernist attack strengthens the case for arguing that the New Zealand Bible Training Institute was one of Kemp's most important fundamentalist legacies.¹²¹ It was not long before evangelical Christians, who wished to enter the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, or Anglican ordained ministries, came to regard preparatory study at the New Zealand Bible Training Institute as an obligatory fortifying of their faith against the alleged liberalism of the theological colleges.

Kemp had seen the power of print in both Scotland and America, and sought to exercise a wider fundamentalist influence through the publication of a monthly magazine in New Zealand. *The Reaper*, first published in March 1923, succeeded in creating a sense of modernist threat to evangelicalism in New Zealand. Kemp achieved this, first, by carefully reporting developments in the American fundamentalist/modernist controversy. Secondly, Kemp duplicated much American fundamentalist literature that must have flooded his desk at the Tabernacle. Anything not conforming to the rigid fundamentalist

stands thus enunciated was to be considered a deviation from the truth, if not outright heretical. The publication of *The Reaper* on a monthly basis enabled Kemp to maintain his stand of opposition to liberal theology with greater consistency. Furthermore, it fostered fundamentalist alliances across denominational boundaries. Costing threepence an issue, *The Reaper* soon found its way into numerous evangelical homes throughout the country. By the third issue in May, 1923, it was reported that *The Reaper*, edited by Kemp, was greatly appreciated and was already in large demand.¹²² The significance of Kemp's editorial contribution through this journal is clearer when compared with the two most similar conservative evangelical journals already in circulation in the dominion, *The Treasury*, and the *Biblical Recorder*.

In many respects Kemp's distinctive revivalistic and doctrinal emphases had already been anticipated by the Brethren journal, *The Treasury*. Its concerns across a range of issues, including separation from the world, dancing, standards of women's dress, lowering standards of truth in the churches, the authority of scripture, the anti-supernaturalism of liberal theologians, higher criticism, and evolution, were expressed both before and after the war. The term 'fundamentalist' had been foreign, however, to *Treasury* vocabulary until 1923, when a certain anxiety over the American fundamentalist/modernist controversy was expressed, significantly, by the British Brethren publisher, Harry Pickering.¹²³ Kemp's journal, in comparison, disseminated theological trends of a specifically American nature to conservative evangelical Christians in New Zealand.

The only truly comparable militantly anti-modernist journal in New Zealand before the twenties was the *Biblical Recorder*, edited by the Presbyterian controversialist, the Rev. P.B. Fraser.¹²⁴ Before Kemp took up his editorial pen, the *Biblical Recorder* served as the major national publicist of premillennial concerns, and acted as the disseminator of publications from American prophetic Bible conferences.¹²⁵ Fraser's animosity towards modernism was evidenced by his identifying his immediate liberal theological foes as Professor

John Dickie and the Rev. Dr James Gibb.¹²⁶ Fraser's direct links with the Princeton theologian, B.B. Warfield, reinforced in the New Zealand context Warfield's criticisms of 'Ritschlianism' as 'pure, undisguised "Unitarianism"'.¹²⁷ Fraser warned Baptists and Presbyterians training for the ordained ministry at Knox of the Theological Hall's 'German rationalism' and 'counterfeit evangelicalism'.¹²⁸ While Kemp's attacks on modernism were no less fierce, they never had Fraser's sharp local focus. Despite his differences of opinion with the more moderate Baptist leader, the Rev. J.J. North, Kemp never launched stinging attacks on him through *The Reaper*. Kemp's forays into the territory charted by other heresy-hunters nearly always drew their impetus from the American fundamentalist literature with which he was so familiar. Unlike the stands for 'orthodoxy' made in *The Biblical Recorder*, Kemp's consistent stand against modernism was always softened by an appeal to broader evangelical and revivalist concerns.

Joseph Kemp's American fundamentalist leanings were revealed on the first contents page of the first edition of *The Reaper*. Here Kemp gave his own version of the 'famous five points' that were, according to Marsden, the 'last rallying position before the spectacular collapse of the conservative party'.¹²⁹ *The Reaper* would emphasise the 'weighty truths' of the 'inerrancy of the Scriptures', the 'Deity of our blessed Lord, the Virgin Birth, His immaculate life', 'His sacrificial death and bodily resurrection', and lastly the imminent return of Christ.¹³⁰ This last point was a premillennial substitution for the usual affirmation of the authenticity of the miracles. He implicitly rejected the response to higher criticism of those German theologians influenced by romantic and idealistic philosophies, in his affirmation that: 'We stand for the inerrancy of the Scriptures, and believe that the Bible not only contains the Word of God, but is the Word of God'.¹³¹ The first issue of *The Reaper* was, however, warmly revivalistic and distinctly dispensational.¹³² In the next issue New Zealand readers were told of the successful 'purging' of modernists from the church of the Toronto fundamentalist, the Rev. T.T. Shields, and warned that modernism and 'spiritual stagnation are synonymous terms.'¹³³ In May, Kemp launched a more aggressive attack on modernism. He described Episcopalian minister, the Rev. Dr Percy

Stickney Grant of New York, as 'the latest to champion the cause of heresy'.¹³⁴ Alleging that such modernists were being disloyal to their churches on common ethical grounds, Kemp then argued that modernists unable to remain loyal 'should cease to wear the livery of the Church and enter other fields.'¹³⁵ Furthermore, Kemp showed his complete agreement with the American fundamentalists in insisting that the 'Word of God' created necessary dualisms between the natural and the spiritual, the carnal and the divine, the dead and the living, the repentent and the impenitent, and between the precious and the vile.¹³⁶

More specific attempts to introduce evangelical Christians in the dominion to American proto-fundamentalist creedal formulations came in June 1923. Kemp reproduced in *The Reaper* the fourteen articles of belief of the American Prophetic Niagara Bible Conference, under the heading 'The Fundamentals of the Faith'.¹³⁷ He urged New Zealand Christians to make a painstaking and prayerful study of the articles, day by day or week by week, 'at the family altar, in the secret place of prayer, or by groups or classes'.¹³⁸ Kemp led by example, and he ensured that the Tabernacle Men's Senior Bible Class was soon studying the Niagara articles.¹³⁹ In little more than six months, Kemp published fundamentalist Sunday School material, based on the 'Whole Bible Course Sunday School Lessons' of the Christian Fundamentals Association. This followed dissatisfaction with the International Sunday School Lessons, and concern that fundamental truths should be instilled into young minds.¹⁴⁰

The Reaper also contained some creative, if intriguing, theological reinterpretation on Kemp's part. In particular, he gave his own re-definition of what it meant to have a critical approach to scripture. While quoting a writer who accepted the doctrine of plenary inspiration of scripture, despite its many difficulties, Kemp maintained in the same article, nevertheless, that a critical approach could benefit evangelism. In handling 'the Word of God for the purposes of soul-winning it is well to have some knowledge of the critical interpretation of the Bible, for such a study will give an intellectual grip upon the great foundational truths of the Book'.¹⁴¹ By critical method, Kemp did not mean an analysis of the sources, but

an understanding of the 'general idea, purpose and arrangement of the books of the Bible', in the manner provided by his Mid-Week Bible Study at the Tabernacle.¹⁴² This basic inconsistency in Kemp's redefinition would have been evident only to the most theologically-aware of Kemp's readers. His unrelenting hostility to a genuinely critical study of the Bible was manifest, however, when he pitted 'human reason' against 'divine revelation' in an attack on the 'standard book of reference', Peake's Commentary of 1920.¹⁴³ A.S. Peake, a moderate British evangelical, had done much to introduce the public to biblical criticism.¹⁴⁴ Kemp bought a copy of Peake's commentary, despite a warning that it was 'a very heretical book'.¹⁴⁵ The bookseller's condition was that he should publicly denounce it. Kemp obliged, in a 'good rousing attack' upon its orthodoxy. Five years later, Peake's greatest service to British evangelicalism was seen to be his role in saving Britain from 'a fundamentalist controversy such as that which has devastated large sections of the church in America'.¹⁴⁶

By the time the world-wide economic depression hit New Zealand in the late twenties, Kemp's monthly journal had an unassailable place in the lives of evangelical Christians throughout the dominion. Despite financial hardship a thousand continued to subscribe to *The Reaper*. From seemingly unambitious beginnings as the main disseminator of biblical teaching from the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle and the Mid-Week Bible Study,¹⁴⁷ *The Reaper* had become one of the most efficient means nationally of disseminating fundamentalist theology.

Kemp's work in establishing in 1924 the first Keswick-style conference in the North Island at Ngaruawahia gave conservative evangelical Christians a new sense of evangelical purpose.¹⁴⁸ Its fundamentalist emphasis was seen not in overt anti-modernism, but in the favourite fundamentalist device of proof-texting. Apart from this, the convention's significance was in the realm of revivalism, and of stimulating young people to become missionaries.

Joseph Kemp did not try to make the teaching of evolution in state-funded schools a major national public issue. In the postwar period in the United States, however, evolution had become for fundamentalists a symbol of this demise of civilization. They launched a concerted campaign to ban the teaching of evolution in public schools, culminating in the dramatic showdown of the Scopes Trial in 1925. This trial was completely foreign to the religio-political ethos of both New Zealand and the British Isles. Conservative Christians with British theological roots found the trial inconceivable.¹⁴⁹ The transformation of American fundamentalism during the Scopes trial seemed to reinforce modernist claims that fundamentalists held on to past doctrinal formulations for sociological reasons, rather than theological ones.¹⁵⁰ Although anti-evolutionists won the trial initially, a trial by public opinion caricatured fundamentalism as obscurantist and labelled the movement as synonymous with rural backwardness. The respect commanded by fundamentalism before 1925 was destroyed by ridicule such as that of Walter Lippman, who alleged that 'the movement is recruited largely from the isolated, the inexperienced, and the uneducated.'¹⁵¹ Rather than be embarrassed through identification with the fundamentalist cause, many moderate conservative evangelicals slipped away unobtrusively from doctrinaire positions.

