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NEW ZEALAND ARMY CHAPLAINS AT WAR
2 NZEF 1939 - 1945.

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the
University of Waikato
by
FRANK GRENFELL GLEN

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis investigates the motivations to engage in, and the pastoral and sacramental work of, the 1939-45 World War Two chaplains of the Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force, and it explores the theological framework, and theology in which such chaplaincy was carried out. It concludes by noting significant factors and issues of concern to chaplains and their churches in respect of the transition from war to peace.

Historical models of military chaplaincy are found in Constantine's Roman Empire of 312-337CE, the Christian Crusades of 1096-1291, and the later British Empire. Features of these models provide a tool for understanding and interpreting many aspects of the work and role of the military chaplains of this study. The impact of Christian pacifism is considered, as it is one of the influences which came to bear upon the decision of some clergy who enlisted as chaplains.

Chaplains were recruited from eight denominations and they demonstrated a common pastoral concern for all who were engaged in the various theatres of war. Through the introduction of the concept of ecumenical unit chaplaincy, the battalion became the padre's parish where he conducted worship, exercised pastoral skills, read the liturgies and preached the Gospel. This became the corner-stone of an ecumenical chaplaincy which

developed throughout the war years. Despite the exigencies of war a Bible Class network, church parades - both voluntary and compulsory - and a wide range of religious activities contributed to a spiritual programme which met the needs of a largely nominal Christian 2NZEF.

There emerged from the experience of worship within the 2NZEF a pragmatic ecumenical approach to many aspects of chaplaincy, including in particular the practice, at least for Protestants, of inter-communion. Roman Catholic practice and theological understanding of the Eucharist was enriched by a particular New Zealand contribution. The isolation of the Pacific theatre, coupled with the maturing of the Chaplain's Department through the Middle East experiences, resulted in a heightening of ecumenical development within the 3rd Division chaplaincy.

The chaplain's skills in pastoral matters were required to maintain morale, cope with death, wounding and captivity. They are defined first from a military perspective and then examined from a biblical viewpoint. It is primarily in reference to chaplains' skills associated with the battlefield context, although other situations are included, that issues of pastoral ministry are identified and discussed. The Maori chaplains' task is discussed in reference to the *tohunga* of pre-Christian times. Unlike their Pakeha (European) associates, Maori chaplains had access to individuals of influence within New

Zealand Maori politics, a factor which was of particular significance.

Almost all chaplains had a belief in the *natural justice* of World War Two and this thesis will suggest they believed that not to have embarked upon war would have led to infinitely more serious problems for both civilization and the Christian Church. Throughout the war years there was an identified and distinct implicit theological framework which underwrote their attitudes and actions. Their opinions, theological framework and ideology, regarding the war arose both from the ministerial duties they performed and their battlefield experience of war itself.

The model of New Zealand chaplaincy is defined and compared with the classical models noted at the beginning of the thesis. At the end of the war, the 2NZEF Chaplains' Department held a series of Leadership Schools. These Schools, involving laymen of all denominations, addressed a series of transitional religious and social issues, the outcomes of which were to develop over the decades following WW2. The concluding chapter summarizes a Theology of Chaplaincy which has developed from the foregoing study.

PREFACE

This thesis arose initially from the questions the writer faced whilst a serving chaplain with National Servicemen (1961-70) in the **Royal NZ Chaplains' Department**, and later, the **Chaplains' Branch of the Royal Australian Airforce** on active service in Vietnam. Following in the footsteps of the traditions of WW2 chaplains, certain presumptions regarding the nature of chaplaincy were inherited. One was that in previous major wars a degree of natural justice lay with New Zealand for her involvement in war. Furthermore, the two World Wars of this century strengthened, at least for the duration of the hostilities, the relationship between Church and State. Church and State shared a common bond of interest, viz an ecclesial interest and agreement on the nature and justice for those wars. The State had its political reasons; the Church accepted that war was a result of the human sinful condition, and that peace had to be re-established even at a high cost.

Vietnam proved a quite different experience, for both New Zealand and Australian Churches, almost unanimously, strongly opposed military involvement in that War. As a chaplain representing the Churches in Vietnam this was an extremely lonely experience, and a theologically challenging one. The inherited understanding of the chaplain's role had on my part to be re-considered. In an endeavour to answer the questions one turns to history, to precedence and tradition, where I

discovered that little theological research had been done to examine the function and role of the 2NZEF chaplain. This present work is an attempt to fill that gap.

At the conclusion of the work of this thesis I am now satisfied that there remains in any situation of war, no matter how terrible, a legitimate Christian ministry.

FGG.

CORRIGENDA

Textual errors have been identified and corrected, and amendments required have been attended to, as noted below.

Every effort had been made to correct grammatical, spelling and typological mistakes identified prior to presentation of the thesis. For remaining errors, the following notes apply.

- (1) Where words appear in the text with inappropriate hyphenation, the hyphens are to be deemed to be removed.
- (2) Where apostrophes have been misplaced, or inadvertently used or omitted, they are deemed to have been corrected.
- (3) Errors of grammar and spelling which may be found in quotations are original to the passages cited. The use of (*sic*) has been largely avoided. Other corrections and alterations, as herein listed, are to be read into the text.

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- | | |
|----------------|---|
| p. vii line 17 | my wife and I <i>s/b</i> my wife and 'me' |
| p. 2 line 22 | <i>read</i> ...and contribution 'of the clergy... |
| p. 16 line 13 | <i>read</i> ...are suggested to have 'had their' origins ... |
| p. 20 line 15 | for A later Patrician... <i>read</i> A later 'Church Father...' |
| p. 28 line 2 | Daza <i>s/b</i> 'Daia' |
| p. 29 line 2 | rationalization <i>s/b</i> 'categories' |
| p. 30 line 5 | requirements <i>s/b</i> 'requirements' |
| p. 34 line 21 | third century <i>s/b</i> 'fourth' century |
| p. 35 line 7 | <i>read</i> (just war or, literally, "right to go to war") |
| line 8 | <i>after</i> unjust war <i>add</i> 'or war waged without right' |
| p. 57 line 23 | <i>liveth s/b 'live'</i> |
| p. 58 line 3 | out-working <i>s/b</i> 'was being worked out' |
| p. 66 line 4 | Ormand <i>s/b</i> 'Ormond' |
| p. 68 line 17 | 'a wholistic' <i>s/b</i> 'an holistic' |
| p. 70 line 6 | <i>The Pocket Companion</i> Refer: Vol 2, p546, n.10 |
| p. 74 line 18 | succession <i>s/b</i> 'accession' |
| p. 80 line 11 | illusive <i>s/b</i> 'elusive' |
| p. 94 line 15 | churchman <i>s/b</i> 'churchmen' |
| p. 143 line 3 | to exercise <i>s/b</i> to 'administer' |
| line 13 | <i>delete</i> definite article before 'Banks Peninsula' |
| p. 152 line 5 | alligence <i>s/b</i> 'allegiance' |
| p. 156 line 18 | Pope Pious <i>s/b</i> Pope 'Pius' |
| p. 161 line 18 | <i>to read</i> - Father Forsman wrote aboard ship in 1940
that he would " exert the men to come to Mass..." |
| p. 163 line 13 | principle <i>s/b</i> 'principal' |
| p. 176 line 24 | <i>to read</i> ...some were celebrated less frequently |
| line 26 | Taiere <i>s/b</i> 'Taieri' |
| p. 182 line 14 | Note '36' <i>s/b</i> '33' |
| p. 185 line 22 | <i>to read</i> ...ought not to be commissioned... |
| p. 205 line 13 | accute <i>s/b</i> 'acute' |
| p. 215 line 19 | <i>delete</i> definite article after 'permits its' |
| p. 222 line 1 | battlfield <i>s/b</i> 'battlefield' |
| p. 246 line 18 | <i>delete</i> definite article before 'effecting' |
| p. 256 line 17 | principle <i>s/b</i> 'principal' |
| p. 274 line 25 | <i>to read</i> ...body parts of an ... |
| p. 282 line 9 | <i>to read</i> 'As a Maori reactionary religious body, the Hau
Hau movement (24) matured as the war delivered defeat
to Maori.' |
| p. 327 line 16 | cleryman's <i>s/b</i> 'clergyman's' |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Few post-graduate students have been as fortunate as myself in gaining the support of two experienced supervisors, Rev'd Dr Douglas Pratt, of the Religious Studies Department, and Dr Laurie Barber, Associate Professor of History, at the University of Waikato. The thesis would never have emerged without their support. Dr Pratt taught me new ways of thinking, and has a knack of leading his students into new learning curves. His cheerful and consistent faith in the project has been an inspiration, especially during times when I was tempted to walk away from what appeared to be an overwhelming challenge. Dr Barber arranged for the presentation of a "Work in Progress" paper at the University's "*New Zealand Remembers*" August 1995 History Conference, where a number of WW2 veterans were able to respond with some helpful suggestions. The University of Waikato supported the research with a Fees Scholarship for which I have been grateful.

Prior to engaging in this study, the Norfolk Island Uniting Church invited my wife and I to fill a three months' vacancy. They were willing to sustain the invitation knowing I would arrive with a computer and boxes of documents. The patience of the congregation and the solitude of the island was ideally suited to begin the research.

Dean Michael Underhill is a former Chaplain Commandant of the Royal

NZ Chaplains' Department and the author of the Official History of NZ Chaplains in the Second World War. Now an octogenarian, he gave time and effort to make sure his recollections were accurate. As the official WW2 chaplains' historian he has had almost 50 years to reflect upon work not covered in his earlier official history. Rev'd John T Gardiner, another octogenarian and both a minister and serving chaplain during the war years, has been a very fine sounding board. The present official historian of the Royal New Zealand Army Chaplains' Department, Bryant Haigh, and myself have together worked on material which was published in the official history of 1983. I am grateful to him for providing new information which has become available since that time.

Sir Norman Perry, former YMCA Field Secretary to the 28 (Maori) Battalion, early directed my thoughts towards the style in which the Maori chaplaincy has been considered. Hon. Sir John White, former Chief Justice of NZ, and one-time WW2 Private Secretary to General Sir Bernard Freyberg, has corrected vague impressions and made suggestions regarding some theological and legal insights. While working at the archives of the Presbyterian Church at Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin, the Masters of the College, both former and present, extended warm hospitality. In dealing with a past-middle-age student, perhaps they considered it prudent to extend that extra hospitality; it has been greatly appreciated. Rev'd Prof. Peter Matheson of Knox Theological Hall gave early encouragement. I have also appreciated the thoughtful reflection and challenge of

Rev'd Dr Allan Davidson as the thesis drew to its conclusion. Forty years ago Rev'd Dr John Lewis was my teacher at Trinity Methodist Theological College, and now in his retirement I have valued highly the stimulation of his intellectual challenges.

The requests of those respondents to the questionnaire who desired confidentiality has been maintained. Their names are not included in the *The Analysis* published in this thesis. The names of all other respondents and their original questionnaire forms, together with all addenda associated with these contributions, are available for consultation through contacting either the Religious Studies Department of the University of Waikato or myself directly. In view of the important contribution each respondent has made to the study, it would be less than courteous not to acknowledge their efforts, and this has been done where appropriate by way of detailed biographical notes. The generosity of the International Red Cross in Berne is acknowledged and appreciated, for the General Secretary kindly provided copies of the 1929 Geneva Conventions and a great deal of associated material relating to Prisoners of War and military chaplains.

Several proof readers have had to cope with the work of a dyslexic student. As a consequence of the dyslexia, the Gothic font used in Volume One was selected on the basis that it was the best available which could be worked with the least difficulty. This font results in less words per page than the standard font. However, Volume Two

was able to be printed with the conventional 12 point font. The chief reader has been Mrs Mary Tagg MA (Hons). As currently a Police chaplain I have been fortunate also to have had support from Sergeants Peter Devoy BA and Chris Dale. Without the help of my wife Margret (Mrs K.M.E. Glen JP.) the careful checking of each note could not have been achieved. With regard to the section on Maori Chaplaincy, the local Coromandel veterans of the 28 Battalion, and Mr Ti Turoa of the Coromandel Iwi Authority, willingly contributed important insights and advice.

Staff of the following libraries and archives deserve special acknowledgement. The Archivist of the Baptist College of New Zealand Auckland; Archivist and Staff of Knox Theological Hall Dunedin; Staff of the Methodist Connexional Archives Christchurch; the Diocesan Archivist of Canterbury; the Archivist and assistant of the Ponsonby Roman Catholic Archives. All were more than generous with their time and assistance, as were the Salvation Army Archivist, Cuba Street Wellington, and the staff of the Kinder Library, St John's Theological College Auckland. The latter facilitated the availability of records of the Anglican Military Affairs Committee which would normally be embargoed for seventy years. Also acknowledged are the staff in the libraries and archives of the Universities of Waikato, Canterbury and Otago; the Queen Elizabeth II Army War Memorial Museum Waiouru; the Auckland War Memorial Museum; and the material generously loaned by the Hamilton Central RSA. In the collection of so much material a

filing system was established and the facilities to do this were made available by Mr Herbert Farrant of **Promanco** in Auckland. His very necessary and practical aid in respect of this contribution is well appreciated. The filed material will eventually become part of the Archives of the QE.II War Memorial Museum, Waiouru.

The gathering of material for this research actually began in 1956 when I was a theological student. The then Principal of Trinity Methodist Theological College gave me access to records of WW1 chaplains.

The National Library, Wellington, made material available to me which is only now fully utilized. Thus the work by staff, especially Mr Ian Wards, former Chief Editor of the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, has finally been used in a major study. My early introduction to material on chaplaincy resulted in two small publications,¹ which sowed seeds for some of the questions raised in this thesis. The various religious periodicals which published requests for information, *Radio Pacific*, and returned servicemen of WW2 who during the year of "NZ Remembers" sat with me in RSAs up and down the land and shared with me the living stories of their padre, are all thankfully acknowledged. Its a pity not all of the tales could be utilized, but all contributed to create a mass of material from which to draw information and understanding.

Many friends and relations provided over-night accommodation and

transport during the annual field trips, while my wife patiently endured a further two and a half years of living with a full-time student. Without her consent and support this thesis would never have been researched, let alone completed.

Frank Glen.

1 August 1996.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

Abbreviations used in this thesis relate two contexts: the military; and those generally used to describe sources in a manner appropriate to an academic work.

1. MILITARY

The Chaplains' Department

batman	The chaplain's assistant and personal helper, usually a soldier appointed by the Commanding Officer of the unit at the request of the chaplain.
Chap.	Chaplain or Padre. Ordained Priest or clergyman.
Ch.DAC.	Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council, located in Wellington.
Chap.Cl.IV.	Chaplain Class Four, a military chaplain with the relative rank of Captain.
Chap.Cl.III.	Chaplain Class Three, a military chaplain with the relative rank of Major.
Chap.Cl.II.	Chaplain Class Two, a military chaplain with the relative rank of Lieutenant Colonel.
Chap.Cl.I.	Chaplain Class One, a military chaplain with the relative rank of Colonel.
CF.	Chaplain to the Forces.
ED.	Efficiency Decoration. An award following 12 years Efficient Territorial Service, but which also includes exceptions with Active Service experience.
Rev'd. or Rev.	It is military regulation that all chaplains be referred to in written correspondence as The Reverend . The wearing of rank by a chaplain is considered by the military authorities to be secondary to the title Reverend. A chaplain has no authority to issue orders except to those chaplains ecclesiastically junior who belong to the same denomination.
RNZCh.D.	Royal New Zealand Chaplains' Department.
SA.	Salvation Army. In civilian life Salvation Army Officers are known by their rank. So as not to confuse this with official military situations the letters (SA) usually appear after their title.
SCF	Senior Chaplain to The Forces. Usually Class II.

SCF 2 (NZ) Div	Senior Chaplain Second (NZ) Division 2NZEF Usually held by a chaplain holding the substantive rank of Chaplain Class II. or I.
SCF 3 (NZ) Div	Senior Chaplain Third (NZ) Division 2NZEF(IP) Held by two chaplains only, one with the substantive rank of Chaplain Class II. and the other Class I.

Welfare Organizations

YMCA	Young Mens' Christian Association
CA	Church Army
IRC	International Red Cross

Army Nomenclature

1NZEF	First New Zealand Expeditionary Force (1914-18)
2NZEF	Second New Zealand Expeditionary Force (1939-1945)
2NZEF(IP)	Second New Zealand Expeditionary Forces in The Pacific.
ADS	Advanced Dressing Station.
ASC.	Army Service Corps. The providers of the logistics and support.
Bn, Btn.	Battalion. This normally consists of 900 men and 50 officers as well as a doctor, chaplain and YMCA Field secretary.
Bde	Brigade. Usually consists of three Battalions and special units of 5000 or more men. Commanded by a one star general, a Brigadier.
CCS	Casualty Clearing Station
Col.	Colonel
CO.	Officer Commanding. Usually a Lt. Colonel in command of a Battalion.
Div.	Division. Usually has three Brigades, and specialist regiments attached. Up to 15,000 men.
DSO	Distinguished Service Order.
2Ic	Second in Command. In a Battalion, a position held by an experienced Major.
2(NZ)Div.	2nd New Zealand Division. Served in the Middle East and Italy.
3(NZ)Div.	3rd New Zealand Division. Served in the Pacific
Gen.Hos.	General Hospital. A large Regimental sized medical facility, usually permanently sited.
LOB	Left out of Battle.
Maj.	Major
MC	Military Cross

MO	Medical Officer, always a Doctor.
Medic.	Medical Orderly - not a nurse.
m.i.d.	mentioned in despatches
NZE	New Zealand Engineers
WW1	World War One 1914-1918.
WW2	World War Two 1939-1945.

Reference has been made to the *King's Regulations*. New Zealand had not written its own for chaplains in 1939, thus those used were adopted from the British Army. The scripture quotations are all taken from the *King James Version* (KJV) of the Bible, while the liturgies quoted are from the various *Book of Offices* used as liturgical aids by chaplains during WW2 and the titles are listed in the bibliography.

2. ACADEMIC

The location of the material used in the sources is given on the first use of the source in the chapter notes.

Abbreviations for Sources

AMC.	Anglican Military Affairs Committee (St John's Theological College Auckland)
SJC	St John's Theological College. Auckland
LIS	Roman Catholic Diocesan Archives. Liston Papers. Ponsonby Auckland.
MCA	Methodist Connexional Archives : Christchurch
KTH	Knox Theological Hall Archives and Hewitson Library: Dunedin
BTC	Baptist Theological College Auckland
SAA	Salvation Army Archives: Cuba Street Wellington
NL	National Library: Wellington

QE2	Queen Elizabeth 2nd Army War Memorial Museum, Waiouru
AWM	Auckland War Memorial and Museum, Auckland
WO	War Office: London
GHC	Glen Historical Collection: Invercargill Public Library.
IRC	International Red Cross: Berne Switzerland
CDA	Christchurch Diocesan Archives: Christchurch
UWL	University of Waikato Library: Hamilton
OUL	Otago University Library Including McNab Library: Dunedin.

Together with the abbreviations there are several terms with specific meaning peculiar to this thesis which at the outset need clarification.

Axis The former enemies of New Zealand during WW2, viz Germany and her two major allies, Italy and Japan.

Allies Those nations who joined forces to oppose the Axis military aggression of 1939-45.

Colour of Right A term usually used in a legal context and is variously defined in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*.¹ In the context of this thesis "colour of right" means the "*prima facie* right" by which the Allies acted with moral legitimacy against Axis who "*without* colour of right", had no prior legitimacy morally or politically for their actions in going

to war and destroying the sovereignty of independent nations.

Ecclesial As described by the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary*², but more especially with respect to the distinction between "sect" and "church" (Troeltsch), the term refers to functions and interests of the church as an institution, especially where such functions and interests are shared in common with the institution of the State. Swift, quoting Marrin, refers to the ecclesial institution as that which "seeks to exert a spiritual influence upon the whole of life through becoming an integral part of existing society," and to accomplish this aim, "it compromises by adapting the absolute law of God to the relativities and exigencies of living in an imperfect world" (Marrin,4-5)".³

Tohunga There are a number of different traditions of Maori tohunga or priests.⁴ Attention is drawn here to that traditional tohunga associated with the preparation for, and attendance at, war.

MAPS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

Lt.General Sir B. C. Freyberg VC.
 GOC 2NZEF (MEF) 1940-1945.....Frontispiece

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Credits: Thanks to Dr. L. Barber for the use of the Pacific Map.
 All photographs acknowledged with thanks.



—Painting by Peter McIntyre

Lieutenant-General Sir BERNARD CYRIL FREYBERG,
V.C., G.C.M.G., K.C.B., K.B.E., D.S.O., LL.D.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The 1840 Treaty of Waitangi is the point in New Zealand history when Maori and European embarked together upon a future as one nation.¹ Since then New Zealand has been involved in fifty years of war, fourteen of those fighting the internal Anglo-Maori Land Wars.² Within the fifty years there were times when New Zealand servicemen and women were fighting concurrently in two different theatres. In addition, New Zealand soldiers have, since 1951, been actively peacekeeping or operating as United Nations Observers.³ Thus in total just a little less than a third of New Zealand's history since 1840 has been spent fighting wars of Empire, World Wars, or wars in support of the United Nations Charter.

New Zealand's years of war have contributed to a large assemblage of military history which has recorded the cut and thrust of battles and campaigns⁴ but, until recently, there has been little focus on the impact of war upon the social, political, or religious fabric of our society. In every war in which New Zealand has participated the Church provided Christian ministry to the combatants and, with the exception of the Boer War, that ministry has extended to the foe.⁵ With regard to the earlier colonial period, I have considered elsewhere the role of missionary, Maori, and colonial statesmen who were involved in

the First Taranaki war⁶ which saw the origins of the first New Zealand military chaplains.⁷

When the wars have ceased New Zealand society and the churches have generally erected memorials to those who have died. A cursory visit to any city cathedral, or to the humble wooden country church, reveals a host of war memorials and lists of the dead.⁸ The record of the Churches' activities in war, the beliefs of their clergy and the pastoral skills required to minister to those engaged in war, has not yet been extensively examined nor comprehensively researched. Yet, by comparison the missionary period of our history has been subjected to extensive investigation. Curiously, the fifty years of war is equal to the period (1814-1864) during which the primary missionary influence impacted on New Zealand history and Maori society.⁹

The various wars in which New Zealand has been engaged offer the Religious Studies' student a mine of material, for few studies of New Zealand at war focus on the involvement of the churches.¹⁰ This thesis studies World War Two only, the effects of which have had significant impact upon the New Zealand Churches and society. Specifically it focuses on the experience and contribution the clergy, YMCA and Church Army workers who enlisted as chaplains or welfare officers in the 2NZEF. These were the individuals who, by virtue of their role and office,

were effectively the Church in the midst of a military organization. The study does not include Airforce or Naval chaplaincy.

The churches of New Zealand have, in the years of peace since WW2, undertaken little analysis of their role in wartime wherein they worked closely with the New Zealand Government in the maintenance and preservation of national identity.¹¹ There is available material, some of which is used in this thesis, which helps us appreciate the role of the Churches in their provision of chaplains to the 2NZEF.¹²

SOURCES OF THE INVESTIGATION

When the decision to conduct this research was made in 1988 there were still living a small number of chaplains who had served in the 2NZEF. This gave the opportunity, critical to the study, for those survivors to contribute their experiences by way of responding to a questionnaire. It was with their data that the research first began, and has resulted in *The Analysis* as contained in Appendix A. This document constitutes the single most important body of personal experience for the purpose of research. *The Analysis*, with additional primary resources, represents contributions from almost 40% of former serving 2NZEF chaplains, 6% of Field Secretaries and 10% of theological students. The thesis as such, does not exhaust the sum of the material which *The Analysis* contains.

Associated with *The Analysis* has been an additional body of informative correspondence written by 2NZEF chaplains which did not fall within the parameters of the questionnaire. Another has been diaries kept by chaplains on the battlefield. The importance of these diaries cannot be underestimated for they were written during times of captivity, military activity, or when they had been formally and deliberately left out of battle (LOB). These are the contemporary documents which give direct access to the events of the time, especially insights into theological views and pastoral behaviour. Until this enquiry began, they had been private documents containing material about which the former chaplains spoke little; only their closest family had access.

Oral history is used only when the written or photographic evidence has lent the informant material support. Such oral history, personal letters and reminiscences, regarding the work of Roman Catholic chaplains has been particularly important, for all but one of the 24 RC 2NZEF chaplains are deceased at the time of writing. Sources originating from the Churches' Archives are not especially prolific, and records are largely restricted to the minutes of official committees or are found in the denominations' published monthly or fortnightly periodical. Remarkable as it may seem, reports sent by chaplains from the war zones, and which were published in church periodicals, were not always subject to the official

ensor. By contrast, censorship was placed on the Methodist Churches' Chaplaincy Committee report to its Annual Conference in 1943.¹³

The records of the Chaplains' Department contain history which details in military language an official overview of their work, but these reports are sterile of any theological or pastoral thinking. As a source of information they are valuable for the outline of battles, postings of chaplains, and personal details. These reports originated from the Senior Chaplains' of the 2NZEF either in the Middle East or the Pacific and they convey the month to month duties of the Department to the Chaplain's Dominion Advisory Council (Ch.DAC) in Wellington.¹⁴

During a "Talk Back" Radio Pacific programme in August 1993 an effort was made to retrieve information with the result that over thirty individuals responded in writing. Dozens of others phoned in information. Subsequent letters from former soldiers of the 2NZEF have formed a complementary pool of information together with diaries, oral audio tapes, video records, photographic records and *The Analysis*.

The Radio Replay programme "*New Zealand At War*", broadcast over Radio New Zealand's Sunday morning National Programme for six years between September 1989 and September 1995, proved an excellent source for the development of thesis material. The

eight hour television documentary "*New Zealand Remembers-NZ At War*" confirmed a great deal of the material provided by chaplains. The photographic material re-discovered during the research for this study in the Knox Theological Hall archives also gave helpful insights into the tasks of some Presbyterian chaplains.

Three individuals have proved to be particularly invaluable. Brigadier W. R. K. (Kim) Morrison DSO, a former Dunroon Royal Military College cadet and regular soldier, is also a former Anglican Synodsmen. While serving with the 2NZEF he made it his business to acquaint himself with every chaplain he could possibly meet. His thumb-nail sketches, recollections and insights have greatly contributed to this study. Colonel Bill French was a Lieutenant with the 20th Battalion in the final stages of the war in Italy. He has been an Elder of the Presbyterian Church for many years and knew most of the chaplains from the Otago-Southland area. Mr R. A. Bell of Tauranga served as a private soldier with 24 Battalion and kept a unique diary in which he wrote just one sentence each day. His contribution, as a further complementary source to the official and chaplains' statements, has been most invaluable. Appendix B contains the biographical record of the chaplains and the individuals associated with this study. Appendix C, with Table 1, compares the impact upon the ministry of the churches as a result of clergy recruited into the Chaplain's

Department over the war years. It also contains a conservative estimate of each denomination's proportion of active participants in the church-life of the 2NZEF.¹⁵ Therein lies a further area of study as to how the effects of WW2 impacted upon the New Zealand Churches' congregational life, 1939-1945, for the chaplains' stories form only a part of a larger picture. Appendix D outlines briefly the details of the 2NZEF military chapels built or provided through civilian and missionary contacts in areas where there were static bases in the Middle East and the Pacific. Only the essential details are given, for this also is a subject which deserves specific research. Appendix E contains a copy of the LEADERSHIP SCHOOL Syllabus established by the Department at Riccone in Italy during mid 1945. Appendix F is copy of the section from the British Army *King's Regulations* which designates the tasks of 2NZEF chaplains.