Kemp remained strangely silent about this major defeat for the fundamentalist cause, mentioning the Scopes trial only incidentally in the context of a tribute to William Jennings Bryan following his death in August 1925.¹⁵² The New Zealand public was not left in the dark, however, on news regarding this major defeat for fundamentalism. Reports of the Scopes Trial proved to be the entry point for fundamentalist terminology in some newspapers.¹⁵³ Counsel for the prosecution, William Jennings Bryan, was described as being 'uncompromisingly fundamentalist'.¹⁵⁴ The editor of the *New Zealand Baptist*, the Rev. J.J. North, came down on the side of freedom of expression, seeing the fundamentalist desire for state curriculum control and censorship as leading dangerously towards a mediaeval tyranny.¹⁵⁵

Joseph Kemp had been uncompromising in his pulpit utterances against Darwinian evolution, which challenged the literal six-day interpretation of the biblical creation account. William Jennings Bryan had been mentioned frequently from the Tabernacle pulpit, and held up as a 'great example of a fighter for the truth.'¹⁵⁶ In one tightly reasoned sermon Kemp had reiterated that evolution did not dispense with the problem of a first cause. Kemp boldly claimed that 'all competent scientists' regarded evolution as a process only.¹⁵⁷ In the context of his famous attack on higher criticism, "The Bible in the billows", Kemp concluded that 'there will be no victory over that last issue of an unbelieving imagination - the Goliath of Evolution save in the power of faith fed at the fires of intercession.'¹⁵⁸ Students at the Bible Training Institute were taught, furthermore, a strictly anti-evolutionary line. Kemp's congregation was 'schooled' to believe that no evolutionary process was possible in creation. Why such silence in 1925, given his previous dogmatism? Kemp, the fierce pulpit denouncer, found it expedient not to dwell on the demise of the anti-evolutionary cause in America, for fear of being labelled similarly obscurantist. His own limited education could have laid him open to similar ridicule, had he continued to pursue the American fundamentalist cause with his customary vigour. In the latter part of his ministry, Kemp underplayed the militancy of the fundamentalism for which he had become widely known.

In the late twenties, Kemp was not among those fundamentalist leaders who fought battles in the major newspapers against the teaching of evolution in schools. Syllabus changes in primary schools in 1929 allowed, for the first time, the teaching of the concepts of evolution in the upper classes.¹⁵⁹ The Rev. P.B. Fraser expressed his uncompromising anti-evolutionist stance in the *Otago Daily Times*, and Dr W.H. Pettit, the Brethren anti-modernist, kept up a lively correspondence in the *New Zealand Herald*.¹⁶⁰ Both failed, however, to make evolution a national issue. The main reason is that a centralised primary education system in New Zealand did not allow localised questioning of curricula. In the United States, however, curricula and textbooks were controlled by local authorities who were elected. The public teaching of evolution could become, therefore a

contentious local issues and attracted much acrimonious local debate.¹⁶¹ Kemp's failure to superimpose the polemics of the anti-evolution debate on New Zealand society does not detract from his national fundamentalist impact. Rather, it confirms his astuteness in pursuing only live issues. Nonetheless, Kemp clearly regarded evolution as an enemy to be fought, but with the spiritual weaponry of prayer.

Lastly, in order to show the uniqueness of Kemp's impact as a national fundamentalist figure, it is necessary to consider his achievements in the light of other contemporary fundamentalists, the foremost of whom was the Rev. P.B. Fraser, Presbyterian minister at Lovell's Flat, Hokitika. In comparison with Kemp, Fraser's appeal was limited to a much more marginal section of conservative evangelical Christianity in New Zealand. Like Kemp, Fraser had a burning desire for evangelism. This was demonstrated convincingly in his pioneering Home Missionary work within the Presbyterian denomination. Fraser's theological foes, disliking his fundamentalist stands against their liberalism, ensured that his impact on Presbyterianism would be circumscribed. His beleaguered denominational position after official ostracism could not have been further removed from the position of influence maintained by Kemp across a broad spectrum of ministry. Kemp's failure to pursue 'live' modernists in the dominion accounts, ironically, for his broader appeal. He was careful not to alienate the intellectual elite of his own denomination by aggressive fundamentalist campaigns aimed at specific New Zealand Baptist leaders.

The separatist Auckland fundamentalist, the Rev. A.A. Murray, never exercised national leadership within conservative evangelicalism. The fledgling United Evangelical church was an inadequate base for such influence in the dominion. Murray's church is not without significance, however, in terms of an emergent fundamentalist alliance. According to Peter Lineham, Murray seceded from the Presbyterian denomination to form his splinter after a visit to Princeton.¹⁶² This strengthens the argument for a direct

importation of fundamentalist separatism into New Zealand. Something akin to a fundamentalist 'fortress mentality' was evident in some reactions to Murray's suspension from the Auckland Presbytery in 1920. The Rev. P.B. Fraser attributed this to his denunciations of modernism and the Presbyterian liberals.¹⁶³ Murray's fundamentalist impact on Auckland ceased in 1925 when he left for the United States of America. His church in Auckland had disintegrated by the early thirties.¹⁶⁴

In the twenties and early thirties it was Joseph Kemp, then, who was the pre-eminent national fundamentalist figure. Only he exercised leadership across a broad spectrum of evangelicalism. Kemp's impact also proved to be the most enduring of all the fundamentalist figures. This is largely because the institutions Kemp founded outlived him and continued to maintain their anti-modernist thrust.

Therefore, the main aspects of Kemp's American fundamentalism that had an impact on New Zealand evangelicalism were, in order of importance: opposition to liberal theology, biblical literalism, premillennialism and revivalism. The last area of impact to be considered is the impact of Kemp's American fundamentalism on the Baptist denomination in New Zealand. It will be seen that this impact was the least significant and least enduring of the impacts of Kemp's American fundamentalism.

IV. The Rev. Joseph Kemp tried to create among Baptists in New Zealand the same sense of cultural alarm, as that which gave birth to the fully-fledged fundamentalist movement in America. He detected everywhere a 'suffocating sensation which is almost stupefying to faith.'¹⁶⁵ In his first article in the *New Zealand Baptist* he warned of several dangerous modern trends. Given that fundamentalism was essentially a militantly anti-modernist response to the cultural crisis precipitated in the immediate postwar period, Baptists in New Zealand

would respond to Kemp's anti-modernist stand only to the extent to which they shared his belief in a contemporary crisis. Among the 'perils' Kemp identified were - atonement through non-spiritual means, self-sufficient atheism, declining morals, spiritism, modernism, and postwar reconstruction without a spiritual base. Kemp identified a new brand of self-sufficient atheism which had superseded that of Ingersoll and Bradlaugh.¹⁶⁶ Kemp set modernism against Christianity, denouncing this 'infidel movement' as a 'colossal evil', and for its having 'shockingly opened its attack upon the fundamentals of the evangelical faith.' He asserted that postwar reconstruction in terms of social, economic and political change would be a superficial cure only for a much deeper problem. He described reconstruction of the world as a 'beautiful theory'. But his dispensational premillennialism was clearly behind his questioning whether 'a world that is doomed to destruction' could undergo such reconstruction. The divine Jesus of traditional evangelical conception could alone right the world's wrongs. These trends were not those he had identified in New Zealand's largest city in the brief two months since his arrival. On the contrary, he continued to view society as a whole in terms of his recent New York experience. Furthermore, his perception was identical to that of the American fundamentalist leaders who were already engaged in their militantly anti-modernist defence of the faith. Some of these concerns did relate to postwar New Zealand society, but Kemp's sense of threat was an exaggerated one, being based almost exclusively on his recent American experience.

Joseph Kemp's fundamentalism was far from being the only theological influence on Baptists in New Zealand. The moderate mainstream, exemplified by the Rev. J.J. North, responded with caution to Kemp's call for an unambiguous stand for truth at his national fundamentals conference. As editor of the *New Zealand Baptist*, North suggested that the conference had no monopoly on the truth, since every Christian gathering ought to be 'a gathering around the fundamentals.'¹⁶⁷ North affirmed Baptist liberty against an imposed American fundamentalist creedalism. His aversion to all dogmatism and heresy-hunting was plain. He hoped the conference organisers had no lurking suggestion that 'the other fellows are heretics'. The

theological divergence between North, with his moderate evangelicalism, and Kemp, with his militant anti-modernist fundamentalism, was being clearly identified for the first time.

North's difference of opinion with Kemp did not mean that he condoned the accommodation of evangelical truth to German naturalistic theological positions. He was concerned that 'plenty of lax teachers' were giving away 'sacred things' in a quite uncritical manner, 'in order to keep the peace with the last German theory'. But there were no such Baptist modernists in New Zealand: 'We are not troubled with these gentry in our Church in this Dominion.' Well versed in moderate biblical criticism through his training from 1892 to 1895 at the Presbyterian Theological Hall, Knox College, North felt that recent differences of opinion between conservative and liberal Baptists in the United States had been blown out of all proportion. The throwing of 'epithets or tracts across a fence at each other [sic]' had caused 'very great alarm'. Although North's initial judgement on reading excerpts by liberal Baptist ministers was that 'they ought to apply to the Unitarians', he now concluded that 'the whole thing had been stupidly overstated'. North warned against a doctrinaire attitude. In his affirmation of 'the fundamentals', North showed that he was by no means a militantly anti-modernist fundamentalist. The definition of inspiration in a water-tight doctrine of biblical inerrancy, as exemplified by Princeton theologians, was criticised implicitly. North affirmed that although the authority and inspiration of scripture, the incarnation, and the second coming of Christ were each 'a fundamental', the manner of each was open to conjecture. He indicated that no theory of the atonement, even the much-vaunted penal substitution theory, was the final word on the matter.¹⁶⁸ As opposed to the fundamentalists, who saw truth as fixed and eternal, North claimed that the 'theory of the Atonement is not yet fixed in such a way as to be beyond restatement.' North clearly rejected the attempts of the fundamentalists to define 'the fundamentals' in a restrictive sense. Their dogmatics were foreign to his inquiring mind. It was North's moderate evangelicalism which was to prevail over Kemp's rigid fundamentalist positions. After 1926 North's open-mindedness considerably softened Kemp's harsh fundamentalist dogmatism as the two

men worked together in many Baptist endeavours in Auckland. The moderating process will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

In 1924 Kemp was prepared to sacrifice continuing achievement in his previous spheres of influence in order to guarantee the orthodoxy of the proposed Baptist College. After only four years of ministry at the Tabernacle he tried to exercise a direct theological influence over Baptists throughout New Zealand, through his attempt to become the first principal of the College. Interim arrangements had been made following the cessation of ministerial training of Baptists at Knox College, but these had proved to be unsatisfactory. A distinctly Baptist training was sought.¹⁶⁹ Although bible institutes were never intended as a substitute for ministerial training at a denominational college, the New Zealand Bible Training Institute provided, through Kemp's initiative, a course of biblical background for three ministerial students.¹⁷⁰ In the third year of training Kemp supervised a course of practical pastoral work. Together with the Revs. W.S. Rollings, F.E. Harry, and J.K. Archer, Joseph Kemp instigated at the 1924 Baptist Conference definite procedures to establish a Baptist College at the earliest possible date.¹⁷¹ It was at this conference that Kemp suggested that 'the Officers and Trustees of the Tabernacle be asked to grant the use of facilities in the Church building, and also that the Principal of the College should be the Pastor of the Tabernacle, he being ready to resign [from the pastorate] for that purpose.'¹⁷² A majority at the conference rejected the second part of Kemp's request, but Kemp did not take it as a personal rebuff. Delegates maintained that the interdenominational B.T.I. did not fulfil the functions of a proposed Baptist College. Furthermore, they decided that the institute's principal would have no official connection with the denominational college. Neither would the Tabernacle have control over the doctrinal basis of the college.¹⁷³ New Zealand Baptists had decided that Joseph Kemp was not to influence the future course of the denomination's theology through being principal of the proposed college. With one dissentient, plans for the college were approved. The Rev. J.J. North was invited to become its principal.¹⁷⁴ He was fully aware that an effective college would

be 'more determinative' than anything else of the future of the Baptist denomination in New Zealand.¹⁷⁵