The various denominational newspapers and chaplains' surviving sermons help us to catch a glimpse of the theological and pastoral framework within which they exercised their ministry. These sources, when integrated into the already published histories, reveal a theological dimension of the chaplain's role which forms a basis for articulating a theology of chaplaincy. Such theological discussion is not included in the official military histories for they are not designed to convey a theological message. Rather they record the campaign

logistics, planning details, outcomes of battles, and the bravery of various individuals.

METHODOLOGY AND STRUCTURE

Essentially the research task was to discover the implicit theological framework through which chaplains understood and performed their duties. The methodological tools utilized encompass socio-historical investigation, a broad phenomenological analysis appropriate to an exercise in the field of religious studies and, in particular, theological analysis and reflection.

Theological interpretation arising out of chaplains' experiences helps to reveal the broader perspective in which their work may be placed. They did not perform their pastoral or preaching duties in a vacuum. In numerous cases there were good theological reasons why they acted as they did. Thus the methodology adopted is driven by one primary goal. It is an endeavour to discover through as many recorded events as possible, the implicit views, and the directly stated opinions, which demonstrate the theological framework and models of chaplaincy out of which the 2NZEF chaplains functioned, whether consciously or not.

Before beginning the thesis two key research tasks had to be undertaken. The first, compiling *The Analysis*; the second, an

enquiry into the historical background out of which the military chaplaincy was founded and from which distinctive models can be discovered.

The **Prologue**, or **Part One**, of the thesis constitutes the essential background which has enabled the 2NZEF chaplaincy to be set in an appropriate historical and theological context. The Prologue is necessary as a point of reference for there has not been previous research which has attempted to define models of chaplaincy or considered chaplaincy in a theological framework. As a consequence the Prologue is an interpretive historic review of the churches' experience of military service and chaplaincy. Three distinctive theological models of military chaplaincy experienced by the Church over the past seventeen hundred years are identified. The three models are, the Eusebian, Crusading, and the Diaconal. They provide an adequate background upon which to investigate and interpret chaplaincy within the 2NZEF.

The work of Part One concludes with a brief examination of the opposing pacifist theological options. On the one hand attention is given to the impact of pacifism on the Churches and the dilemma it caused among those who sought to enlist, either as chaplains or fighting soldiers. The leadership of the Churches in New Zealand was faced with a clear choice; support the war or oppose it. Almost without exception by the

time of Japan's entry into the war in December 1941 the New Zealand churches supported the war. This support was based upon a growing theological pragmatism and the urgency of national survival. The Church shared with the State its ecclesial¹⁶ interest in protecting and defending the Judeo-Christian heritage.

Part Two delineates the motivation and theological understanding that chaplains, welfare officers and theological students give as their reasons for enlistment into the 2NZEF. The influence of Christian pacifism and political appeasement prevalent during the 1930s is shown to be an inadequate ideology to cope with the appalling horror of the Nazi machine and the persistent aggressive march of the Japanese Empire.

A small number of clergy chose to be fighting men while others elected to act as medical orderlies. Welfare officers became the military deacons who immersed themselves in the huge task of providing both the physical and spiritual means of support for their soldiers. Numbers of clergy who had held strong pacifist views before the opening shots of WW2 had, by the end of the war, adopted a theological conviction that war was the only means whereby the terror and the violence which had been launched on humankind by the Axis enemy could be checked. Others believed that the catastrophe of war was by no means the worst of sin within the human condition. The theological

journey which led many clergy to accept military action as the only way to defeat a malignant militarism is also shown to have had its pacifist detractors. On the other hand the conviction that war was essential, if not a Christian duty, had its supporters.

When the principles of maintaining individual and national freedoms were used as an ideological justification for the defence of Christian civilization, the churches discovered these issues could easily be translated into biblical and gospel terms.¹⁷ Understanding of the war against the Axis as a Just war is expressed by chaplains indirectly: it is implicit in their behaviour and prayers. There is a recognition on their part that all war is wrong and contrary to God's Will, but that when war is forced upon humankind as a result of the human condition it has to be met head on.

Part Three considers the place of preaching and the administering of the sacrament of Holy communion within the 2NZEF. Compulsory Church parades were as much a part of the 2NZEF as meal parades or any other military manoeuvre. The amount of objection to compulsory Church parades never generated enough opposition to bring the custom to a halt. Rather, by the end of the war, it had come to be a readily accepted part of army life. Church parades placed demands upon the chaplains for relevant preaching and a style which the

majority of soldiers attending worship understood. It says a great deal for the national Christian background that the majority of soldiers did in fact understand the idiom of the preacher. Few padres failed in their ability to hold the interest of those large assemblies of worshipping soldiers. The fact that chaplains lived close to their men and exercised a pastoral ministry among them gave them common identity upon which to base their preaching.

It was common place for the Holy Communion to be celebrated just before the commencement of battle. There were seven different liturgies and practices of Holy Communion among the denominations represented by the chaplains of the 2NZEF.¹⁸ These were normally practised in the civilian churches of their origin in a sectarian style where confirmation was usually the qualification required for the communicant to participate. Within the military context the differing forms of Holy Communion became stripped of their sectarian peculiarities and became in reality two forms of celebration.

The first was in the style of the Mass celebrated by a Roman Catholic priest exclusively for Roman Catholics. There emerges, in the context of war, a clear Roman Catholic theology of the Mass which has similarities to that of the crusading period of the Church's history. In addition, the pre-war social isolation of the New Zealand Roman Catholic minority hardly had

a place in the 2NZEF. There may have been differences of religious outlook but both Catholic and Protestant were united in their opposition to Hitler and the Axis.

The second was an open form of Holy Communion celebrated by any Protestant chaplain to which all were welcome. The style may well have been in the tradition of the denomination from which the celebrant came, but those who participated were from every Protestant denomination.¹⁹ The sectarian aspects of Holy Communion, in the military context, were abandoned. The sacrament, which in its civilian context separated Christians, became in the context of the 2NZEF the rite which united Protestants. These denominations had always enjoyed a close association from the earliest of colonial times²⁰ and had learned to work together in a military situation during the First World War.²¹ They were the group most willing to share in the celebration of Holy Communion, for many who presented themselves were familiar with the pre-war ecumenical awareness which had been steadily growing among the younger Christian generation.

The investigation is dominated by the events of the Middle East and Italy, which is not surprising when it is considered the 3rd Division of the 2NZEF fought in the Pacific for less than two full months of active land combat. This Division was, however, subject to a lengthier period of Japanese air and

naval attack. The isolation of the 3rd Division and the lessons learned by chaplains before the Pacific campaigns paved the way for a much easier transition towards an ecumenical celebration of the Holy Communion in the Pacific war.

The ministry of Pastoral care is investigated in **Part Four**. The organization of the welfare ministry had been plagued by bitter sectarian disagreement at the outset of the war. Good intentions became confused with denominational pride while the Anglicans were, perhaps understandably, aggrieved that the New Zealand Government would not permit them to take a major part of the 2NZEF Welfare ministry. They considered that, as almost 50% of soldiers claimed to be Anglicans, they had the natural right to offer welfare ministry at least to Anglicans.

The New Zealand Government rejected the Salvation Army and the Anglican Church Army, as organizations which wanted to contribute to the Welfare ministry, in preference to the experienced international and non-denominational body, the YMCA. At the last moment however, the Government relented and permitted the Church Army to become integrated within the YMCA framework, although this was never really a suitable arrangement. Through the Welfare ministry, soldiers of all denominational persuasions, including Roman Catholics and Jews, were gathered together in the YMCA facilities, funded by the New Zealand National Patriotic Trust Fund Board.²² On neutral

ground YMCA secretaries became the military field deacons. Critics²³ of the chaplaincy have difficulty in accepting that there is a relevant and acceptable spiritual ministry within the context of war. Their criticism, which is on-going, suggests that chaplains are used by the military authorities simply to assure soldiers that God is fighting on their side and that the cause is both correct and justified. This particular criticism is examined and it is shown that within the context of the 2NZEF an authentic ministry was possible and that the New Zealand military authorities never required their chaplains to exercise a ministry in the style of what some critics refer to as "military religion".²⁴ It is in this Part that the distinction is made between the need for a confident fighting morale, which an army creates among its members, and the spiritual morale through which chaplains encourage men to survive spiritually.

Part Five examines the 28 (Maori) Battalion which was served in its chaplaincy by Anglican priests, all of whom were Maori.²⁵ No previous analysis of Maori chaplaincy has existed upon which to draw any comparisons or interpretation. For the purposes of this thesis, the discussion of Maori chaplaincy has been set within a framework of the role of the pre-Christian warrior-Tohunga, and an examination of dimensions of the spiritual and cultural inheritance peculiar to the Maori. This has been necessary in order to understand the difference in the

character of chaplaincy within the Maori Battalion as compared to that of the Pakeha fighting units. The mana in which Maori Chaplains were esteemed as spiritual examples and military leaders is indicative of a tradition which is not comparable with the Pakeha situation.

Part Six raises three questions which focus on the theological findings. The first investigates the religious culture of the 2NZEF based on the assumption that there must be a discernible spirituality among 140,000 men who were within the pastoral care of one hundred and sixty one priests and clergy. The distinctive characteristics of a nominal Christianity are defined and three of the great Kiwi social and cultural characteristics expressed in the 2NZEF are suggested to have origins in the New Zealanders' understanding of Christianity.

The second concerns the dimensions and characteristics among chaplains which despite the diversity of denominationalism, education and personality, reveals they shared much in common. The investigation centres upon the strong and obvious unifying vocational calling. They were bound together by an awareness that they were God's servants within the turmoil of war. The cumulative impact of the chaplains' work and thinking leads to the consolidation of their theological framework, for, by the end of the war, it was clear they believed implicitly in the justice of military action. They were sure that the *colour of*

*right*²⁶ favourably shaded the justice of the Allied cause. This was a confirmation of their pragmatic theological choice of the lesser of two evils born out of the human condition, the circumstance of history, and tested by the bitterness of defeat, death, and eventual victory.

The third discussion enquires into the influences of the models arising from the earlier interpretive historical discussion of chaplaincy, and puts forward a definition and interpretation of a composite chaplaincy model which creatively evolved in the 2NZEF.

Part Seven concludes with an examination of what might be called "transitional issues", and a final theological reflection on military chaplaincy as such. At the end of the European war chaplains were aware of the importance of the soldiers rehabilitation back to home and community and the need for men with a Christian background to meet the challenges of the post-war world. To this end they established the **Leadership Schools** which operated from June until October 1945. The theology of chaplaincy that emerges from this study is couched in Christological terms. Chaplaincy is, theologically, an incarnational enactment.

PART ONE

PROLOGUE: AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORIC REVIEW

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHURCH AND THE MILITARY

New Zealand, as a largely Anglo-Saxon-Celtic nation, inherited religious, cultural and intellectual values rooted deeply in the traditions of the former British Empire. Among them are Christianity, the Westminster style of Government, and a distinctive military tradition. The task of tracing the theological relationship of the Church to the 2NZEF has its origins in the first several centuries of the Church's existence, the later Holy Crusades, and subsequent wars of the British Empire.

At the outset of this study it is helpful to establish a brief understanding of the Christian Church's perception of its place and function in the world and Roman Empire during that period which preceded the formation of the canon of the New Testament. This understanding enables us to trace and outline the theological models which, over the centuries, first influenced the Church's relationship to the Roman military establishment, and subsequently other national military forces. In turn, the understanding derived from this sheds light on the theological development of chaplaincy within the twentieth-century 2NZEF.

The biblical roots of the idea of the Church are in essence Hebraic: the word *qahal* or assembly and a similar word *edhah* convey the idea of a gathered Assembly. During the period of the first three centuries of the Christian era when the New Testament was in its period of development the Greek Septuagint word *sunagoge* replaced the Hebrew *edhah*, and *ekklesia* replaced *qahal*.¹ In both there is the root meaning of "calling". Thus the *ekklesia*² represented the gathering together and the calling of Christians into community and worship. The *ekklesia* included both Jew and Gentile who shared their worship of Jesus Christ whom they believed to be the Messiah³, the Divine Son of God.⁴ The people of the *ekklesia* celebrated Jesus as "...this Word, Wisdom and Power, (who) is one Spirit, Begotten by God, and therefore call'd his Son..."⁵ God incarnate in human form, redeemer and Saviour of the world.⁶ Jesus was the head of the New Israel, a continuation of the old Israel initiated by God to bring a new world order.⁷ The Church was to be the agent of God in this new age, while entry into the *ekklesia* was through personal confession of Christ as Lord, coupled with personal repentance from sin. This was generally followed by the rite of baptism. The church was a fellowship (*koinonia*) and through the Sacrament of Holy Communion, involving the breaking of bread and sharing of wine, Christians were reminded not only of Christ's death and resurrection but of his Real Presence as they responded to Him in the here and now.⁸

MILITARY SERVICE IN THE PRE-CONSTANTINE ERA

Christians had grown in such numbers within the Roman army by c150 that their prayers had, on one occasion at least, been credited as contributing towards a Roman military victory.⁹ This occasion was acknowledged during the reign of the pagan Emperor Marcus Aurelius, (c121-c180) who as a result tempered the persecutions against Christians, "...tho' he did not absolutely abolish all Laws that were in Force against us; yet took off the Edge of 'em, by severely using our Accusers."¹⁰

Christianity during the period under discussion was considered by Rome to be an illegal superstition (*superstitio illicita*).¹¹ This opinion did not hinder Justin Martyr (c100-c165) who commented that it was a Christian's duty to offer prayers, "... that with your (emperor's) kingly power you be found to possess also sound judgement".¹² A later Patrician, Tertullian (c160-c220), despite sharing strong pacifist sentiments with his contemporary Theophilus, believed Rome to be part of God's divine plan to maintain peace in the world.¹³ Tertullian wrote "But we lie under still, a stronger, and a higher Necessity, to entreat God for the Welfare of our Prince; the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, and the Happy Success of the *Roman Arms*."¹⁴ He believed Christians were living in an era which anticipated the end of time with the return of Christ, but until the "... Pompous and Triumphant Majesty of the *Roman Empire* ceases.... we must at the same time beg of him (God) to Preserve the *Roman*

Empire."¹⁵ Despite his objection to the military life as a profession for Christians Tertullian acknowledged that many served in the Imperial ranks without conflict of conscience.¹⁶ Cyprian (died c258) on the other hand was no advocate of Christian pacifism and accepted that peace had to be maintained even by force of arms. The pagan pro-consul Demetrianus of Africa contended that responsibility for famines and other natural disasters could be laid at the feet of the Christians because they refused to worship the Roman gods.¹⁷ In reply to Demetrianus Cyprian noted;

Nonetheless, we always pray that enemies be kept at bay, that rains be granted, and that adversities either be taken away or mitigated; day and night we pour out our supplications beseeching and placating God, earnestly and continually pleading with him for your safety and peace.¹⁸

Thus the relationship between the church, its members and the Roman army in the Pre-Constantine era is complex. On the one hand, some Christian apologists prohibited believers from taking up employment with the State because they considered such an association to be a compromise of a Christian's duty to God. Yet there were increasing numbers of Christians, who, well knowing the attitude of the Church, served as soldiers.¹⁹ This situation did not have the approval of the bishops. One significant reason for their disapproval was that in the taking of an oath of allegiance Christians were most likely to be involved in some form of pagan sacrifices. In addition, Christians were forbidden to kill their fellow men especially

following their reception of the Eucharistic elements.²⁰ Hippolytus of Rome (c170-c236) wrote that Christian soldiers of lower rank could neither take the oath of allegiance nor kill the enemies of Rome under any circumstances and to do so was to invite dismissal from the Church.²¹

Origen (c185-c254) was a profound pacifist. He believed that Jesus was born in the time of Augustus because God had chosen that period of relatively low Roman military and political activity to establish His New Kingdom on earth. Subsequently, in Origen's opinion the Roman Empire became the vehicle for the expansion of the Gospel.²² As a consequence it became a Christian's duty to pray for a Roman victory over enemies of the State. Origen takes as his authority I Timothy 2:1-2 and Ephesians 6:11²³ as the basis for suggesting Christians ought to pray for the Empire's preservation. Cyprian also uses these scriptures as the basis for spiritualizing the warfare Christians undertake for the Emperor. Swift comments;

...to work toward that kingdom, warfare for them (the Christians) has become spiritualized. Their battle is against the powers of evil both within and outside man that stir up conflicts and prevent a lasting peace. Christian service to the empire...must be in the realm of the spirit or not at all.²⁴

Christians of the first three centuries were generally discouraged from enlisting in the Roman army²⁵ while those already in the army were required by the Church to decline homage to the emperor or to make an oath of allegiance. These

requirements of loyalty don't seem to have been an issue for individuals who chose the military life, other than during the years of the persecutions.²⁶ The taking of human life in any form was for many pre-Constantinian apologists an anathema.²⁷

There were increasing numbers of Christians serving in the Roman army during the early part of the fourth century. This fact is attested by Emperor Diocletian (c245-c313) who, in 303, singled out Christians serving in his personal bodyguard because he considered them a threat to the Roman religion and made them the first objects of his persecution.²⁸ Diocletian had called for a service of divination and was insulted when Christian soldiers made the sign of the Cross during a pagan rite.²⁹

CHRISTIANITY AND ROMAN CIVIL RELIGION

The Diocletian persecutions arose from the jealousy, superstition and prejudice of the pagan establishment and were fostered by Diocletian's son-in-law, Maximinus Galerius, who pressed the Emperor for the persecutions.³⁰ The Roman understanding of religion included the sentiment that religion was the bond which held the individual to his past and to society, therefore the gods represented the intrinsic values of Roman society and to affront them was not only to endanger prosperity and peace, but to demonstrate a lack of respect for Roman civil and religious values. Religion of that period was much more of

a public or civic affair and less of a personal or individual activity.³¹ The records of the few Christian military martyrs about that period are sparse but attest that many of those arrested did not compromise their Christian faith by submission to Diocletian's decree.³²

During the Pre-Constantine period, despite the persuasive arguments by Tertullian and Origen that Christians refrain from the military life, some appealed to the Hebrew Scriptures as justification for serving in the army.³³ Most likely the Patristic advice was ineffective, as Clement (c150-c215) in a pastoral letter commends converted soldiers to "Listen to the commander, who orders what is right."³⁴ He at least conceded that God may well accept the profession of arms as a vocation for a Christian.

Clearly there was a model of Christian response to military service emerging during the early 4th century. Part of the picture was the strong desire of some of the Fathers to restrain Christians from entering the Roman army. Yet, despite considerable Patristic disapproval, there was a large number of Christians serving in the army who apparently experienced no conflict between their service to the Roman State and their service to Jesus Christ.³⁵ Despite the patristic advice that those individuals who converted to Christianity while serving in the army ought to take their discharge, few in this

situation appear to have done so. The evidence shows that many Christians had little conflict with a career in the army, for they no-doubt believed, in common with some apologists, that God would support the arms of Rome in the maintenance of peace and good order throughout the Empire. The peacetime social and financial advantages, for some Christians serving in the army, produced little conflict in their conscience.³⁶

CHURCH-MILITARY RELATIONS POST-CONSTANTINE

Constantine the Great in c312 accepted and tolerated Christianity as one among many religious beliefs within Roman society.³⁷ He claimed to have experienced a vision of the cross when Christ bade him go and "...IN THIS(sign)CONQUER,"³⁸ Constantine then ordered that the cross replace the existing regimental standards consecrated to the pagan gods and that it precede the army in accordance with accepted Roman military tradition. Roman soldiers held their military standards in great respect and with an almost holy veneration.³⁹ Emperor Constantine further decreed that his army place its faith and prayers for victory in the spirit of Christ as the military affairs of the Roman Empire and the goals of the Christian religion were now allied. Prayers for victory, peace, and the wisdom of the Emperor were not without purpose, for Constantine increasingly supported the growth of Christianity throughout the Empire.⁴⁰

Imperial recognition of Christianity altered the Church's earlier understanding of its place in the world order.⁴¹ Previously it had not considered that a Christian prince could lend authority in the propagation of the Gospel or grant recognition resulting in access to political power. The prohibitions against Christians engaging in military service during the Pre-Constantine era were now neither relevant nor imposed after 312 CE.

The *Oration* of Eusebius Pamphili, Bishop of Caesarea (c260-c340), regarding the new responsibility of the Church to the State, was to have far-reaching effects for Christians in their understanding of loyalty to Jesus Christ and Imperial Rome.⁴² Some Christian apologists, Eusebius among them, shifted the emphasis from rejecting military service outright to that of enlistment being conditional upon the military actions of the Empire fulfilling the requirements of what he came to refer to as a *ius belli*⁴³ or "just war". Eusebius considered that, provided such warfare contributed justly towards the destruction of Rome's enemies, then Constantine would continue to be "Beloved by God and supremely blessed..." Furthermore, he believed "...that he (Constantine) subdued with greatest ease more nations than any previous emperor, and he kept the realm intact up to the very end."⁴⁴ Eusebius associated Constantine with the military heroes of the Israelites praising him for his devotion to Christ, his ally, to whom he prayed before engaging

in battle. The Christian military standard was considered by Eusebius to have an almost victory-producing charm when displayed before the army in times of difficult military action.⁴⁵

THE BEGINNINGS OF MILITARY CHAPLAINCY

Constantine may be considered as the one who first requested the Church for military chaplains when he invited the bishops of the Church to march with him and the Roman Army. He considered there ought to be appropriate individuals in the army capable of conducting divine worship according to the Christian tradition. The bishops agreed to accompany the army on the basis that their specific task was spiritual.⁴⁶ They would pray consistently for victory, offer public and private prayers, and conduct religious services. Thus the date of c324 may fairly mark the Church's introduction of chaplaincy into the military organization of Rome. In later times clergy were assigned religious duties with various legions. As the numbers of Christians increased in the ranks of the Roman armies, so the number of chaplains increased.⁴⁷

The prayer below is the first known Christian military prayer:

Supreme God, we beseech thee;
 Holy God, we beseech thee;
 Unto thee we commend all right;
 Unto thee we commend our safety;
 Unto thee we commend our empire.
 By thee we live, by thee
 We are victorious and happy.
 Supreme, holy God, hear our prayers;
 To thee we stretch forth our arms.
 Hear, holy supreme God. ⁴⁸

This prayer was distributed throughout the army of Constantine before the battle with Maximinus Daza. Von Harnack suggests that the myth of an angel who was reputed to have delivered the prayer to an unknown Christian soldier was in fact a cover for the first military chaplain "hiding behind the angel". Harnack suggests that even at that period there were possibly a few Christian clergy serving with the army.

Although there is no historical record of a pastoral ministry or indeed any ministry apart from the organization of formal worship in the army of Constantine, there are nonetheless elements in the prayer which suggest the presence of pastoral ministry. *"Unto thee we commend our safety"* assumes providential care; *"By thee we live"* implies a rule of faith for the believer. *"To thee we stretch forth our arms"* signifies the relationship between God and believers. The prayer is not only for individuals but is applicable to groups of believers who might come together in fellowship. We can say little regarding the pastoral elements therein for perhaps at that time there was not a distinction between the functions of ministry. The style of prayers and liturgy as described by Pliny the Younger⁴⁹ in the 2nd century could well have been viewed by those who participated as a holistic act of worship which was all that was necessary for Christian worship at that time. Three significant ecclesiological developments emerged from the new relationship between Church and State.

(1) From a sect to a Church with national responsibilities.

Swift uses the rationalization suggested by Ernst Troeltsch in an effort to understand, although not explaining completely, the change in self-perception the church faced on its official acceptance by Constantine. Troeltsch makes the distinction between two socio-religious types of ecclesial organizations. He defines these as the "*sect-type*" and the "*church-type*."⁵⁰ The "*sect-type*" of religious community centres about a charismatic leader "...given to a form of perfectionism."⁵¹ All efforts are directed at sanctifying its own members and adhering to the idealistic and absolute principles of its orthodox doctrines. "It seeks not so much to be a leaven in the larger community as to be a model which stands apart and invites others to come in."⁵² The "*sect-type*" church as described by Troeltsch predominated throughout the first three centuries prior to the formal recognition of the Christian religion by Constantine.

With regard to the second, Swift couples with Troeltsch's description of "*church-type*" the term "ecclesial"⁵³, which at its root meaning has to do with matters of interest and affairs of the Church as an institutional body.⁵⁴ It is the institutional church which is here important, but which, as an institution, is included within a wider national community, in this case the Roman Empire. Swift here identifies a significant shift in the thinking of the fourth century church.⁵⁵

The Roman scholar Marta Sordi has pointed out that circa 312 the Roman State "...had become tired of the blood-letting of the past."⁵⁶ The pagans and the State had had enough of persecuting Christians, while Constantine, quite apart from the requirements of the State, was genuinely engaged in personally searching for the most powerful god with whom to establish his empires' alliance.⁵⁷ From Constantine's understanding of civil religion, and as emperor, he believed it to be his duty to forge a relationship between strong religion and the State.⁵⁸ Sordi makes a sound case in which he believes that following Constantine's sighting of the cross, and the heavenly instructions to conquer in its sign, he was genuinely persuaded that Christianity and its Christ was the true and only source of spiritual power and strength. As a result, Constantine began to forge a partnership between the State and Christianity in the belief that such an alliance was best for Rome.⁵⁹

Following the battle of Milvian Bridge (circa 312) Christianity effectively, albeit by a gradual process, emerged as the State religion of Rome. The relationship between the Church and State confirmed in the minds of some, Eusebius included, that with the patronage of Constantine Christianity was now poised to expand throughout the Empire; Christ's Kingdom on earth was a real possibility.⁶⁰ Thus, the basic thinking of the previous three centuries, which was primarily concerned for the orthodox piety and integrity of the Christian faith, was inadequate to

deal with the larger matters of State. The new relationship between the Church and State required that the ecclesiastical and political policies were sometimes closely related. What was good for the Church was also, in some selected circumstances, good for the State. Christ represented the most powerful spiritual force in the Universe in alliance with the most powerful civilized State on earth. Both Church and State were about the business of God, for although the notions of civil religion in the Roman State had not changed, Christianity had begun an alliance with Rome which occupied a significant place that had once been held by pagan religious authorities.⁶¹ In the past Christians had eschewed military service, the function of a magistrate, or any public office. In these new circumstances Church and State now shared common interests; the ecclesial interests of the Church were allied with interests of the State. This underwrote a powerful spiritual and secular alliance.⁶² When Swift uses the term "ecclesial" he refers to those policies which the Church adopted and which were mutually beneficial to both Church and State. The Church took a leaf from the book of the pagan religions in its civil relationship to the State and attempted to achieve its goals through compromise and adapting the absolute laws of God to the exigencies of the world despite its imperfections.⁶³

The Patristic Church had by the early fourth century to weigh its sectarian goals, as Swift suggests, with the new

opportunity as God's people within the Roman Empire. Eusebius believed that with the aid of Constantine the Church was the vehicle of God's purposes in the world. Thus the Church had to offer a ministry to all in the Empire. This radically challenged its previous "sect-type" thinking when it had been solely concerned for the careful articulation and preservation of theological orthodoxy. Eusebius, more than any other Christian leader of his time, saw "...an easy and uncomplicated partnership developing between the Church and temporal rulers."⁶⁴ Christians faced a new set of circumstance brought about by the altered civil and political position of the Church.