Despite this set-back to Kemp's plans for wider influence within the denomination, Kemp was still able to scrutinize developments at the college through his membership of the College Committee, which he held until his death.¹⁷⁶ While being willing to place Tabernacle rooms at the College's disposal in its first year, and acknowledging that North's strong personality would be a major factor in the College's success, Kemp nevertheless warned that 'if this thing be not of God it will come to naught'.¹⁷⁷ Pound's assessment, however, of Kemp's opinion, was that in the 'discussions of the College Board one almost forms the conclusion that Kemp took the credit for establishing the Baptist College'.¹⁷⁸

North's prominence in denominational affairs aroused Kemp's suspicions when the college term started in 1926.¹⁷⁹ It was clear that North had no time for Kemp's institute, but he soon developed a healthy respect for his fellow Baptist leader. North's avoidance of the harsher aspects of fundamentalism meant much to students all too aware of heresy-hunting activities among conservative evangelicals.¹⁸⁰ In Auckland, North came under the suspicion of modernism, fed by behind-the-scenes criticism and whispering campaigns. One sincere critic even resigned from the Baptist ministry when proven wrong.¹⁸¹ However, North's persistent investigations into highly contentious intellectual issues, such as evolution and higher criticism, saved the faith of those students dissatisfied with Kemp's pulpit denunciations.¹⁸²

Kemp exercised a direct influence over Baptist College in only two matters. Both reflected his anti-modernist and anti-worldly fundamentalist stands. First, Kemp disapproved of North's choice of textbook, William Newton Clarke's *An Outline of Christian Theology*, first published in 1894. On moving from Christchurch to the more fundamentalist Baptist centre of Auckland, J.J. North chose Augustus H. Strong's *Systematic Theology* as a sop to the fundamentalists.¹⁸³

Strong's text was, however, used only in parts by North. The American Baptist theologian's metaphysics posed considerable philosophical problems for at least one Baptist minister in later years.¹⁸⁴ Secondly, the anti-worldliness of Kemp's fundamentalism became evident to the College Committee when it was considering a generous offer of permanent buildings on Mt. Hobson. A Tabernacle Officer and former Baptist Union President, H.M. Smeeton, had offered his home to the College with assistance from seven benefactors. When a lawyer on a neighbouring property tried to limit college activities through a change to the title deeds, Kemp insisted that the committee abandon the thought of legal action in 'pagan courts'. Kemp's influence was such, that the decision went by default. Partly in consequence, another permanent home had to be found for the college sooner than had been anticipated.¹⁸⁵

In 1929 Kemp became President of the Baptist Union, a role which showed Baptists new sides of his nature. As he visited every Baptist church in the dominion, he provided a much-valued ministry of encouragement to pastors struggling in smaller centres. Many who had known only the harsh sides of his fundamentalism developed a new respect for Kemp.¹⁸⁶ Kemp's articles in the *New Zealand Baptist* stressed the benefits of revivalism. His militantly anti-modernist concerns were out of place, because there was no national Baptist modernist threatening the fundamentals of the faith. Kemp's fundamentalist mantle was not taken up by any Baptist leader after his death. Militant anti-modernist crusades that drew their impetus directly from American fundamentalism would not be evident again until the McCarthyite era.¹⁸⁷

Therefore, the main aspects of Kemp's American fundamentalism that had an impact on Baptists in New Zealand were, in order of importance, revivalism, biblical literalism, and anti-modernism. In a tribute to Kemp's life and work at a packed funeral service on 5 September 1933, the Rev. Dr J.J. North summed up Kemp's ministry and impact in giving him the only appropriate appellation: 'Mr-Valiant-for-the-Truth'.¹⁸⁸

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 For example Dr Peter J. Lineham and Geoffrey R. Pound. See discussion below.
- 2 Either consciously or unconsciously, Keith Sinclair applies W.H. Walsh's 'colligatory concept' to describe in terms of hysteria both the religious ethos and the economic-politico movements of the early 1930's: 'New Zealand became the paradise of the fake magician. The farmers flocked to the many currency cranks and were prepared to believe that 'funny money' might save them from their creditors. In the cities folk crowded into the town halls to be hypnotized in batches by modern medicine men; they carried away 'blessed' handkerchiefs to cure all their complaints. *Some of the odder and American religions made a great many converts* [my emphasis]. In 1933 the New Zealand Legion, a semi-fascist organization (its task, like that of Mazzini's Nation, a 'living flame') sprang up, ('unswerving, undaunted and unafraid') to abolish party government and bring dynamic leadership to the nation. Fortunately it was a weed which, flourishing in sour ground, was soon crowded out by healthier growths when rising prices fertilized the land.', in Keith Sinclair, *A history of New Zealand*, Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1st. ed., 1959, p.238. His statement regarding popular religious movements during this period derives its authority from the success with which his colligatory concept integrates details into a larger interpretative scheme. See W.H. Walsh, "Colligatory concepts in history", *Studies in the nature and teaching of history*, edited by W.H. Burston and D. Thompson, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967, pp.72, 78. I am indebted to Peter Gibbons, Senior Lecturer in History at the University of Waikato, for this reference.
- 3 While the popular imagination was captured in the twenties by the visits of the British 'faith healers' Mr Hickson (1923), and Smith Wigglesworth (1928), public audiences in the next decade were to find the methods of the American healer A.H. Dallimore novel, if not bizarre. *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38 no.463 (July 1922), pp.28-30; vol.43 no.476 (Oct 1927), p.290; vol.44 no.490 (Dec 1927), p.354; vol.48 no.538 (Dec 1932), p.370.
- 4 Lineham, Peter J., "Finding a space for evangelicalism: evangelical youth movements in New Zealand", to be published in *Studies in Church History*, vol.23, typescript, p.8.
- 5 Idem.
- 6 Pound, p.53.
- 7 Pound claims that a twelve day conference was held at the Tabernacle early in Kemp's ministry in December 1921. The conference in fact concluded on January 7, 1922. In 1929 a great Bible Demonstration was held in the Auckland Town Hall, idem.
- 8 See discussion below on Kemp's influence in the Baptist denomination.

- 9 Kemp, J.W., 'The War in the Churches and what it is all about. An examination of the controversy between Modernism and Fundamentalism', typescript of unpublished sermon, Auckland, Baptist Historical Society, [1924?], p.2. Cited hereafter as 'The War in the Churches'. Kemp's title may have been based on a series by the American fundamentalist Rollin Lynde Hartt, 'The War in the Churches'. The first article in this series was published in 1923. See Carter, "The fundamentalist defence of the faith", in *Change and continuity in twentieth-century America: the 1920's*, edited by John Braeman, Robert H. Bremner and David Brody, *ibid.*, pp.184-85.
- 10 *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.12 (Feb 7, 1924), p.315.
- 11 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.456 (Dec 1921), p.141.
- 12 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.40 no.483 (Mar 1924), p.56.
- 13 'The War in the Churches'.
- 14 Kemp was introduced to New Zealand Baptists as an 'earnest evangelical' when his appointment was announced. See *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.438 (June 1920), p.81.
- 15 'The War in the Churches', p.1.
- 16 See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, pp.176-84.
- 17 Kemp kept in regular contact with fundamentalist leaders through correspondence, and asked them for clarification of controversies reported in the newspapers. He wrote to some liberal leaders as well. His typescript of 'The War in the Churches' shows a deletion to a reference to his correspondence with liberal leader, Dr William H.P. Faunce, of Brown University: 'But Dr. Faunce writes me that he regards himself by no means radical', p.4. None of Kemp's correspondence has survived, however. In the preface to his 1978 M.A. research essay, Geoff Pound reported that he had received the remains of Kemp's filing cabinet from Rev. and Mrs Frank England: 'I resurrected from a waterlogged trunk and salvaged from an incinerator', iii. However, the Assistant Curator of the Baptist Historical Society, Victor Barker, says that the items had disintegrated to the extent that they could not be salvaged after deposit in the Society's archives. Despite this, it would seem highly probable that Kemp corresponded with John Roach Straton, his main successor at Calvary Baptist church, and other leading fundamentalist figures.
- 18 'The War in the Churches', p.2.
- 19 See Kemp's report on the conciliatory stands taken by the moderate liberals, William H.P. Faunce, President of Brown University, and Shailer Mathews [sic], Dean of the University of Chicago Divinity School, in 'The War in the Churches', pp.4-5.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p.1.
- 21 *Ibid.*, p.3.

- 22 William B. Riley's role as organizational powerhouse of the fundamentalist movement began with the formation in 1918 of the World's Christian Fundamentals Association. This association, founded at a summer conference of premillennialists, helped to generate a nationwide movement. The birth of this first explicitly fundamentalist (or more correctly, proto-fundamentalist) organization indicated a shift of emphasis on the part of premillennialists, away from waiting for the end time, praying, and evangelising, toward a more intense concern to retard what they saw as degenerative trends. See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, pp.152, 157-58.
- 23 'The War in the Churches', p.3.
- 24 Marsden discusses Machen's philosophical basis in Scottish Common Sense Realism in "J. Gresham Machen, history, and truth", *The Westminster Theological Journal*, vol.42 no.1 (Fall 1979), pp.157-175.
- 25 Augustus Hopkins Strong, a leading fundamentalist, was neither a premillennialist nor even a devotee of biblical inerrancy. See LeRoy Moore, Jr., "Another look at fundamentalism: a response to Ernest R. Sandeen", *Church History*, vol.37 (1968), pp.197-200.
- 26 'The War in the Churches', pp.3-4.
- 27 Ibid., p.4.
- 28 Kemp quoted the 'modernist' Robin Lynde Harte as saying *inter alia*, that: 'The party, known as Liberals or Modernists assert: 1. That the Bible was not miraculously inspired: that is is not free from error: that it contains myth and legend as well as history: and that, inasmuch as portions of it teach militarism, polygamy, slavery, witchcraft and spiritualism, it is not authoritative throughout', 'The War in the Churches', p.6.
- 29 'The War in the Churches', p.9.
- 30 Ibid., p.12.
- 31 Ibid., pp.6-7.
- 32 Ibid., p.8.
- 33 Ibid., pp.8-9.
- 34 Hill, Thomas F., "History of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, ch.XXIX., Rev. Joseph W. Kemp - Welcomed to Auckland", in *The Reaper*, vol.3, no.10 (Dec 1925), p.254.
- 35 The Tabernacle officer who interviewed Kemp in London, W.E. Bush, reported on by cable on 28 November 1919 that Kemp was 'about to proceed for the benefit health sea voyage, if possible will visit Auckland about February, before decision can be come to we leave tomorrow.' Kemp's acceptance of the pastoral call came by cable on 4 May, followed by a letter from Buffalo, dated 11 May 1920. Minutes of Members meetings, 3 Dec 1919; 28 April 1920; 2 June