The opportunity which the church had to contribute to the building of the Kingdom of God on earth was a two edged sword. There was a danger that worldliness could invade the Church.⁶⁵ As previously noted, Eusebius did not believe this was a time to put the clock back but a time of opportunity when Church and State could work together for the nation and the Gospel.⁶⁶

There is no better example of the church acting in an ecclesial manner, ie. *that which was in the best interests of both the Church and State* than when it responded to Constantine's appeal that the Bishops march with him in his campaign against the Persians. This response by the Church confirmed that it was prepared to accept its role as the civil religious body in

alliance with the State.

(2) The clergy pray, and laity fight the enemies of God and Rome.

The role of the clergy within the military, for Eusebius, did not allow that priests be involved in the actual fighting. He believed their task was to encourage the army in Christian ordinances so that God might prosper a Roman victory. Eusebius made it clear to the Roman authorities that priests of the Church would pray for the army, but that laymen would do the fighting.⁶⁷ This distinction, which on the collapse of Rome was virtually lost, has only over the last several centuries been reaffirmed. It seems clear that the Christian priests, post 321, supported, prayed, and represented the "good shepherd" to all as a demonstration of the church's ecclesial responsibility within the Roman army.⁶⁸

From the period of Constantine onward the writings of the apologists and the Fathers are less condemning of military service. The *Canons of Hippolytus*, c380, note:

A Christian should not voluntarily become a soldier unless compelled to by someone in authority. He should have a sword, but he should not be commanded to shed blood. If it is ascertained that he has done so, he should stay away from the mysteries at least until he has been purified through tears and lamentation.⁶⁹

There was no longer an absolute prohibition against a Christian taking part in killing Rome's enemies, but rather a blunt

recognition that it may not be possible for a Christian to avoid doing so in war. There was also an alternative to the hitherto virtual dismissal from the *ekklesia* for the act of killing. St Basil (c329-379) believed there was a distinction between killing and murder and made allowances for those Christians "...who fought on the side of moderation and piety ...".⁷⁰ Nonetheless, he suggested that soldiers involved in fighting ought to abstain from communion for three years.⁷¹ St Athanasius (c296-c373) took Basil's concept to its logical conclusion:

...killing the enemy in battle is both lawful and praiseworthy.....Thus, at one particular time, and under one set of circumstances, an act is not permitted, but when the time and conditions are right, it is both allowed and condoned.⁷²

When elected to the office of Bishop, St Ambrose (c339-c397) was a Roman provincial governor who believed that should the State be threatened then the Church had a responsibility to support the secular authority. Ambrose proposed an alternative to the previously advocated Christian position of non-violence which by the third century had failed to convince many members of the early church that it was indeed essential to their practice of Christianity. Ambrose accepted that it was entirely appropriate for a Christian to defend the Empire and the weak against the plundering hordes. He considered it just and appropriate that an individual fight for universal Roman peace at risk of life.

It is considered also a glorious thing for each one at risk ...to...have saved his country from destruction than to have kept danger from himself. We must think it a far more noble thing to labour for our country than to pass a quiet life at ease in the full enjoyment of leisure.⁷³

Ambrose, in common with Eusebius, also drew the distinction between the *ius belli* (just war) and the *ius in bello*, or unjust war. Wars fought by the laity to defend the Empire against the barbarians were justified in the same way as the Israelite wars were considered to be just in order to repossess the Holy Lands. He believed that the wars of the Israelites were evidence that not all war was immoral.⁷⁴ He advocated that the enemy had to be shown mercy, while emphasizing that the point of engaging in war was to re-establish the peace. He reminded his contemporaries that the Christian way, in spite of war, was to return love to enemies with good will and prayers as a response to hatred.⁷⁵ Ambrose considered it appropriate, indeed heroic, that a Christian should defend the helpless and the weak. What was inappropriate for a Christian under normal conditions was perfectly acceptable when done in defence of threatened lives. Thus the love of one's fellows and country, under the will of Almighty God, was a justified defence even though the war would result in the death of those who defended such principles.⁷⁶ Ambrose tried to abandon the pacifist practice of the Church but not the law of love from which that practice had its inspiration.

(3) Christian Rome subdues Christ's Enemies

After the Constantinian recognition of Christianity Eusebius took Origen's argument a stage further and considered that Constantine and the Empire were henceforth instruments of Divine Providence.

As the common Saviour of all men plays the part of the good shepherd faced with wild animals by using his invisible and divine power to keep at bay the rebellious spirits that flit about in the air and attack men's soul, so, too, the Saviour's friend [i.e. Constantine], armed as he is against his foes with the standards given him by the Saviour from above, subdues in battle and chastens the visible enemies of truth.

It is apparent that Eusebius believed that together Church and State, when at war against injustice and evil, were part of God's plan for restoring peace and tranquillity within the Empire, for through peace the Gospel was more readily expanded throughout the world. He understood that as Christ was the shepherd protecting his flock against the wild animals of the spiritual war, so Constantine, armed with the standards of Christ, was the visible expression of divine chastening.

Ambrose and Eusebius shared in common the popular notion that Rome was used by God to extend the Gospel of Christ⁷⁸ while Ambrose was not slow to define what he believed to be Divine Providence working in the campaigns of the Imperial Armies.⁷⁹ He expanded the ideas of Eusebius, most likely because he inherited a more favourable religious and political situation where the survival and interests of both Church and State owned

more in common. The church's ecclesial activity in the military had, by the end of Ambrose's influence in c397, been well established.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM CRUSADES TO EMPIRE AND DOMINION

It is the task of this chapter to outline the development of military chaplaincy through the Crusades of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the British Empire of the nineteenth century, and the development of the New Zealand military tradition from that of a Colony to a Dominion. The latter set the pattern for the relationship between the Churches and the military of New Zealand which in turn influenced the character of chaplaincy within the 2NZEF.

Although various historical influences have left their mark upon the relationship between the Church and the military, the common or basic model of chaplaincy, with the exception of the Crusading period, has generally remained recognizably Eusebian. The Churches have continued to be invited by the State to accompany the army, whilst the means of maintaining religious worship have been provided by the State. The clergy have not usually participated in fighting. Almost without exception, within the British chaplaincy tradition, prayers have been offered for a military victory, and throughout the period discussed there is little doubt that the chaplains believed that God favoured the cause of British arms.

THE CHURCH AND THE CRUSADES (1096-1291)

Pope Urban 2nd¹ in a passionate address at the Council of Clermont on 5th November 1095, declared that it was a Christian's duty to "...exterminate this vile (Islamic) race from our lands."² In the name of Christ he challenged the reigning princes and people of Western Christianity to recapture the Holy Land. The following two centuries of Western Christendom's military crusades represented a time in the Church's history when the bearing of arms for specifically religious purposes was considered justified. The Crusades represent a period where the military policies of the state and the goals of the Church were virtually indistinguishable. The knight, bishop, priest, clerk and layman undertook the functions of combatants inspired by the common spiritual goals of the crusades.

Pilgrims who visited the Holy Places of Palestine during the 11th century seeking absolution and penance had been increasingly obstructed and denied access. The Islamic occupation had caused the withholding of the penitential benefits of the pilgrimage, the denial of which threatened the eternal salvation of the pilgrims.³ A war for the purpose of specifically gaining recovery to the access of the Holy Places would re-establish the benefits to the penitential pilgrims and so re-establish the assurance of eternal salvation. Pope Urban had to overcome the petty, yet sometimes not insignificant,

national differences and rivalries which periodically resulted in war between the Western States. Thus he urged what came to be known as the *Peace of God*⁴ be established throughout Western Christendom. Peace in Christ's name was established among Western Christians enabled the fostering of unity, politically, socially, militarily, and strengthened their common religious convictions. Pope Urban sought to redirect the knights and soldiers of the several Western European kingdoms to enter the service of God and recover the Holy Land rather than fight among themselves. These professional soldiers defended what was considered politically necessary for the preservation of their individual States. Pope Urban encouraged unity of purpose by means of the Crusades and asked individual nations to put to one side national differences. Thus a unified Christian army could attack and recapture from the infidels the sepulchre of Christ.⁵

By means of a highly successful preaching campaign Pope Urban was able to encourage thousands to take up arms. He inspired hundreds of clergy to become itinerant preachers whose task it was to encourage their hearers to enlist as crusaders in the name of Christ. Notable among the many preachers was Peter the Hermit (c1050 -c1115) who, in company with a vast army of brother clergy, went about the lands encouraging rich and poor alike to join the Crusades. Their style of preaching has been described as militant and revivalist.⁶ The promise of "...a

new path to Heaven..."which counted for full and complete satisfaction"...and gave (total) "forgiveness of sins"..."⁷ accordingly emphasized the penitential nature of participation in the crusades.

Over two hundred years of crusading, hundreds of thousands of men women and children, indeed whole families, crossed Europe in the name of the cause. Among the armies of the Crusaders were princes, clerics, politicians, criminals, poor, wealthy, corrupt, and non-descript. The historian Mosheim declined to record, by dint of embarrassment to the Gospel, the frequent and appalling barbarities committed by the Crusaders en-route to the Holy Land.⁸ Furthermore from among the Crusaders themselves tens of thousands, men women and children, perished before the cross they bore, decimated by famine and sickness, or slaughtered by the armies of those nations through whose hostile territory they marched.⁹ The cross, the object of veneration, was emblazoned upon the crusader's weapons and armour. It was, perhaps, held in greater veneration as a charm which assured victory than had been the case in earlier Roman times. Bishops, priests, deacons and clerks of various orders of clergy, irrespective of ability, were given positions of military and administrative leadership. Many abandoned their moral values and maintained the facade of their religious office.¹⁰ Thousands ordained to Holy Orders chose to carry arms and fight,¹¹ though there were clerics whose role was solely

that of chaplain.¹² These heard confessions and preached at every opportunity upon the goals of the expedition, assuring their hearers, that should they die in the crusading cause, God guaranteed them eternal life. The eventual capture of Palestine and Jerusalem at great cost was finally lost to the Saracens in 1291 CE. This resulted in the retreat to Cyprus of the Christian Military Orders¹³ which had originated in the heyday of the crusades.¹⁴

This period in the history of the Church and the military appears now to be viewed as an aberration in the traditional form of military and state relationships. The difference lay in the area of the clergy participating as combatants, and the Church encouraging, through its preaching, salvation to those who would become holy crusaders. This was a departure from the position of strict non-participation and the offering only of prayers for victory, as formulated in the earlier Eusebian model. "By giving these 'pilgrims' to Jerusalem a sword Urban had made violence central to the religious experience of the Christian layman and Western Christianity had acquired an aggression that it never entirely lost."¹⁵

Those who died whilst crusading were venerated in the cause of Christ, for their sacrifice contributed to the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel. The Crusaders were holy Pilgrims about the business of Christ; servants through the profession

of arms - a concept the Knights of the religious orders clearly understood. Spiritual veneration of the sword, and its consecration to the work of warfare in Christ's name, must surely have produced a strong commitment to battle among the faithful "...*God wills this!*" was the spontaneous response of thousands of listeners to the sermon of Pope Urban as he sparked the beginnings of the crusades.¹⁶ Any individual who swathed his sword among the infidels and stood ankle deep in their blood would have no difficulty in obtaining eternal salvation.¹⁷

Consciously or not, Pope Urban adopted the concept of St. Ambrose that there were occasions when a war could be just¹⁸ by declaring the crusades a just and appropriate war before God. Had not Ambrose (in 390 CE) excommunicated Theodosius the Roman Emperor for the massacre of 7000 of the inhabitants of Thessalonica in retribution for the murder of a Roman Governor? "Thus, if the bishop conceded that it was legitimate for public authorities to have recourse to the use of force, he also insisted that there were definite limits to that right."¹⁹ Urban obviously believed that it was within his rights as Pope, and right in the sight of God, that the recovery of the Holy Lands was legitimate and that the rewards of salvation for those who took part were also his prerogative to grant.

THE IMPERIAL BRITISH CHAPLAINCY

In many ways, at the height of its power the British Empire resembled Imperial Rome. The Monarch was Defender of the Faith²⁰ in much the same manner as the 4th Century Constantine had been head of the Church and Empire.

The 19th century military reforms, coupled with some significant battles of the British Army, were the catalyst by which the chaplain's role became more that of a pastor and much less the ceremonial cleric.²¹ The terrible consequences of the effects of poor medical and living conditions among the common soldiers who fought in the Crimean War raised a protest from a concerned British public. As a result, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, extensive social work among military families was undertaken in the vicinity of military camps largely at the instigation of the Chaplain General²² aided by the Anglican and Methodist Churches. Hostels for single soldiers, the Temperance Movement, and improved conditions of service, coupled with army schools for the education of soldiers' children, began to impact upon the military society.²³ There were reforms in the British Army Chaplains' Department, one of which, in 1881, was a recognition of the Methodist Church as a regular denomination for the provision of chaplains.²⁴ The inclusion of the Methodists broke the strong tradition which the Anglican, Roman Catholic and the Church of Scotland held within the British Army Chaplains' Department.

Methodism brought with it a touch of temperance, piety, and the beginning of organized Bible Studies into military garrison life.²⁵

The use of missionary clergy as chaplains in the years of colonial expansion is exemplified by Rev'd George Smith²⁶, the SPCG missionary who was appointed chaplain to the unit which fought at the Rorke's Drift battle of January 1879. The battle is remembered for the awarding of eleven Victoria Crosses.²⁷ Padre Smith would never for one moment have thought to question the right of the British to defend themselves or fight the Zulu nation. The British army in South Africa at that time had the role of keeping the peace, defending the British settlers, and opening up the Zulu nation to the good influences of both civilization and the gospel. During the battle the Padre's actions were described:

Chaplain Smith had slung a large haversack filled with loose cartridges about his neck. He circled the perimeter incessantly, filling out-thrust hands and expenses pouches and replenishing his supply from time to time from the open boxes in front of the storehouse. He exhorted the men with wild Biblical phrases, sternly reproving every blasphemy and obscenity his ear caught.²⁸

The Churches of Imperial England in the early part of the 20th Century were aware of the importance of an Army which could foster a strong Christian influence throughout the garrisons of the Empire. It was suggested that if there were more active Christians in the British Army serving in India the Churches'

missionary task would be made a great deal easier. The appointment of chaplains to the British Army in India was considered by the Church of England to have a high priority for it was equated virtually with that of a missionary appointment.²⁹

The British Imperial and New Zealand Colonial period chaplaincy reinforced a concept originally espoused by Eusebius; as Roman military might was a factor used by Providence for the Divine purpose, so the might of the British Empire was designed by God, not only for the peace of the civilized world, but also to propagate the Gospel.

It is submitted that it is, to a large extent, a lost truth; and that what is most needed for the welfare alike of Church and State is a vigorous reassertion on the part of the Church of the truth that nations-our own nation in particular-have their tasks assigned to them by God; a well-considered policy which shall bring home to the British race, whether in England or the Colonies, the enormous responsibilities entrusted to it by God within the area of the British Empire.³⁰

THE NEW ZEALAND EXPERIENCE

Rev'd John Whiteley, the distinguished Wesleyan missionary and signatory to the Treaty of Waitangi, considered the British Army to be an instrument of Divine Judgement as it engaged the Maori in the First Taranaki War of 1860. In Whiteley's view the judgement of God³¹ fell upon a people who would not "...be subject unto the higher powers". (Rom 13: 1). This was an echo of the Pauline insistence that Christians honour the Government

for it held authority only by the Grace of God.³²

No clearer example of the Church marching with the army was demonstrated than that of Father J. B. Rolland³³ who during August 1868 accompanied 300 men of the Armed Constabulary and volunteers into battle against the South Taranaki Maori. Major F. Von Tempsky reported what he observed during the battle when four of the Constabulary were killed and eight wounded.

And when at last in the clearing of Te Ngutu-o-te-Manu the storm of bullets burst upon us, he did not wait for men to be brought to him, but ran with the rest of us forward against the enemy's position. So soon as any man dropped he was by his side. He did not ask, "Are you Catholic or Protestant?" but kindly kneeling prayed for his last words.³⁴

This is an instance of an all-inclusive ecumenical ministry by a Roman Catholic as he foreshadowed those New Zealand chaplains who would be killed in the later World Wars while ministering to the dying and wounded.³⁵

On the outbreak of the Sudan war of 1885 some New Zealand politicians suggested Volunteers be sent to assist the British, an idea which never came to fruition although the War Office accepted 500 men from the Colony of New South Wales.³⁶ With the outbreak of the Boer War in 1899 the Methodist Church typified an almost unanimous patriotism expressed by the New Zealand churches as they encouraged enlistment and support for the war in South Africa.

It is satisfactory to note the cordial and ready response that has been given by the Colony, both in men and money, to the call for assistance made by the Mother Country. We rejoice in the inseparable unity of our Empire....Our prayer is that God will bring the Nation safely through, and that the old flag may float victoriously and peacefully over South Africa.³⁷

In contrast to the political sense of unity within the Empire, the major denominations of New Zealand were sectarian and divided, no national body existed to supervise or administer chaplaincy.³⁸ The volunteer unit commander chose the chaplain, generally a clergyman known to him, or any minister willing to put the time into the task.³⁹ Lack of unity coupled with the inadequacies of selection was reflected in the two years it took, (until the 8th Contingent in February 1902,) for the first New Zealand chaplain to go to South Africa.⁴⁰

Early in 1902 the Methodist Church took the initiative in approaching the Presbyterian Church with a view "...if possible, to secure united action"⁴¹ in the appointment of New Zealand chaplains to the South African Contingents. Five chaplains were eventually posted, all serving in the closing months of the war. The Boer War alerted the Churches of New Zealand to their denominational universality and strength throughout the Empire. Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand met and fought together on the veldt, while their chaplains experienced a sense of unity within an Empire engaged in re-establishing the peace.

Anglican chaplains from Great Britain, South Africa, and Australia, indeed from all of the colonies, experienced much the same as their Free Church contemporaries as they worshipped and fought together for the "Empire's Cause".⁴² The then prevalent belief in the providential reason for the existence of the Empire in the world, and the churches responsibility to the Empire, solicited shortly after the Boer War comment from the Bishop of Auckland, Rt. Rev. M. R. Neligan.

The fate of the British Empire depends upon the religion of the white man. The fundamental axiom of imperial expansion must always be: keep the white man Christian. The coloured man cannot long keep true to our Lord if he sees the white man relapsing into paganism. The coloured man is what the white man makes him. This is "Our Father's" plan for the welfare of His family.⁴³

Bishop Neligan was expressing nothing that Eusebius had not already written sixteen centuries previously. Neligan believed there was a sacred responsibility for every member of the empire to defend its principles. It was through the Empire that the Christian faith made real "*Our Father's*" plan for the welfare of His (world) family."

The most significant outcome (for the churches of New Zealand) as a result of the Boer War was implemented in 1911 with the establishment of the Territorial Army Chaplains' Department.⁴⁴ It had taken ten years to obtain the willing consent of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, and eventually the Roman Catholic Churches to agree finally to the establishment of the

Department. Each denomination was individually responsible to the Military authorities and no denomination had authority of "command" over other chaplains.⁴⁵

At the beginning of the 20th century the machinery was in place whereby the Church and State could meet and work through the needs of military chaplaincy. Its establishment proved invaluable as a means of mobilizing the resources of the Church on the outbreak of WW1 in 1914, and it became the cornerstone upon which the New Zealand military chaplaincy was built for the remainder of the century.

On the outbreak of the First World War the Methodist Church mirrored the belief of most religious bodies in New Zealand that the British Empire of 1914 was "...the largest instalment of the Kingdom of God that has yet arisen among men...".⁴⁶ The close association of the Empire to the Kingdom of God cannot be underestimated in the thinking of churchmen, at least until the beginning of WW1. There are many war memorials throughout New Zealand engraved with the words "For God, King, and Empire." Sir James Allen, a prominent supporter of the memorials "...identified British imperial supremacy with civilisation... Spiritual truth had to be safeguarded, and the war confirmed as an idealistic enterprise."⁴⁷

These imperial concepts were still in the background of the

Church's thinking in September 1939, but the notion that the Church should support the laity involved in war had less to do with defending an Empire. Instead, it was motivated by understanding the effects of war and the need to minister to the individual. Pastoral theology was perhaps more important than imperial goals.

Irrespective of our attitude to war, we should be able to agree that where our young men are sent as soldiers or airmen chaplains must go to preach the Word, dispense the Sacraments, and share in the hardships and dangers of military life.⁴⁸

Between 1939 and 1945 the nature of this hope became a reality and the churches were positive that the pastoral reality "*...in the hardships and dangers of military life...*" was an important factor at the heart of military chaplaincy. The Church suffered with her people.

The presence of chaplains in the Armed Forces is a recognition by the Nation of the place of the Church in the National life. In the New Zealand Forces our chaplains perform certain recognized duties, but are more or less free to do their spiritual work in their own way in accordance with circumstances.⁴⁹

Experience to 1943 for the eight denominations involved in military chaplaincy confirmed they had no difficulty in affirming the "...presence of chaplains in the armed forces of NZ".⁵⁰ The Eusebian-Constantinian influence is apparent as clergy undertook "certain recognized duties", but compared with the clergy of the fourth century CE, 2NZEF chaplains engaged in pastoral functions were "...more or less free to do their

spiritual work in their own way..." Twenty one years separated the Churches and the YMCA from the experience of WW1, but senior clergy of all denominations, and their military counterparts in the NZ Permanent Staff Corps or the Territorial Army, knew from personal experience the place of the chaplain. To go to war without a chaplain was equal to leaving a medical officer out of the order of battle. General Montgomery, in 1943, addressing a gathering in Cairo commented "I should as soon think of fighting without my artillery as without my chaplains."⁵¹

CHAPTER FOUR

A COMPARATIVE FRAMEWORK: MODELS OF MILITARY MINISTRY

In this chapter it is our task to identify the various models of chaplaincy which have been explored by way of the historic interpretive overview. This enables us later in the enquiry to gain some perspective and insight into the theological framework which undergirded the behaviour and views of chaplains, fighting clergy, welfare officers and theological students who served in the 2NZEF.

THE EUSEBIAN MODEL

As the State recognition of the Christian Church slowly penetrated the social, political and military life of early fourth century Rome there emerged a new relationship between the Church and military. It had its origins with Constantine's professed vision of Christ's cross and his subsequent conviction that Christ enabled his army to recapture Rome following the battle of Milvian Bridge.¹ Prior to the battle Constantine ordered that the cross be carried as a standard well forward with the fighting soldiers. After his victory he celebrated with thanksgiving and prayers to Jesus Christ and insisted that the statue of himself erected to his honour by the citizens of Rome have a cross placed in its right hand. Constantine was in no doubt that divine aid through the spirit of Jesus Christ had granted victory to his arms.²

Later, when Constantine invited the church to march with his army to war it was on the understanding that the clergy would not take part in actual combat. Eusebius and Constantine understood that the function of the clergy was purely a spiritual one in which they were charged with maintaining the ordinances of worship and offering prayers for Roman victory.³ For the convenience of worship Constantine had authorized the construction of a large tent which could be erected at will and used by him and his staff.⁴

Eusebius records that the Church complied with these requests and in turn accepted and underscored that it was the place of the laity, or the citizens to fight the enemies of the nation. It remained for the newly established chaplains to wrestle with the spiritual powers of evil and, through their prayers and worship, seek the power of God in a victory for Roman arms.⁵ Meantime the Church had come to accept that the enemies of Rome were in effect also the enemies of God.

The four essential factors which became the cornerstones of all subsequent military chaplaincy have remained as pertinent to the relationship of the church and military today as in the time of Eusebius.

- (a) The Church was invited to march with the Armies of Rome: it was the military that sought the presence of the church.

- (b) The Church accepted and provided clergy who in turn were exempt from participation in armed conflict.
- (c) It was the duty of the clergy to pray for Rome, the Emperor and victory for Roman arms. Thus spiritual service was limited to petitionary support only.
- (d) The Roman army provided a portable chapel in which worship was conducted, and the wherewithal for ministry was provided by the State.

Two factors within this model survive to this day. This initial model reinforced the belief in the veneration of the Cross of Christ as the military standard and this symbolized the *imprimatur* of the Church upon the military activities of the Empire. Through the ages to the period of the 2NZE the presence of clergy-chaplains has been perceived as an indication of tacit acceptance by soldiers that the State was engaged in a war which had divine approbation.

Secondly, the first chaplains demonstrated, as Eusebius has written, an understanding of a pastoral role, based upon Christ's *Good Shepherd's* function as recorded in the New Testament. In the absence of any clear evidence we can only speculate that priests in the Roman army of the fourth century were faced with offering ministry to all in the Roman army, regardless of their religious belief. This was no doubt a practical outcome of the Church which had set to one side its

"sect-type" function to serve the greater need of Rome. Here we may see the ecclesial decision that the Church made to serve the greater good for both Church and State. It is clear that Eusebius truly believed Rome was the instrument of God's purpose and that the role of the Church in the army was to be the provider of prayers and worship. At the same time, the chaplain was the earthly representative of the "good shepherd" and charged with the responsibility to work spiritually for those citizens who fulfilled the Divine purposes of defending both God and nation.⁶

The Eusebian Model, named after the bishop who has left the record of its establishment, is the *first* example in Christian history of institutional military chaplaincy with a recognizable theological rationale and pattern. Its characteristics emerge within the New Zealand context when the Church and military began a partnership in 1939 to meet the challenge of providing chaplaincy to the 2NZEF.