- 1920; and 30 June 1920, in Minute Book of Members Meetings, June 1911 to June 1920.
- 36 *Auckland Star*, 22 May 1920, p.18.
- 37 See *New Zealand Free Lance*, Wed 18 August 1920, p.4. In a typographical error Kemp's name was confused with that of his predecessor and was given as 'Rev. H. Knowles'. There was no subsequent correction or retraction.
- 38 Hill, *ibid.*, p.255.
- 39 *Idem.*
- 40 See Pound, pp.18-19.
- 41 Hill, *ibid.*, p.256.
- 42 Marsden, George M., 'Prof. Marsden's concluding remarks', pp.232-33, in response to an article by Ernest R. Sandeen, "Defining fundamentalism: a reply to Professor Marsden", in *Christian Scholars' Review*, vol.1, no.3 (Spring 1971), pp.227-33. In this article Marsden argued that Sandeen's identification of the twin roots of fundamentalism as Princeton theology and millenarianism was inadequate, because it did not do justice to the cultural dimensions of fundamentalism in American society.
- 43 Peter J. Lineham stresses the link between the expectation of the imminent return of Christ and disengagement from the world in *There we found Brethren, a history of assemblies of Brethren in New Zealand*, Palmerston North, G.P.H. Society Ltd, 1977, p.155. He notes that 'Brethren were acutely aware of "Downgradism" and "Modernism" within the main denominations'. Under the head of separation, the Brethren 'urged abstinence from such un-Christian items and pursuits as sports, novels, insurance, alcoholic drink, smoking, "the pictures", radio (also known as "the devil's voice"), gambling and dancing. With the exception of insurance and radio, and to a lesser extent sport, forbearance from these items continues to be a personal discipline by most brethren. Higher education was felt by some to only serve to upset people from their faith. Academic study of the Bible at a seminary or Bible college was particularly abhorred by a minority.', pp.155-56.
- 44 Rev. J. Ayson Clifford, a former principal of Baptist College, said in an interview that during this period there was strong Baptist opposition to Brethrenism. When Baptists described anything as being 'Brethrenistic', they meant: 'any narrow view of the gospel, or a lot of taboos and things that they felt were extreme....And while some ministers agreed with some of those things [such as women not cutting their hair], it wasn't general among the Baptists to agree with all the Brethren taboos', Transcript of interview with Rev. J. Ayson Clifford on 15 May 1986, p.12. Rev. J. Ewen Simpson, a retired Baptist minister, said in a commentary that: 'A number of Brethren had hailed him [Kemp] as a great man of God come to the city and they tended to close in on him and some of them tried to establish a kind of

control over what Mr Kemp would do. I remember one of them, a very well-known member of the Brethren group in Auckland, who told me at this particular time that he had heard with dismay that Mr Kemp had attended the ministers' fraternal in Auckland. He said that he was praying that God would deliver him [from] those Sadducees', from Typescript of commentary by Rev. J. Ewen Simpson speaking about Rev. J.J. North on 23 January, 1981, p.6.

- 45 Rev. Joseph Clark (1896-1907), trained at Spurgeon's College, took a vital interest in the sporting activities of the young people, and supported the Debating Club. See W.A. Kendon, *Short history of Auckland Tabernacle Baptist Church*, p.18. In 1917 Rev. H.R. Knowles Kemptom preached 'specially in the interest of the members of the Tabernacle boys' Football teams.', 30 May 1917 United Officers' Meeting, Minute Book of United Officers, 1915-1919. Peter J. Lineham explains the significance of the institutionalisation of youth activities at Pitt Street Methodist church, but says that this socialising role was mistaken for evangelism: 'They assumed that to patronise young people was virtually to convert them. Social circumstances impelled the churches into a "christendom" model, which encouraged participation on the least demanding terms. But the net effect was to weaken the church as an instrument for urging men and women to repentance and faith.', in *New Zealanders and the Methodist evangel, an interpretation of the policies and performance of the Methodist Church of New Zealand*, Proceedings, no.42, Wesley Historical Society, 1983. See pp.17-18.
- 46 Fox-trotting, bunny-hugging, and jazzing were frowned upon by various Auckland clergymen in the 1920's, according to Sandra Coney in *Every girl: a social history of women and the Y.W.C.A. in Auckland, 1885-1985*, Auckland, YWCA, 1986, p.114. She says that most 'progressive church people, however, did not condemn the older forms of dance, where bodies were kept well apart and hands only touched briefly. It was the ritual embrace of body-contact dancing and the exuberant jazz dances which attracted most ire', p.115.
- 47 Notes made by Kemp next to a *New Zealand Herald* advertisement for services on 5 September 1920, in Kemp Papers, Box 0202, Baptist Historical Society.
- 48 Kemp, J.W., "Suggestions for the Officebearers' meeting, 20 October 1920", in Minute Book of United Officers' Meetings, 1919-1929.
- 49 The club met at the Y.M.C.A. buildings, and 'disused equipment lying on the Tabernacle premises' was to be donated to the Shackleton Road Young People's Institute', Deacons' Meeting, 17 April 1919, Minute Book of United Officers, 1919-1929.
- 50 In an interview, Rev. J. Ewen Simpson said that: 'Kemp ran the Tab his own way. For instance, there was an announcement one Sunday that those interested in the Tennis Club should meet at a certain spot for decisions about the opening season. Kemp arrived there, talked to them very sternly about getting mixed up in the world and settled it. Out!', in Transcript of interview with the Rev. J.

Ewen Simpson on 24 Nov 1983, p.19. Mr Gordon Brookbanks, a teenager at the time, said Kemp 'liked to play tennis himself. He had to have some sort of recreation. He liked tennis, and that was O.K.', Transcript of interview with Gordon Brookbanks on 27 May 1986, p.5. A helpful comparison with the more representative Baptist practice is found in Rev. J.J. North's ministry at Oxford Terrace Baptist church in 1925. At the start of the year the church reporter said: 'The Tennis Club is in a flourishing condition. Already the membership is 100 and more. A furnishing social was held recently...[in order to add] to the comfort and entertainment of patrons and players', *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.41 no.493 (Jan 1925), p.27.

- 51 In the context of an attack on ballroom dancing, Straton claimed that the Bible 'is the foundation of all that is decent and right in our civilization.' See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, p.165.
- 52 Kemp, J.W., "Is the old faith good for the new era?", in *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.442 (Oct 1920), p.148.
- 53 The subject of dancing was never a major moral issue in the *New Zealand Baptist*, not even in the years from 1914-34. However, it was reported that Thomas Phillips, of Bloomsbury, asserted in 1921 that the churches were too weakened in the postwar period to hold dances with safety, in comparison with earlier possibilities. He said: 'A vitally spiritual church can do anything. The Metropolitan Tabernacle, at the heyday of Mr. Spurgeon's ministry, if it chose, could run dancing with safety. But frankly we cannot, nor do I know of any church whose spiritual life is adequate to the task.' See *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.450 (June 1921), pp.65-66. The sexual connotations of dancing were emphasised in a passage in November 1921 (vol.38 no.455), p.139, and lastly a whole article was devoted to the subject in 1934. See G.C. Reay, "Dancing - a puritan view", vol.50 no.551 (Jan 1934), p.12.
- 54 See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and America culture*, pp.172, 181.
- 55 Many N.Z.B.T.I. students worshipped at the Tabernacle and assisted in evangelism there.
- 56 Tabernacle Members' Meeting 31 Jan 1923, Minute Book of Members Meetings 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1919.
- 57 See Pound, p.26.
- 58 Murray broke away from the Auckland Presbytery as a result of official ostracism for his believer's baptism. He founded the United Evangelical Church, which held meetings in the Tivoli Theatre. This congregation is not to be confused with the unsuccessful attempts by the Rev. Dr James Gibb and other liberal clergymen to bring about an organic union of the main non-sacerdotal Protestant denominations in the dominion. When fundamentalists spoke of a United Evangelical Church they meant evangelical co-operation for evangelical ends.
- 59 The Auckland Presbytery took exception to Murray's action. See

minutes of 30 July 1917 Meeting of United Officers, Minute Book of United Officers, 1915 to 1919.

- 60 See Lionel B. Fletcher, *Effective evangelism*, rev. ed., London, The Religious Tract Society, 1932, [first published in 1923 as *The effective evangelist*], and Charles W. Malcolm, *Twelve hours in the day, the life and work of Rev. Lionel B. Fletcher, D.D.*, London/Edinburgh, Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1956, pp.104-12 on his ministry in New Zealand.
- 61 Transcript of interview with the Rev. Eric Batts on 5 January 1984.
- 62 Transcript of interview with the Rev. Ken McCormack on 19 February 1986, pp.3, 7.
- 63 See "Church in the open, beach sermons for Onehunga", in *New Zealand Free Lance*, 26 Dec 1928, p.4.
- 64 *New Zealand Herald*, 21 August 1920, p.10.
- 65 *New Zealand Herald*, 26 September 1920, p.10, advertising the Mid-Week Bible Study of 30 September.
- 66 *New Zealand Baptist*, church report, vol.37 no.447 (Mar 1921), p.34.
- 67 Pound, p.40.
- 68 Pound, p.23.
- 69 In 1920, one contributor to the *New Zealand Free Lance* described as 'morality gone mad' the attempt by a group of Gisborne City Councillors to ban all movies in which the famous Mary Pickford appeared, on the grounds that she was a divorcee. See *Free Lance*, 28 July 1920, p.6. Calls for stricter censorship were reported in February 1921, when certain sections of the public linked the changing moral values of young people to the movies. See "Film and scissors, the cinema censor and his job", *ibid.*, 23 Feb 1921, p.4. Columnist Frank Morton said, however, that insistence on 'the letter of conventional morality' in New Zealand resulted in stricter censorship standards than those of Australia, *ibid.*, 18 April 1921, p.14. Kemp's Christian boycott of the film industry in May 1921 was not reported. 'Cinema' reported that 'a good deal of Yankee stuff' which would never be passed by the New Zealand censor was screened widely in England, *ibid.*, 23 Nov 1921, p.28. In one of the first instances of a boycott based on non-religious grounds, the *Free Lance* recommended that readers stay away from an offending theatre, due to its absurdly expressed advertisements. See "The movie puff. Is there a need for a censor?", 6 Aug 1924, p.4.
- 70 Tabernacle Secretary's annual report, 31 August 1921, p.5, in Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle Members Meetings, 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1929.
- 71 Tabernacle officers took punitive action since the appearance in

the *Auckland Star* of 'a cartoon and Sunday paragraphs very unfairly deprecating the Church's attitude as to modern worldly amusements, and attempting to belittle the Church's influence in the community.' Despite two opposing votes, a motion was passed to withhold from publication in the *Star* advertisements for Tabernacle services, 16 August United Officers' Meeting, Minutebook of United Officers, 1919-1929.