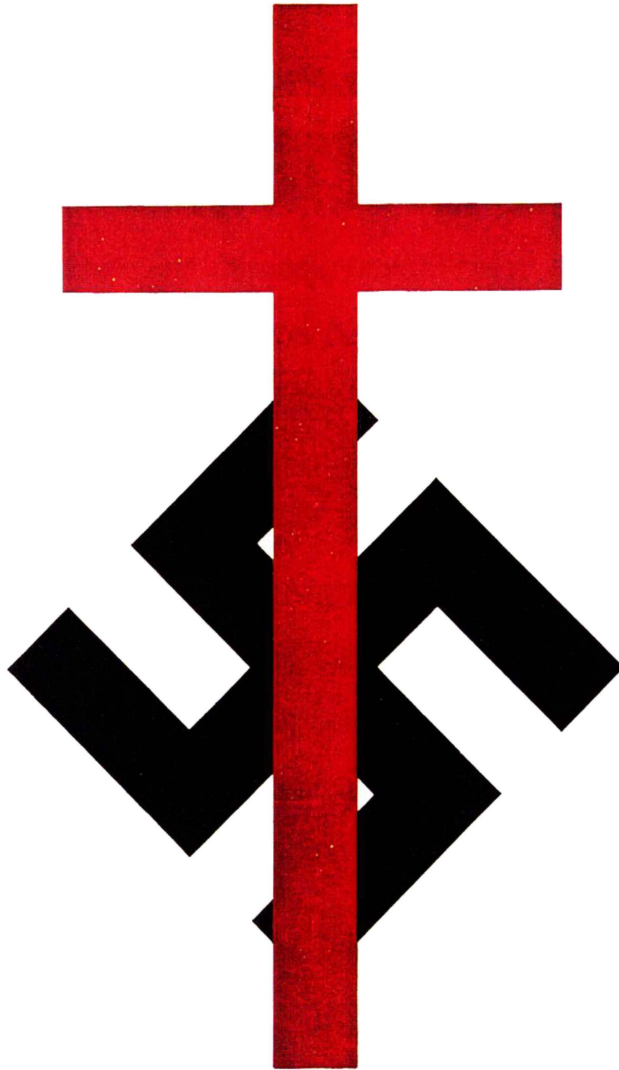
THE CRUSADING MODEL

The fact of the crusades demonstrate the authority and power that the Western Church held within six hundred years of the fall of the Roman Empire. The Church was the single body capable of securing unity among the Western States, which was amply demonstrated to the extent that Pope Urban was able to encourage the *Peace of God*. He redirected the militant

energies of the various States towards the purposes of the crusades. Participation in the crusades by the clergy, in company with the host of the laity, earned all individuals salvation regardless of personal sins. Salvation earned in the service of Christ against Islam was penance in *abundance!* In the crusading model there is a hint of the Ambrosian idea that any individual who participated was being a worthy Christian in the service of others.⁷ In the case of the crusading model both laity and clergy were united in their resolve as combatants to defeat the spiritual enemies of Christ. What greater unselfish service could there be than the recovery of the Holy Lands from the despised infidel?

During the difficult period of October 1942, before the second battle of El Alamein, tensions and hopes ran high for the defeat of Rommel. It was, therefore, not difficult for the writer of the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* editorial under a heading *This War Is Now A Crusade* to describe the Allies as a world team. The writer believed the team was engaged in a crusade against a dictator who fought by the law of the pack and without cognizance of the rights of the common man.⁸ The comment clearly placed those who were fighting to the death in the role of a crusader while those who lost their lives were venerated with the caption "*Their name shall liveth for evermore*", which was not so much a slogan as promise of military canonization.⁹

I believe . . .



"...this war is now a crusade." *NZEF TIMES* 26 October 1942

A poster depicting the power of Christianity to destroy the
Nazi paganism. British in origin, artist unknown

The death of soldiers on active service in the 2NZEF was hailed as for **God, King and Country**. The nature of God's Grace was out-working through the sacrifice of those fighting the Nazi system. Early in the war one of the goals of the Allies included the release of Germany from Nazi domination. "By Grace of God and for the salvation of man, we shall rescue the Earth from Germany and Germany from herself."¹⁰ The strong spirituality surrounding the perceived justice of the medieval crusades has a distinct echo in the mid 20th century for the Allied cause against the Axis.

The milder elements of a crusade are characterized in the prayers adopted in liturgies and devotional publications issued by the churches and used by chaplains of the 2NZEF.

O God, who hast in all ages required Thy servants to withstand evil and to defend the right, and who at this present time hast called us to stand against spiritual wickedness in high places and raise up a defence for justice, freedom, and truth; keep us firm in the faith that the battle is not ours, but Thine; etc.¹¹

The Baptist prayer below has a sense of the crusading as well as the hope of a new world to come.

O God, in the midst of these turbulent days, may we see beyond and through our tears the new earth, wherein righteousness shall dwell. With this hope, help us always to march with "Victory" on our banners. In the name of Jesus Christ. Amen.¹²

The example of General Sir Bernard Montgomery's prayer life

would seem to indicate a strong crusading element in his belief regarding the rightness of the cause against the Axis. When appointed to command the 8th Army in 1942, low morale and defeat had been the previous experience of his army so he called all officers of the rank of Major and above to a conference in Tripoli. After giving a military appreciation, and impressing upon his officers the necessity to give not one inch of ground, he concluded the conference with a personal comment.

*When at the end of the day I go down on my bended knee, I pray to the Almighty God, righteous in battle, that He will give Victory to our arms.*¹³

His witness to faith did not go unnoticed by his subordinate commanders.

In summary there are three essential elements which constitute the nature of the crusading model of military ministry and chaplaincy.

(1) An inherent rationalizing premise to execute divine righteousness.

The theological purpose of the crusades had to do with the recovery of the Holy Places and the restoration of the penitential benefits to Christendom.¹⁴ Among other matters, it was unacceptable to the Western Church for the birth place of Christ to be controlled by non-Christians. Pope Urban

justified his crusade against the Muslims because he believed that the Church had been enlarged, and the dominion of the Muslims has been reduced. "Urban had seen the Crusade as a political, military and territorial affair - a liberation of people and of a land".¹⁵ The threat of the expanding Muslim religion further into Europe was to some extent checked.

(2) Active Clergy participation in the prosecution of the war

By contrast to the Eusebian model of chaplaincy, clergy were permitted to take up arms against the Muslims. The goals of the crusades were theologically inspired and hence justified the cleric who fought with sword or mace. Recalling Old Testament wars in the recovery of the Promised Land had a great deal in common with recapturing the land of Christ's birth. Clergy had little difficulty in identifying with the military and religious leaders of that Jewish period.¹⁶ The contribution of the chaplain was equal to that of the fighting clerics contribution who used sword and mace.

(3) An eschatological-personal teleology

Those who were killed for the crusading cause, regardless of their moral state, gained eternal salvation. The crusades "...permitted men to get to the other world by fighting hard on earth, and allowed them to gain the fruits of asceticism by the ways of hedonism."¹⁷ Ambrose certainly believed that for those Christians who risked their lives for their countries' welfare

such behaviour was "...much superior to leading a peaceful life of leisure with all the pleasures it involves."¹⁸

THE DIACONAL MODEL

Traditionally the diaconate within the Christian Church has been considered an order of service (Acts 6: 1-6.), inclusive of those who, in Apostolic times, served at tables, distributed alms to the poor, and released the Apostles for the work of prayer and preaching. They were known, in the early centuries of the Christian era, to distribute the consecrated elements of the Holy Communion to those who through sickness or absence were not able to receive communion on the Lord's Day.¹⁹ The deacons were men full of the Holy Spirit and wisdom, (Acts 6:3.) mature Christians, able to undertake the physical demands of caring for people and were concerned chiefly with the material duties required to be maintained within a Christian community.²⁰

We have no way of knowing if a diaconal ministry as such was included as part of the Constantinian or Crusading armies. Nevertheless the New Testament informs us that before the end of the first century the Apostles had established the office of deacon and we do know that during the lifetime of St Ignatius (martyred c115) the functions of Bishop, priest and deacons has been clearly established.²¹ The diaconate is essentially a ministry of Christian service, helping, providing, sharing and

caring in the name of Christ in contrast to the more priestly and preaching functions of the presbyteral ministry. It is not, therefore, an unreasonable presumption to suggest that deacons, as a normal matter of course in Patristic times, could have accompanied their bishops when Constantine invited clergy to march with him against Persia. They may well have been usefully employed in the assistance of worship, as was their function in their normal civilian setting.²²

In the New Zealand context at least, the diaconal model of military ministry emerged earlier this century with the inclusion of the YMCA and later, in 1938, the Anglican Church Army (CA) when together they were integrated into the Welfare structure of the New Zealand Army.²³ Both organizations had experience of welfare ministry through their involvement in WW1. They had been actively involved in the years before the outbreak of WW2 with Territorial Annual Camps, and the CA had pioneered a diaconal style of chaplaincy at Narrow Neck Military camp.²⁴ As welfare workers they neither intruded into the role of an ordained chaplain nor took up arms against an enemy. They existed totally to serve their fellow man, friend or foe, of any race creed or colour.²⁵

YMCA Field Secretaries, were issued with a military number, wore a uniform the lapels of which bore the YMCA International triangle complemented with black and white shoulder flashes

bearing the letters YMCA. They were not given rank and were known as "Mister" while their personal qualification for the task required that they be teetotallers, practising and confirmed Christians, capable of organizing social, religious and sporting activities. Secretaries were expected to work closely with chaplains of all denominations, giving practical assistance at services of worship, or in any other way in the spiritual life of their unit. Over 140 Field Secretaries were appointed to serve in the Middle East and the Pacific 2NZEF. It was the responsibility of the most Senior person, the YMCA Commissioner, to supervise all staff and liaise with the Army 2NZEF authorities and the National Patriotic Fund Board.²⁶

With Church Army officers they were expected to run the canteens, offer alternatives to alcohol and gambling, organize the sports facilities, choirs, tours, and concerts and act as the general welfare factotum when no one else could be spared. Recorded incidents of their bearing arms even for self defence is rare²⁷ and their ministry in the provision of "*a cup of water*", which was more likely to be hot tea, to friend and foe alike is confirmation enough of their role as a deacon on the field of battle. The diaconal model is essentially one of Christian service without officer status. It was subject to the whims of military exigencies, was frequently forgotten in the retreats as well as at the advances, and was periodically sought after to sustain the spiritual requirements of units when a

chaplain was unavailable. It was a lone path of dedicated service in the name of Christ and is the most recent inclusion within the Christian contribution to military ministry. The New Zealand community, churches and Government, entrusted the task of a considerable portion of its welfare duties during WW2 to the YMCA and the Church Army.

PACIFISM AND ACTIVISM

While the Patristic Church existed in a *sect-type* relationship to the Roman State, pacifism was a dominant rule with respect to war and military service. The disarming by Jesus of St Peter was considered by the early church as an action which implied the permanent disarming of all of Jesus' followers.²⁸ Despite this pacifism, Christians by the end of the third century constituted a significant minority of the Roman army. Von Harnack believed²⁹ that the number of Christians serving in the army at the time Constantine had his vision of the cross were sufficient to enable him to introduce the religious and political reforms without fear of a reaction, either to counter or over-throw his espousal of Christianity.

In the years leading up to the outbreak of the Second world War similar beliefs regarding pacifism and military service existed in the New Zealand churches as had been experienced in the pre-Constantine period. From the political perspective it was a period of appeasement by the Western nations towards Germany

and Japan despite the latter's patently obvious expansionist activities.³⁰ Territorial Army parades clashed with Bible Class functions³¹ and few clergy of any denomination were enlisted into the Chaplains' Department.³² On the whole there was a lack of encouragement from the Church to its members who elected to follow the profession of arms as a livelihood, and generally a disincentive shown towards its youth who wanted to join the Territorials. However there were one or two notable exceptions among New Zealand cadets to the Duntroon Royal Military College in Canberra who were a product of active Christian homes.³³

NZ Christian Pacifism

There were some within the Church in New Zealand, who, although aware of the approaching storm of war in 1939 hoped, with more optimism than reality in the light of the politics of the day, that war with Germany could be avoided. The memories of the tragic impact of WW1 which was barely two decades past were well alive.³⁴ Those who hoped to avoid war clung to the vague idea that if New Zealand should find itself at war the British Commonwealth, under God, and as a responsible country in the free world, would deal with the problem if and when it happened. "However much we deplore the horrors of war, we yet feel that the Church has a duty towards those men who are engaged in training for these branches of National Service."³⁵

Tertullian may well have conceded the reality of Christians

serving in the Roman Army, and the efficacy of Christian prayers for the victory of Roman arms, but this was not the case with the absolute pacifist position personified by Rev'd Ormand Burton.³⁶ He refused bluntly to accept any justification for a Christian to engage in war, and believed that the Christian church compromised its classical pacifist position when it became part of the Roman military and State structures in the time of Constantine.³⁷ Ormand Burton had been a First World War soldier decorated for bravery and commissioned in the field. He knew from first-hand experience the horrors of war. He broke his association with the Presbyterian church, where he had been a youth leader, and in 1935 was ordained a Methodist minister. Burton considered the Methodist church's *Manifesto on Peace and War*, which called upon Christians to accept the inevitability of armed conflict with Germany, to be grossly in error.³⁸

The Conference is approvingly aware that greatly patient and self-sacrificing efforts were made to avert war. Their thoroughness, coupled with their sad and tragic failure, provides to-day an irremovable reason for turning aside from that resultless (sic) road. To tread one far more rough and rugged has become inevitable, if a real peace is to be attained.³⁹

His pacifist influence on the thinking of prospective clergy who enlisted as chaplains is considered in a following chapter. Suffice to say Burton's total commitment towards an uncompromising non violence in any given situation was at least equal to the pre-Constantine position of those Patristic

Fathers from whom Burton believed he took his pacifist example.⁴⁰

The Bishop of Christchurch was at least aware of a division of opinion among the clergy and felt he had to openly acknowledge the situation. Within a month following the declaration of war he acknowledged:

I respect the conviction of those who feel bound in duty to Our Lord to refuse to as(sic)(act) as Chaplains....But I cannot avoid the conclusion that if all clergy were to take the same line it would mean the excommunication of all those sincere Christian soldiers whose offer for active service has also been a real Calvary of self-sacrifice.⁴¹

Thus prior to the outbreak of war the Churches in New Zealand reflected in a similar manner all of the tensions and ambivalences traceable within the pre-Constantine military relationship of Church and State. WW2 changed that situation in a way not dissimilar from that which was experienced by the Eusebian church and the State. Both shared a common ecclesial goal in the preservation of their institutional life and the civic democratic freedom so essential to the survival and continuation of their cause.