- 72 Secretary's annual report, *idem*.
- 73 Pound, p.24.
- 74 See Beilby, ed., *L.A. North, the man and his memoirs*, p.22.
- 75 See above on Kemp's correspondence with protagonists in the controversy.
- 76 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.39 no.447 (Sept 1923), p.181.
- 77 Published subsequently in *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.8 (Oct 1923), pp.223-27.
- 78 The potential for doctrinal dispute and the laying of charges of heresy was realised in the 1880's, as the views of the German biblical critics were popularised. The most important means of popularisation were: articles in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* by the Scottish Presbyterian theologian, W. Robertson Smith his subsequent trial on a charge of heresy; the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881, Old Testament in 1886, and the Apocrypha in 1895; the publication of two novels by women, whose major characters had crises of faith following their discovery of higher criticism; the publication in 1889 of liberal theological essays in *Lux Mundi* in Britain; the publication of Washington Gladden's book *Who wrote the Bible?*; and the winning by modernists of the majority of the heresy trials which shook the Protestant churches and seminaries from the 1880's. See Szasz, pp.20-29.
- 79 See William L. Lumpkin, *Baptist confession of faith*, Valley Forge, Judson Press, 1959, pp.360-67. I am indebted to Miriam Curran, former Women's Editor of the *New Zealand Baptist*, for this reference.
- 80 See Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, p.172
- 81 Anderson, Robert, "Christ and criticism", *The Fundamentals*, vol.2, Chicago, Testimony Publishing Company, [1910-1915], pp.69-84.
- 82 Kemp, J.W., 'The Bible in the billows', *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.8 (Oct 1923), p.227. Manuscript is held with Kemp papers, Baptist Historical Society, Auckland. This thirteen page manuscript includes six pages of excerpts cut and pasted from a text by a conservative author. Some sentences were underlined by Kemp. A comparison with earlier sermon manuscripts indicates that this was a practice adopted by Kemp later in his ministry.
- 83 Hague, Dyson, "The history of the higher criticism", *The Fundamentals*, vol.1, [1910-1915], p.91.

- 84 Sydney E. Ahlstrom argues that the basis of Princeton theology is Scottish Common Sense philosophy in "The Scottish philosophy and American theology", *Church History*, vol.24 (1955), pp.257-72. Princetonian theologians were like the scientist who observes, arranges, and systematizes, the object of theology being to systematize the facts of the Bible, and ascertain the principles or general truths which those facts involve. In this analogy, the Princetonian theologian is like the scientist who does not participate in his or her experiment. The pre-Kantian assumption that the past can be known directly through reliable testimony meant that scripture was seen as an infallible representation of the past itself. See also Michael Gauvreau, "Baconianism, Darwinism, fundamentalism: a transatlantic crisis of faith", *The Journal of Religious History*, vol.13 no.4 (Dec 1985), pp.434-44.
- 85 Kemp, J.W., 'The Bible in the billows', p.225. Charles Hodge said that to be orthodox in belief, a Christian must believe that 'the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the Word of God, written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and therefore infallible, and of divine authority in all things pertaining to faith and practice, and consequently free from all error, whether of doctrines, fact, or precept.' See Szasz, p.35.
- 86 Strong had appointed prominent liberals like Walter Rauschenbush, J.W.A. Stewart, Cornelius Woelfkin and Conrad Henry Moehlman during his time as President of Rochester Theological Seminary. But his disillusionment with the New Theology followed a tour of the mission fields from 1916-17. Faced with the more extreme liberal position that God was revealed in non-Christian cultures, he later argued for the sending out only of those missionaries who had a definite gospel to proclaim. See Moore, p.199.
- 87 Kemp, J.W., 'The Bible in the billows', p.226. Kemp's successor at Calvary Baptist church, the Rev. John Roach Straton, had been shouted down at the convention by three thousand delegates, when he drew attention to the presence of a modernist on the convention platform. Straton's transformation of Calvary into a fundamentalist centre had already identified him as a leading anti-modernist.
- 88 See Marsden, *ibid.*, p.117. Broad issues concerning the supernatural in Christianity were reflected in this five-point doctrinal deliverance, which was not intended to be a new creed or definitive statement. In response to questions about the orthodoxy of some students from Union Theological Seminary, the 1910 Assembly affirmed: the inerrancy of scripture, the virgin birth of Christ, his substitutionary atonement, his bodily resurrection, and the authenticity of the miracles. The 1916 and 1923 reaffirmations contained no millennialist statement. Known as the 'famous five points', they sometimes contained a variation on a theme with the last point affirming the second coming of Christ instead of the authenticity of the miracles. These five points did not become a universally accepted fundamentalist creed. See Ernest R. Sandeen, "Toward a historical interpretation of the origins of fundamentalism", p.80.
- 89 Kemp, J.W., 'The Bible in the billows', p.226.

- 90 Kemp, J.W., 'The Bible in the billows', p.227.
- 91 Trinity Theological College and Hostel opened at Grafton in 1929. Before then training took place at a variety of locations in Auckland. See J.J. Lewis, *The Trinity story*, vol.31, nos.3 & 4 (Oct 1978), *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand*. St. John's College opened in 1843 in Waimate North, and moved to Tamaki, Auckland, the next year. See J.K. Davis, *History of S. John's College, Tamaki, Auckland, N.Z.*, Auckland, Abel, Dykes Ltd., 1911, and W.J. Simkin, *The College of St. John the Evangelist, Auckland, New Zealand*, Wellington, Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd., 1938. Neither of these two somewhat 'antiquarian' histories provides an analysis of the changing theological emphases of St. John's College over the previous century.
- 92 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.45 no.494 (April 1929), p.97. The Modern Churchmen's Union, of which Major was a prominent leader, affirmed the progressive character of God's self-revelation, aimed to proclaim Christ in the light of modern knowledge, promoted the study of scripture through modern critical methods, and defended the freedom of 'responsible students' in their work of criticism and research. See tributes to Major in *The Modern Churchman*, vol.4 no.2 (April 1961), pp.153-59, and vol.4 no.4 (July 1961), pp.218-21. I am indebted to Dr Allan K. Davidson of St. John's Theological College, Auckland, for these references.
- 93 *The Reaper*, vol.7 no.2 (April 1929), p.28.
- 94 *Ibid.*, pp.28-29.
- 95 *Ibid.*, p.26.
- 96 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.46 no.504 (Feb 1930), p.39.
- 97 See *Biblical Recorder*, July, 1919, pp.151, 159-60. The Rev. H.G. Hercus, a Baptist minister in Hamilton, spoke at the inaugural dominion conference, when the Rev. A.A. Murray was elected President. Its members declaration was identical to that adopted by the Chicago Prophetic Conference in 1919, *ibid.*, Aug 1919, p.186.
- 98 Angas College was established in 1893 in Adelaide; the Chapman-Alexander Bible Institute in 1914 in Melbourne; the Sydney Missionary and Bible College in 1916; and the Melbourne Bible Institute in 1920. See David Parker, "The Bible Union: a case study in Australian fundamentalism", *The Journal of Religious History*, vol.14 no.1 (June 1986), p.75.
- 99 Tabernacle Members' Meeting on 21 December 1921, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle Members Meetings, 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1929.
- 100 "Auckland Christian Fundamentals Conference", *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38 no.458 (Feb 1922), p.25.
- 101 Conference speakers were: the Revs. A. Anstice, Walter Barry, Fraser B. Barton, John Bissett, Evan R. Harries, H. Hercus, Percy

Knight, A.A. Murray, George Patterson, A.S. Wilson; Pastor Matthews and Brigadier Stone; Messrs. H.T.H. Grave, T.J. Hill, J. Muldoon, J. Phey, J. Smith; Mrs J.J. Macky and Miss N. Wilkinson, who spoke on missionary matters.

- 102 For A.A. Murray, allegedly fulfilled Old Testament prophecy was deemed to be one type of conclusive proof of inerrancy. One address he gave was entitled "Fulfilled Prophecy: An Argument for the Accuracy of the Scriptures". See report in *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38 no.458 (Feb 1922), p.25, and *New Zealand Herald*, 29 December, 1921, p.6.
- 103 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38 no.458 (Feb 1922), p.25.
- 104 "A Conference on Christian Fundamentals", *The Outlook*, February 6, 1922.
- 105 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.38 no.458 (Feb 1922), p.25.
- 106 The assessment of the two colleges as 'moribund' was given me by Allan Davidson in a conversation on 6 February, 1987.
- 107 See Parker, pp.71-99.
- 108 McIntosh, Averil D., 'The history of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute Inc. 1922-1966', University of Auckland, Diploma in Education thesis, 1966, p.35.
- 109 See McIntosh, pp.10-11. It is significant that one of the prime movers was the controversial Baptist, the Rev. Forde Carlisle. Carlisle became Honorary Principal and Superintendent of the Bible Institute, which was sponsored by the United Evangelical Church established in Palmerston North by the extreme American fundamentalist, Dr French E. Oliver. In the 1950's Carlisle was to lead a separatist fundamentalist campaign against the World Council of Churches, basing his arguments of those of the American International Council of Christian Churches (I.C.C.C.). See Carlisle's journal *The Contender* and pamphlet "What's the difference?", Brethren papers. Box 4, XXXI, Acc. No.82-54, Alexander Turnbull Library.
- 110 In the official history, J. Oswald Sanders says: 'The Bible Institute movement around the world gained impetus from the theological climate of the times. The New Zealand Bible Training Institute was founded at the height of the Modernist-Fundamentalist confrontation which had reached a new crescendo in North America. Repercussions were felt in many lands and little New Zealand was no exception. Religious liberalism had penetrated theological thought and bid fair to capture some of the Theological College here as it had already done overseas.' See Sanders, p.24.
- 111 McIntosh, p.35.
- 112 Annual report, 31 January 1923, cited in McIntosh, p.41. Sanders confirms this in his observation that, 'Coming as he did from this atmosphere in the United States, Mr. Kemp was deeply concerned

when he discovered the same subversive theological influences at work here...Having witnessed at first-hand the spiritual havoc caused in the American scene, he was more than ever concerned to arrest this adverse tide here', idem.

113 Annual report, 31 January 1923.

114 For Roll's contribution to the N.Z.B.T.I., see *The Reaper*, vol.36 no.10 (Oct 1, 1959), p.283. Later in life Rolls moved from a pre-tribulation premillennialist position to a postmillennial point of view. This resulted in ostracism by the B.T.I. staff, according to Peter Shearer, a close friend of Rolls. Interview with Peter Shearer on 25 June 1985. For his earlier position see C.J. Rolls, *The approaching end of the Gentile age*, 4th ed., Auckland, 1929.

115 Sanders, J. Oswald, "A romance and an achievement", in Winnie Kemp, p.114.

116 Pound, p.31

117 McIntosh, p.37

118 This was Rev. L.A. North's assessment. See Beilby, *L.A. North, the man and his memoirs*, p.22. North confines this legalistic approach among New Zealand Baptists to Auckland. He says that students at the institute were instructed 'in the books they should read and practically prohibited from reading those they should not.' After the opening of Baptist College in 1926, there were 'some in the Churches in Auckland, and further afield, who viewed with suspicion the teaching given in the College because it did not coincide with the more restrictive "orthodoxy" of the B.T.I.', idem.

119 Mr Eric Batts was a B.T.I. student in 1925, the year before Baptist College opened. In an interview, he said that Kemp kept a tight rein on student friendships, but could also be very demonstrative and affectionate. The 21 Hopetoun Street building housed the men students, who called it 'the monastery'. The men and women students sat on opposite sides of the classroom, and had few opportunities to talk to each other. Rev. Batts, a retired Baptist minister, said: 'My sister-in-law and Sir Norman Perry were both in the B.T.I. in Queen Street, and they had no communication, except that if he wanted to get a message to Phyl, he used to have an orange, and he would pin the note onto an orange and roll it along the corridor until it entered the door.' Rev. Batts attributes this directly to Kemp's influence. Transcript of interview with Rev. Eric Batts on 5 January, 1984, p.9.

120 Yolland, H., "Principal Dickie and the present day theological situation", *The Reaper*, vol.12, no.10 (Nov 1934), pp.227-29.

121 Kemp's successor, J. Oswald Sanders, did not countenance modernism and 'destructive criticism'. See McIntosh, p.15. The institute's fundamentalist theological position was supported, at least until the 1950's, by instruction in dispensational premillennialism, Interview with Mr P.G. Shearer on 25 June, 1985.

- 122 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.39 no.473 (May 1923), p.98
- 123 *The Treasury*, Oct 1, 1923, pp.150-51.
- 124 Fraser took over the editorship from Rev. John Urquhart in July, 1914. Before this time the magazine was known as *The Bible Investigator and Inquirer*. When Fraser renamed the journal, he also gave it a new subtitle: "An Australasian Monthly in the service of the Inspired Word, Evangelical Principles, and Missionary Enterprise". Fraser remained its editor, until publication ceased in 1935. See Davidson, pp.177-78. According to a retired Baptist minister, the Rev. Royston Brown, Philadelphius Bain Fraser was given the appellation 'Pious Bill Fraser' by some Baptists, because he was such a fundamentalist. Conversation with the Rev. Royston Brown on 23 Feb 1986.
- 125 The publication *The coming and kingdom of Christ* from the 1914 Prophetic Bible Conference at Chicago was advertised in the *Biblical Recorder*, May 1915, pp.58-9. Premillennialist stands, while considered obscurantist in the eyes of liberals, came to symbolise the positions taken by Presbyterian confessionalist 'proto-fundamentalists' against the allegedly 'rationalistic' theology taught at the Theological Hall.
- 126 See Barber, 'The Social Crusader', and William J. Roxburgh, 'The Christology of Principal John Dickie D.D.', exercise in historical theology, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, Theological Hall, 1974. I am indebted to Prof. Peter Matheson of Knox College for this reference.
- 127 *Ibid.*, Nov 1915, p.229. Fraser attacked Dickie as taking a typically Ritschlian stand in 1916 in his detection of 'a little asphyxiating gas from the Ritschlian stronghold in Dunedin', *ibid.*, July 1916, p.117.
- 128 *Ibid.*, Nov 1915, p.229.
- 129 Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American culture*, p.117.
- 130 *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.1 (Mar 1923), p.3.
- 131 These German theologians separated the Bible from questions of scientific or historical fact by asserting that the Bible contains the word of God in distinction to being the word of God. See George M. Marsden, "Everyone one's own interpreter? The Bible, science, and authority in mid-nineteenth-century America", in *The Bible in America, essays in cultural history*, edited by Nathan O. Hatch and Mark A. Noll, New York, Oxford University Press, 1982, pp.87-9.
- 132 See "Days of spiritual revival", Part I, The revival of 1858-9, II, The Welsh Revival, III, An Edinburgh Revival, *The Reaper*, pp.23-6, and "School of Bible Study", on the Book of Revelation, *ibid.*, p.7.
- 133 *Ibid.*, vol.1 no.2 (April 1923), p.35.
- 134 *Ibid.*, vol.1 no.3 (May 1923), p.63.

- 135 Idem.
- 136 See *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.6 (Aug 1923), p.168.
- 137 *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.4 (June 1923), pp.96-98.
- 138 Ibid., p.96.
- 139 *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.6 (Aug 1923), p.149.
- 140 Ibid., vol.1 no.12 (Feb 7, 1924), p.315; vol.4 no.6 (April 1, 1926), p.51.
- 141 Kemp, J.W., "Practical methods of Christian work, VI, The soul-winner, his message and his Bible", vol.1 no.6 (Aug 1923), p.166.
- 142 Idem.
- 143 *The Reaper*, vol.1 no.11 (Jan 3, 1924), p.289.
- 144 Marsden, George M., "Fundamentalism as an American phenomenon, a comparison with English evangelicalism", *Church History*, vol.46 no.2 (June 1977), p.217.
- 145 Transcript of interview with the Rev. J. Ewen Simpson on 24 November 1983, p.3.
- 146 Marsden, idem.
- 147 Tabernacle Members' Meeting 31 Jan 1923, Minute Book of Members' Meetings, 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1929.
- 148 See *The Reaper*, vol.2 no.10 (Dec 4, 1924), p.254. Speakers at the first convention were: the Revs. John Bissett, Adam Clarke, Evan R. Harries, H.G. Hercus, Chas. A. Kennedy, Ensign Gill Inglis; and C.J. Rolls.
- 149 Marsden, *ibid.*, p.217.
- 150 Marsden says that the 'Monkey Trial' at Dayton, Tennessee, was 'unsurpassable as a confirmation of this interpretation', *ibid.*, p.185.
- 151 *Ibid.*, p.191.
- 152 *The Reaper*, vol.3 no.7 (Sept 3, 1925), p.169.
- 153 See *Free Lance*, 29 July 1925, p.1.
- 154 Idem.
- 155 North sympathised with the conservatives' alarm at the spread of atheism, but asserted that the 'admittedly dangerous feature' of the theory of evolution could be countered only by an exposition of its 'insufficiency'. *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.41 no.450 (Aug 1925), p.199. He commented also on the 'spread-eagleism about the affair peculiarly American', and wondered how Americans could have gone through it with a straight face.

- 156 Conversation with the Rev. Eric Batts on 17 Feb 1986.
- 157 Typescript of sermon, 'Evolution', n.d., Kemp Papers, Baptist Historical Society, p.2. Hereafter cited as 'Evolution'.
- 158 'Evolution', p.17.
- 159 The curriculum stated: 'The Scheme should provide for progressive treatment of the subject [of Nature-study] as the pupils advance in their school life, and in the higher classes the pupils should gain some definite ideas of the principle of evolution'. See *The New Zealand Gazette*, 1929, vol.1, Wellington, W.A.G. Skinner, Government Printer, 1929, pp.35-6.
- 160 See William H. Pettit, *Evolution. Is it scientific? Shall we teach it in our schools? An appeal to reason and common sense.*, Auckland, Scott & Scott, [1929?]. Contains an appendix of correspondence in the *New Zealand Herald*. See also P.B. Fraser's letter "Evolutionism and Ape-man-ism in Schools", the *Otago Daily Times*, 26 Feb 1929, cited by Allan K. Davidson, "A protesting Presbyterian: the Rev. P.B. Fraser, defender of the faith", *Proceedings of International Religious Studies Conference*, 22-25 August, 1983, Central Institute of Technology, Heretaunga, New Zealand, p.194.
- 161 I am indebted to Logan Moss, Lecturer in Education at the University of Waikato, for this comparison. He says it was not until the advent of the first Labour Government in 1935 that education in New Zealand became susceptible to American influences.
- 162 See Peter J. Lineham, "Finding a space for evangelicalism", p.8.
- 163 The 'protesting Presbyterian', Rev. P.B. Fraser, saw the cause of this 'hostility' in the theological stances taken by Murray against modernism. Davidson, says: 'In Fraser's view "The Baptismal controversy" was "only the occasion, not the cause, of the hostility to Mr. Murray."' "The plain fact is that Mr. Murray has been an out-and-outer against the Liberals and a live Pre-Millennialist against Modernism."' , see Davidson , *ibid.*, p.181.
- 164 After 1925 the Rev. Dr Farquharson Jones took over leadership of the United Evangelical church founded by Murray. See the *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.41 no.495 (Mar 1925), p.59. In 1933, its editor, the Rev. J.J. North, criticised Murray for not fully following his convictions on believer's baptism and becoming a Baptist. He reported that the 'new sect' which Murray had founded had 'since disintegrated'. Murray, on subsequent migration to America, applied to an American Presbytery for reinstatement, having renounced his believer's baptism. North described him accordingly as a 'strange and stubborn man', in "Murray's vicious circle", *ibid.*, vol.49 no.539 (Jan 1933), p.3.
- 165 Kemp, J.W., "Is the old faith good for the new era?", in *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.442 (Oct 1920), p.147.
- 166 Robert Green Ingersoll (1833-99), an American politician and

- agnostic, was famous for his anti-religious speeches. His eloquent address attacked the authority of scripture and focussed on alleged inaccuracies. Charles Bradlaugh (1833-91) was a noted British Freethinker, who served as President of the London Secular Society from 1858 to 1890, and was elected M.P. for Northampton in 1880. One of his earliest pamphlets was *The Bible: What it is!*, 1861.
- 167 North, J.J., "Fundamentals", *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.37 no.456 (Dec 1921), p.141.
- 168 Theories on the atonement fall into four main categories: firstly, the subjective or moral or exemplarist theory; secondly, the classic or dramatic theory; thirdly, the juridical theory, which includes the notion of penal substitution of Christ's atoning death; and fourthly, the sacrificial theory. See Alan Richardson, ed., *A dictionary of Christian theology*, London, SCM Press Ltd, 1969, pp.22-23.
- 169 This was, in part, a consequence of controversy over the theology of principal John Dickie. See Simpson, Commentary, p.1. One newspaper editor had suggested that if Baptists had a choice, they should acknowledge that the training provided by the Theological Hall was 'rather too academic and critical'. See *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.36 no.431 (Nov 1919), p.162.
- 170 *Ibid.*, vol.41 no.496 (April 1925), p.93.
- 171 *Ibid.*, vol.48 no.536 (Oct 1932), p.303.
- 172 Tabernacle United Officers' Meeting, 5 Nov 1924, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle United Meetings of Elders and Deacons (United Officers), 3 Dec 1919 to 31 July 1929.
- 173 Tabernacle Members' Meeting, 12 Nov 1924, Minute Book of Auckland Baptist Tabernacle Members Meetings, 28 July 1920 to 31 July 1929.
- 174 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.40 no.491 (Nov 1924), p.251.
- 175 Batts, E.W. and A.H. MacLeod, eds., *J.J. North, the story of a great New Zealander*, Auckland, N.Z. Baptist Historical Society, n.d., p.61
- 176 Kemp was one of nine appointed to the first College Committee, chaired by Tabernacle elder, H.M. Smeeton. *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.40 no.491 (Nov 1924), P.253.
- 177 *The Reaper*, vol.2 no.9 (Nov 6, 1924), p.225.
- 178 Pound, p.37.
- 179 *Ibid.*, p.38.
- 180 Simpson, Commentary, p.2.
- 181 *Ibid.*, p.11.
- 182 *Ibid.*, p.9.

- 183 Conversation with the Rev. J. Ewen Simpson on 19 April 1986. Strong's text, whose full title is *Systematic Theology: A Compendium and a Commonplace Book*, was recommended by Kemp in *The Reaper*, vol.3 no.1 (Mar 3, 1925), p.6. See also Grant Wacker, *Augustus H. Strong and the dilemma of historical consciousness*, Macon, Mercer University Press, 1985.
- 184 Simpson, *idem*.
- 185 Simpson, *Commentary*, p.8. A similar instance is mentioned by J.O. Sanders in his tribute, "A romance and an achievement", in Winnie Kemp, p.108.
- 186 Simpson, Commentary.
- 187 See above on Forde Carlisle's opposition to the World Council of Churches.
- 188 *New Zealand Baptist*, vol.49 no.548 (Oct 1933), p.293.

A packed Tabernacle on 'Old Folks Day'. The young people who brought the elderly are sitting in the balcony. The Revs. J.W. Kemp and J.J. North are standing at the back.



CHAPTER THREE

KEMP'S FUNDAMENTALISM: A TWO-EDGED SWORD

The Rev. Joseph Kemp's ministry in New Zealand touched the lives of many people very deeply. Six thousand Aucklanders lined the streets around the Tabernacle to pay their respects to the combative preacher, now a 'warrior at rest'.¹ The Tabernacle congregation had been expecting Kemp's death for a year and could now see his impact on their lives as individuals in a somewhat clearer perspective. His fundamentalism had a two-edged impact, both constructive and destructive. The constructive aspects were evident to all in the burgeoning of new evangelical institutions, such as the New Zealand Bible Training Institute and the Crusader Movement.² The destructive aspects of the impact of Kemp's American fundamentalism took much longer to work their way to the surface in the lives of those he influenced. These destructive effects, in particular a separationist worldview and harmful allegations of theological unsoundness in conservative churches, will be discussed now in an assessment of the impact of Kemp's American fundamentalism on popular piety.

In the Tabernacle Kemp's separationist theology had a wide-ranging impact on the lives of the impressionable young people. Kemp took no part in the social or civic life of Auckland and no Tabernacle young people from the Kemp era became notable social or moral reformers.³ Far from being a detraction, Kemp's anti-worldly fundamentalist stand drew many of those conservative evangelical young people who felt insecure by the rapidly changing values of their era. Kemp's anti-cultural premillennialism, disseminated as it was through pulpit and evangelical press, had a direct impact on popular piety in the Tabernacle. Belief in the imminent second coming of Christ spurred many towards sacrificial missionary endeavour. Those young people who might have used their intellectual abilities to influence society in various career paths withdrew from 'the world' to become

fearless evangelizers at home and missionaries abroad. Few were left to defend the evangelical faith in academic circles at home. Those who did had to suffer the alienation imposed either consciously or unconsciously by the Tabernacle congregation. One of Kemp's most outstanding converts, Professor E.M. Blaiklock, was an exception to this tendency. Reflecting on the twenties in later years, Blaiklock bemoaned this stripping away from New Zealand of potential evangelical defenders of the faith. Furthermore, Kemp's separationist theology resulted in a generation of young people who felt they were morally superior, but who were nevertheless sincere in wanting to be their best 'for the Master's use'.⁴ Kemp's fundamentalist pulpit denunciations encouraged the development of a fortress mentality within sections of evangelicalism that had been characterised by more open and inclusivist approach to society. This followed Kemp's drawing of a dichotomy between spiritual welfare and social welfare. Although he built a strong wall between the church and the world, it did not prove to be completely unassailable. Those young people dissatisfied with his isolationist approach to contemporary culture and society left the Tabernacle for more inclusive churches. It was not until the 1960's that many conservative evangelical churches in New Zealand rediscovered the gospel imperative to fight evil not only in the 'unsaved', but also in the structures of society which create oppression.

Kemp's fundamentalism had two unexpected consequences on the attitudes of some Tabernacle young people towards life generally. Kemp repeatedly used terms such as 'complete and utter dedication and surrender', 'out and out life' and 'soul-winning' to gain the loyalty of young people in the evangelical cause. Some felt these terms were misplaced, and were confused at Kemp's intended meaning. Despite his pulpit oratory, Kemp had clearly failed to interpret adequately these stock phrases of holiness teaching which had become so much a part of popular piety in conservative evangelical circles. Terms such as these failed to provide an adequate support in times of challenge and stress. Those who felt they were unable to fulfil Kemp's exacting anti-worldly standards carried a sense of guilt and inferiority into middle age. His demand for separation overshadowed his careful

biblical instruction on the concepts of justification by faith and sanctification through grace. Kemp's legalistic approach meant that many lived by a list of negatives. Those who sat under his ministry on a weekly basis, although not deficient in a personal sense of humour, found lacking in this fundamentalist environment a consistent emphasis on the joyous acceptance of a new Christian life and a new-found freedom within that life.⁵ These harsher aspects of Kemp's fundamentalism and separationist theology were softened, however, by his winsome manner, magnetic personality and, most importantly, by the behind-the-scenes ministry of his wife, Winnie.⁶ She soothed many disturbed by Kemp's sometimes abrupt manner.

Kemp's fundamentalist pulpit denunciations had both positive and negative intellectual effects. They were constructive in that they gave evangelical Christians a sense of certainty in a very uncertain world. The more combative of evangelical Christians saw Kemp as a great force for fundamentalism. Far from being a backwoods movement, the fundamentalism mediated by Kemp provided an intelligent basis for being a conservative evangelical Christian, supported by theological argument of a distinctively American tenor. This constituted a departure from the largely pietistic base of the conservative evangelicalism of Baptist and Brethren circles prior to Kemp's arrival. The anti-intellectual aspects of Kemp's ministry were incidental rather than deliberate, and followed directly from his separationist theology. Lacking the opportunity for higher learning, Kemp was afraid of the elasticity of mind which university study brought.⁷ His suspicion of the scholarly work of the higher critics and of the hypotheses of evolutionists were not modified during his ministry, because he never made the opportunity to become hospitable towards academic learning. In reflecting on his formative years at the Tabernacle, Eric Batts said: 'Kemp was always on this theme: "Science, falsely so called in Timothy...". Evangelical Christians undertaking university study could not dismiss so lightly the intellectual tensions caused by Kemp's viewpoint. It is unlikely that Kemp would have realised that his pulpit denunciations of higher criticism and Darwinian evolution threatened to rob some of the intellectually curious Baptists of their faith. Unfortunately, Kemp's

failure to integrate university students into the corporate life of the Tabernacle caused ostracism for this minority in the congregation.⁸

Kemp's fundamentalist stands for the truth as he saw it fostered a climate of mutual suspicion among evangelical Christians and harmed the work of evangelism. The heightened fear of modernism created not only a fundamentalist defence of the faith 'once delivered', but also encouraged many conservatives to question the soundness and orthodoxy of those around them. Kemp gave the impression that error abounded, although those in his congregations did not always understand Kemp's basis for branding a belief as heretical.⁹ In effect, Kemp introduced a new evangelical sport into a sport-loving country, namely heresy-hunting. The heresy, however, was only apparent. While the fundamentalist/modernist controversy in America was characterised by heresy-hunting, New Zealand fundamentalists found modernist targets few and far between. Although New Zealand lacked a vigorous theological liberalism, Kemp nevertheless found his own heresies to hunt, including Seventh Day Adventism, Mormonism, and Pentecostalism. These he dismissed as 'cults'. Kemp's diatribes against any slight deviation from evangelical truth, as he saw it, destroyed the spirit of love and fellowship in many evangelical congregations. The tendency to brand others as 'unsound', 'higher critic' or, worst of all, 'modernist', shattered any sense of Christian unity, and could be 'completely destructive of the fellowship of a church'.¹⁰ Different millennial views were argued with intense bitterness, as Kemp's premillennialism gained the upper hand in many Baptist circles within in Auckland and beyond. Those who held uncritically to Kemp's fundamentalist position raised certain suspicions about the orthodoxy of those holding positions slightly different from their own. Indeed, 'modernist' came to mean anything that departed from Kemp's rigid fundamentalist view.¹¹ Those who listened carefully to Kemp gained the impression that error abounded, although few remembered Kemp's precise definition of what constituted such error. In the late twenties a Baptist minister who dared to read from Moffatt's New Testament translation publicly could be branded as a 'dangerous liberal' right throughout Baptist circles.¹² Kemp's insistence on preaching the gospel in terms popularised during

the Welsh revival created a new standard of Baptist orthodoxy.¹³ One young Baptist minister in the South Island who refused to be restricted by stock soteriological phrases such as 'the blessed blood of Christ cleanses us from sin' and preached instead of 'Christ's saving power in our lives' invited suspicion and accusations of being unsound.¹⁴ Kemp's impact on popular piety in New Zealand was such that his way was for many the only valid way to preach the gospel.

Some evangelical leaders tried to argue that the terms 'modernist' and 'fundamentalist' had no local significance.¹⁵ Among lay people, however, modernism was regarded as being the opposite of fundamentalism. Conservatives talked about 'modernists' rather than about 'liberals' or 'radicals'.¹⁶ These terms were applicable, therefore, to popular piety in New Zealand even if the clergy disclaimed them as misplaced. In the twenties fundamentalists did not regard the label as having the negative connotations which the movement developed in America. Lay people who said they were very anxious to defend 'the fundamentals' held an uncompromisingly fundamentalist position, even if they did not call themselves by the name.

Kemp did much more than lay possible foundations for populist fundamentalism in New Zealand.¹⁷ More than any other national figure, Joseph Kemp created a significant fundamentalist following, thus laying the basis of populist fundamentalism in New Zealand. Kemp's populist fundamentalist following generated a new sense of doctrinal exclusivism within the broader conservative evangelical circles in the dominion. The evangelical institutions which had their greatest impact after Kemp's death, such as the Crusader Unions and the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, were those which drew their sense of evangelical identity, to a large extent, from Kemp's pioneering work. The American elements in the Crusader Union and Evangelical Unions of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship were negligible, if nonexistent. Indeed, the British component of the I.V.F. was such that some members in the 1950's referred among themselves to the 'I.V.F. snobs'.¹⁸ After Kemp's death New Zealand evangelicalism affirmed once more its British

theological roots. This does not detract from the work of leading fundamentalists such as Kemp and P.B. Fraser, who represent the first turning of the tide of evangelical cultural allegiance. Through Kemp, more than any other figure, New Zealand evangelicalism became susceptible, albeit briefly, to American fundamentalist influences. As has been shown, once the specifically American emphases of this fundamentalism diminished, the militantly anti-modernist characteristics continued to have an impact on New Zealand popular piety.

Joseph Kemp, although a largely forgotten religious figure today, became something of a legend during his ministry in New Zealand. He was both worshipped and lampooned. He was only one among many who shared the fundamentalist position, but he was a spellbinder and a demagogue, and thus evoked a tremendous response.¹⁹ He was certainly astute in judging the mood of the times. But the 'migrant mentality' he brought meant that most of the social issues of the day were seen in terms of cultural crisis. The antidote he prescribed for conservative evangelical Christians was to adopt the anti-cultural anti-worldly concerns of the American fundamentalists of the twenties. Kemp's impact on popular piety in New Zealand can be attributed, in large measure, to his fundamentalism. Much like the neo-orthodoxy of Karl Barth, fundamentalism provided a powerful intellectual critique of contemporary society, despite its undoubted anti-intellectual traits. Kemp's doctrinaire approach to theological matters, typical of so many of the American fundamentalists, provided certainty to lay people confused by theological debate that had its origins in Europe and America. This dogmatism draws on the American heritage, rather than on a British background. Rapid social change precipitated fears that the present social order would soon come to a dramatic end. Kemp's premillennial dispensationalism made sense of the apparent chaos and unruliness of the postwar world.

Kemp's success in creating a new fundamentalist alliance was due, in no small measure, to his being placed strategically in

Auckland. Auckland was not only a strong Baptist and Brethren centre. In the twenties Kemp was part of a cluster of powerful inner-city preachers with revivalist concerns. It is doubtful that his national impact would have been the same, had he been a Baptist minister in Dunedin. Baptists there were more theologically-critical, owing to the influence of the Presbyterian Theological Hall and a tradition of theological liberalism at Hanover Street Baptist church. In Auckland, the public apprehension of social evils was greater, because of the wider range of modern amusements. These provided a focus for Kemp's wider fundamentalist attacks. However, Kemp's fundamentalism was not based on the real 'danger' to evangelical belief of modernists and liberals in New Zealand. His militant anti-modernism was not a response to local or national conditions. His failure to engage local modernists in debate demonstrates the extent to which his fundamentalism was part of his migrant mentality and theological baggage transferred to a new context.

Unlike other national fundamentalist figures, Joseph Kemp was able to command respect across a wide range of denominational, if not theological, sympathies. The attractiveness of his revivalism, the transformed lives, and productive missionary activity softened the harsher aspects of his fundamentalist stands. In effect, Kemp's revivalism tempered his fundamentalism and made it a winsome combination for evangelical Christians and those disconcerted by contemporary trends. Unlike the Presbyterian fundamentalist, P.B. Fraser, Kemp's fundamentalism was part of a wider theological constellation. It related to much more than the Westminster Confession, or a defence of propositional truth. Kemp was a fundamentalist by conviction, but believed that when the work of evangelism was threatened by theological strife, it was wiser to moderate the reactive nature of his fundamentalist anti-modernist opposition. In the interests of evangelical harmony, Kemp never forced a split among Baptists in New Zealand along conservative/liberal lines. North played no small part in maintaining Baptist unity, owing to his intellectual prowess and evangelical warmth. The only split along conservative and liberal lines that took place in ecclesiastical circles in New Zealand occurred at the end of

the twenties, within the university Christian groups. Kemp played no part in the schism from the Auckland University College Student Christian Movement of a Brethren-led Student Bible League. His more scholarly protege, classics lecturer E.M. Blaiklock, also lent no support to the separatist group, thinking that their zeal was greater than their wisdom.²⁰

By the time Kemp had an opportunity to observe first hand the detrimental effects of the American fundamentalist/modernist controversy, his fundamentalist stands were already making an impact on popular piety in New Zealand. His 1926 preaching tour overcame the 'tyranny of distance' which distorted Kemp's perceptions of the controversies before 1926. Kemp's response showed that fundamentalism, although built as a movement around anti-modernism, nevertheless belonged to the broader revivalist and evangelical traditions. The revivalist and evangelical in Kemp was distressed at the whole American situation, in which fundamentalists and modernists had fought with 'unbelievable bitterness'. Kemp acknowledged that 'a degree of suspicion and disquiet is hampering work dreadfully'.²¹ While Kemp had predicted a 'church split' between fundamentalists and modernists, he had to report, on the contrary, that it was the fundamentalists themselves who had split into 'pacifists and pugilists.' No church split had occurred in New Zealand, owing to both the lack of a tradition of modernism, and the absence of a strong separatist wing in the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations. New Zealand society as a whole remained unaffected by American fundamentalism. The piety of New Zealanders was not necessarily expressed through affiliation with church institutions. In the 1920's New Zealand society was marked generally by secular political, economic and social concerns, which were more important than theological and religious concerns. The British Isles had been saved from harmful controversy through the work of A.S. Peake in popularising biblical criticism, and through the ancient channels of communication between theological chair and pew, which kept lay people informed of theological developments. Kemp's difficulty in understanding why such controversy in America had prevented much of the interdenominational work run on Keswick lines showed the

simplicity of his understanding of the American religious problems.²² The only explanation he offered was the all-pervading suspicion among evangelicals themselves. Kemp's own shift of emphasis away from militant fundamentalism back towards a pre-eminently revivalist concern for evangelism and missionary work reflected the inbuilt tensions of the fundamentalist movement in these years of controversy. The twin fundamentalist concerns of fighting apostasy and pursuing soul-winning were conflicting tendencies, which meant that many potential fundamentalists in New Zealand did not identify fully with fundamentalist attitudes. The absence of aggressive modernism among Baptists in New Zealand accounted for the lack of any fundamentalist campaign to purge the denominations.

Through Kemp's ministry New Zealand conservative evangelicalism became susceptible to American influences in a manner more pervasive than any other previously experienced. On the basis of the work done so far, some ideas could be put forward tentatively about these American influences. Until scholars identify those aspects of the 'New World' in cultural and intellectual life in New Zealand that are counterparts of the 'New World' in America, it is not possible to delineate fully the specifically American aspects of fundamentalism which had a bearing on religious life in the dominion.²³ It is clear, however, that Kemp was a brilliant proselytizer of American fundamentalist concerns in New Zealand. Some of the definite American characteristics were, first, a tendency to exaggerate rather than moderate theological differences, and, secondly, a tendency to fling at others accusations of theological unsoundness without being willing to meet those of differing views face to face in open theological dialogue. In addition, Kemp duplicated in Auckland many of the marketing techniques employed by his American fundamentalist counterparts, in order to stir up fundamentalist fervour in the dominion.

To conclude, Kemp's fundamentalism had both constructive and destructive effects on conservative evangelical Christians in New Zealand. It was a two-edged sword that both helped and hindered. It

was the basis of much positive evangelism and missionary endeavour, and gave hope to many threatened in the uncertain postwar world. Its neat compartmentalisation of life into fixed categories of 'saved' and 'unsaved', 'sound' and 'unsound', and 'spiritual' and 'carnal' focussed the blurred distinctions of contemporary society and made sense of apparent chaos. Kemp's fundamentalism threatened to straitjacket the intellectually curious, who found such dichotomies inadequate. Those who persevered with the painful task of integrating their evangelical faith with the irreversible intellectual developments of the nineteenth century achieved ultimately an apologetic true both to the complexities of their own society, and of the tensions inherent in Christian truth.

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 *The Reaper*, vol.11 no.7 (Sept 1933), p.146.
- 2 For Kemp's involvement with the Crusader Movement and the Children's Special Service Mission (C.S.S.M.), see Peter J. Lineham, *No ordinary union, centenary history of Scripture Union in New Zealand*, Wellington, Scripture Union in New Zealand Incorporated, 1980, pp.32-3. Other dimensions of Kemp's leadership are discussed on pp.30, 31, 33, 36, and 80. Kemp was a Vice President from 1931-33.
- 3 During the latter part of Kemp's ministry when economic depression gripped New Zealand, some Protestant churches played a crucial role in providing a theological base for the social policies of the first Labour Government, elected in 1935.
- 4 Transcript of interview with the Rev. J. Ayson Clifford on 15 May 1986, p.4.
- 5 Transcript of interview with the Rev. Eric Batts on 5 January 1984, p.7.
- 6 Transcript of interview with Gordon Brookbanks on 27 May 1986, p.20.
- 7 Blaiklock, E.M., *Between the morning and the afternoon, the story of a pupil-teacher*, Palmerston North, The Dunmore Press, 1980, p.18. See also Transcript of interview with Prof. E.M. Blaiklock on 22 Aug 1983.
- 8 Batts transcript, p.7.
- 9 Brookbanks transcript, p.17.
- 10 Simpson commentary, p.12.
- 11 Brookbanks, p.16.
- 12 Simpson Interview, p.2.
- 13 Winnie Kemp, p.30. See references to 'the blood'.
- 14 Simpson Interview, pp.1-2.
- 15 While Kemp was on leave in the United States in 1926, a brief controversy arose in *The Baptist* over the relevance of the fundamentalist/modernist controversy to religious issues in New Zealand. In response to a correspondent who claimed that the terms fundamentalist and modernist were diametrically opposed, J.J. North insisted that these labels had no local significance: 'The American labels, "Fundamentalist and Modernist" are American, and they stand for very little out here, and for nothing at all in our own Church ... we have no connections with the American party labels', see *New Zealand Baptist*, (July 1926), p.189.

- 16 Transcript of interview with the Rev. J. Ayson Clifford on 15 May 1986, p.6.
- 17 Lineham, 'Finding a space for evangelicalism', p.8.
- 18 Transcript of interviews with the Rev. Don Dickson on 1, 2 Nov 1983.
- 19 Letter from the Rev. J. Ewen Simpson, 25 September 1985.
- 20 Transcript of interview with Marjorie Haughey (nee Pettit) on 12 Nov 1983, p.3.
- 21 *New Zealand Baptist*, "Editor's interview with Joseph W. Kemp", vol.42 no.466 (Dec 1926), p.337.
- 22 Idem.
- 23 Cf. Daniel Joseph Boorstin's *The Americans: the colonial experience*, New York, Random House, 1958; *The Americans: the democratic experience*, New York, Random House, 1973; and *The Americans: the national experience*, London, Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1966. I am indebted to Prof. John Jensen for these references.

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