CONCLUSION

We have traversed the evolution of the Christian Church as it grew from its sectarian origins to face the ecclesial challenges of military chaplaincy. By way of this historical

enquiry examples of Church and military relations have demonstrated common interests which have to do with the preservation of the State on one hand the Church on the other. The Church believed God willed through the peace of Rome the Kingdom of God would eventually be established. The Eusebian Model of chaplaincy demonstrated a shared responsibility in the conduct of war where the Church offers prayers for victory and the laity accept the responsibility for the defence of the State. There may well be further debate on the matter of the Crusading model, but it marks a unique occasion when clergy took up arms and in the name of Christ embarked upon war to free the Holy Land. The British Empire model of chaplaincy recognized that Britain had a divine responsibility given by God to keep the peace and Christianize the Empire. The more recent recognition of a diaconal model of ministry as part of the Christian contribution to the welfare of soldiers demonstrates a wholistic understanding of ministry. The chaplain undertakes the preaching, pastoral and sacramental office while the welfare officer offers "*the cup of water*".

The provision of chaplains was an essential part of the British Empire model from which the New Zealand Chaplain's Department was established in 1911. Those who represented the Church, and exercised ministry during WW2, not only included ordained clergy, but an equal number of welfare officers, individuals who carried out the role of a military deacon.

PART TWOCLERGY MOTIVATION: CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

CHAPTER FIVE

FROM PASTOR TO PADRE, PROTAGONIST, AND MEDICAL ORDERLY

On the outbreak of war all ministers of religion in New Zealand were exempt from military service as the Government considered their ordinary function essential to the spiritual and social morale of the nation. Those clergy who enlisted into the 2NZEF were considered by the military authorities to be volunteers and fell into two categories; those who on recommendation of their denominational senior military chaplain volunteered to represent their denomination; and a small minority who enlisted either as non combatants or soldiers.¹ The Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, Bishop J. Liston, known for his autocratic nature, appointed Roman Catholic chaplains directly from among the priests in his diocese. He told the selected priests he was enlisting them into the Chaplains' Department.² Many clergy left behind secure parishes³ and a settled life style, and elected to face war in the desert or jungle; to face sudden death or injury.⁴

World War One was barely two decades past, but the memories of the previous generation of clergy who served as chaplains had a strong influence within the Chaplaincy committees of most churches. Clergy and laymen who had been WW1 servicemen were represented on the churches' various Assemblies, Synods, and

Conferences, and they knew from first hand experience the importance and the value of chaplains.⁵ The Presbyterian Church of NZ, as one example, was strongly influenced by such former WW1 chaplains. Five of them wrote a booklet of worship services, hymns, prayers and devotional readings known as the *The Pocket Companion*. Each contributor wrote of spiritual encouragement from their own experience in time of war to a new generation about to face its demands. Their words were directed towards helping Presbyterian young men to aspire to true Christian manliness. Manly Christians defended the truth, fought for the freedom of the oppressed and were prepared to sacrifice their lives to overthrow evil.

Former WW1 chaplains challenged the new generation of clergy to recognize that war-time ministry opened up new opportunities for evangelism outside the established parishes of the Church. Such opportunities required a high degree of discipline by Christian ministers who undertook military chaplaincy.⁶ War was no new catastrophe that the Church was called upon to face; critics of the church believed the war was a result of a weakness, not only of politicians, but also of the Church's inability to effect pressure to change the flow of international events. All churches contended, to a lesser or greater degree, with the pacifist perspective which included, at one end of its spectrum, an absolute prohibition of any participation with the military and war.⁷ The alternative, and

less absolute pacifist concession, was a willingness to undertake humanitarian work in the medical corps, or some other form of noncombatant service.⁸

Those clergy who enlisted into the chaplaincy demonstrated a strong commitment to an understanding of the pastoral and sacramental needs of men at war.⁹ Some clergy were influenced to volunteer because of the earlier enlistment of close family, or the loss of a brother or relative killed in action.¹⁰ Anglican priests were asked by their Military Affairs Committee early in the first weeks of the war if they would be interested in serving as chaplains. Some enlisted while others waited to be formally asked.¹¹ The concept that they were part of a "just war" was evident in the thinking of a number.¹² Those who were already serving as Territorial Army Chaplains became available for immediate appointment for they had already made a conscious commitment to ministry within a military context.¹³ Clergy involved in sporting groups, clubs and associations, through the frequency of constant goodbyes and farewells were impressed by the necessity to reconsider their privileged place of exemption from military service. From among their own parishioners young men were leaving to enlist and gaps were being left in youth-work and the parish programme.¹⁴ Clergy of military age could not help but contrast their preferential position with many of their peers in the pew who, after June 1940, found they had no choice and were conscripted.¹⁵

Newly graduated clergy lacked the required parish experience, yet some were plucked out of parishes early in their ministry by Senior chaplains, who believed their denomination ought to offer the fittest and brightest of its outgoing younger ministers to chaplaincy.¹⁶ Plain duty to God influenced some. Ministry was where people were, regardless of the political or military events.¹⁷ One chaplain indicated that the wearing of a uniform in war-time gave him a sense of direction and purpose to his ministry.¹⁸

Senior denominational chaplains were of the generation who believed the army offered good opportunity for evangelism and recruitment of men into the Kingdom of God. A typical representative of all denominations was the Rev'd William (Willie) Walker,¹⁹ a former WWI Methodist chaplain. Supported by his senior denominational counter-parts at the Trentham Chaplains' Training Schools, Walker's lectures were typical of the theological thinking of the time. He reiterated the inherited war-time Christianity of the First World War. Chaplains were manly fellows, they did not swear, they refrained from excessive drinking, or better still, did not drink at all and maintained the ethics of Christianity in the midst of war. As Walker says "...he will have a gracious manly bearing...".²⁰ Here are echoes of Rev'd G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, known as "Woodbine Willy", the outstanding British WWI chaplain who epitomized manly Christianity.²¹ Though men might be killed

SENIOR CHAPLAINS TO THE 2 NZEF



Rt. Rev. G. V. Gerard MC
1 May 1940-2 Mar 1942
2NZEF(IP) April 1944
October 1944



Rev. J. W. McKenzie MM
3 Mar 1942-30 April
1944



Rev. G. A. D. Spence MC
30 Apl 1944-Oct 1945



Rev. K. Liggett
2NZEF(In Pacific)
October 1942-March 1944

around them, and they themselves involved in killing others, bad language, rude stories and blasphemy were not to be tolerated among manly Christians. Care of one's companions with mercy towards the enemy were all part of the manly Christian culture.²²

If clergy had doubts about the justice of the war, the attack by the Japanese on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 raised the spectre of the New Zealand homeland being invaded. The war was no longer a European expedition to overcome the forces of Nazi evil. "The Axis Powers certainly did their best to provide for the United Nations all the normal conditions of the just war. Many former pacifists argued that under the circumstances the best way to further the peace was to finish the war."²³

COMMON CONVICTIONS OF CHAPLAINS

The dominant belief which united most chaplains until late 1941 was that the inherently evil Nazi system, if not opposed, threatened the fabric of Christendom and Western democracy.

You are going to fight for the preservation of human rights and values that were not recognized until Christianity taught them to the world. Christianity has taught each of you, being a creature of God, you have a precious worth and dignity as well as certain rights. These rights belong to men before Dictators or Governments existed. Dictators or Governments did not give them to you; therefore they have no proper authority to take them from you. That is the Christian foundation - the only enduring foundation of democracy, for which you are going to fight. We pray that God may strengthen you for the serious job ahead. Hold fast the professions of your faith without wavering.

Sam M. Hayes (Salvation Army)

A. D. Horwell (Presbyterian)

H. F. Trehey (Roman Catholic) ²⁴

The language of this statement was obviously not lost upon those on board the troopship. At that period in this century the majority were familiar with Christian idiom.

The press had titled the behaviour of the Nazi's an act of international bullying, which resulted in the belief held by many Christians that the bullying had been allowed through the failure of the Church to do its international duty by coming to the assistance of threatened neighbours. Pacifists and those who supported the policy of appeasement had used their influence, together with the general community abhorrence of war, to rally support in the pre-war years to avoid a war which eventually permitted the Nazi to kill and destroy. Yet at the same time the means had been within the power of the free world to intervene.²⁵ The World Church had been acutely aware of the Nazi threat to the stability of the Christian Church in Germany following their succession to power during the late 1930s.²⁶

The awful truth of Nazism struck home, and by the fall of France, for the most part, I accepted that Fascism was a diabolical evil. Pacifism had encouraged that evil....I came to the conclusion that there are worse evils...than taking part in war...Christians will always have trouble over what must be done when evil that will stop at nothing starts to take over."²⁷

Some clergy recognized the responsibility of Christians to

redress this evil and free their neighbours from tyranny: overtones of Augustine's concept of going to war to re-establish the peace process. "Peace should be your aim; war should be a matter of necessity so that God might free you from necessity and preserve you in peace."²⁸ The following, written by the Baptist minister Rev'd Bert Whitten who enlisted as a soldier, echoes Augustine's words. "*I felt quite strongly that the war against Nazi Germany was just and right, and that everyone should do what they could to bring it to a successful conclusion.*"²⁹ Earlier, in the 1930s, Reinhold Niebuhr came close to anticipating this sense of discriminatory responsibility.

"We do not find it particularly impressive...to celebrate one's sensitive conscience by enlarging upon all the well-known evils of our western world and equating them with the evils of the totalitarian systems. It is just as important for Christians to be discriminating in their judgements, as for them to recognize the element of sin in all human endeavours."³⁰

Rev'd I Hopkins³¹ believed New Zealanders did not engage in war to profit or seize booty. "We went to war to keep what we had, had we not done so we would have lost it."³² Clergy who elected to engage in chaplaincy made a choice of the lesser of two evils. In the final analysis, the worst choice was to do absolutely nothing, as only by taking up arms and fighting could the war be checked, and the Axis defeated. A passive response was no response at all and would result in a victory for tyranny. Not only was democratic society under threat,

but, as events proved in Germany, so was the Church.

There were some among those who held a pacifist view who did not deny a role for chaplaincy. In effect, they echoed the Eusebian model of the fourth century CE when the Church was first asked to march with the Roman army. One chaplain suggested "Though a pacifist by conviction I believed that men on active service should be served by the ministry of the Church."³³ Clergy who held this opinion were challenged to choose between the Christian ideal of non violence and the needs and sacrifices of those who went to war and faced death or injury. The pacifist chaplain's concession, and there were some, was to become tacitly part of the military machine in order to facilitate ministry to the laity fighting the war.³⁴

Rev'd Dr. J. S. Somerville³⁵ suggests a more pastoral element lay behind the commitment of clergy to the chaplaincy. "The term "padre" signified our real role, which was to represent that dimension of life, which religion assumes, to be in fact a friend, a brother, and, where necessary, a father in God to everyone:..."³⁶ Such a statement implies that if the purpose of engaging in war was to re-establish peace and justice it was essential that the principles for which it was being fought ought not to be lost. These were the values of home, family, personal religion, social independence, equality and natural law. The chaplain was the embodiment of many of the values

which arose out of the centuries-old Western Judeo-Christian ethic. These values were an essential part of the Bible Class Movement of the 1930s and contributed to a high profile of spiritual idealism among many younger Christians serving in the 2NZEF.³⁷ By comparison with today's secular society, it is notable to recall that in 1935 some 67.25% of New Zealand University students considered the *Sermon on the Mount* the necessary basis of national and international relationships.³⁸

War might destroy cities and economies, and disrupt society, but the Padre was, to many soldiers, the personification of the spiritual values learned at their mother's knee, or Sunday School and youth groups, along with the *Golden Rule* and the *Ten Commandments*.³⁹ These values lay behind the reason why many were fighting, and the clergy who enlisted into the chaplaincy could not, and did not, divorce themselves from these.⁴⁰ Somerville was among those clergy who were persuaded in 1943 by a conviction of duty and pastoral sympathy to enlist as chaplains, despite his comfortable incumbency in the Tapanui Presbyterian Parish. He took the view that as an unmarried clergyman he ought not consider himself part of that "sheltered breed"⁴¹ recumbent in a reserved occupation. Somerville represented a motivation based on the understanding that Christ did not avoid the option of suffering but rather through his own suffering demonstrated God's love for a sinful world. The minority of chaplains who thought more theologically believed

they ought to follow Christ and identify with the suffering of the world, sharing the hardships within the crucible of war. Chaplaincy for them became an "incarnational activity⁴²". They saw the necessity, through the practice of their vocation as ministers or priests, to be the living practical embodiment of Christ's redeeming activity in the midst of a suffering world. This understanding of chaplaincy is considered more fully below.

The war came as no surprise to Rev'd Martin Sullivan.⁴³ A close friend of his had been killed fighting with the International Brigade in the Spanish Civil War which Sullivan believed was justified. He was convinced Christianity ought to be expressed through social action for the sake of freedom and better living standards of all people. In the social and political climate of the 1930s he found little support within the Anglican church for his Christian socialist ideals. He was accused of preaching socialism from the pulpit which led him to find companions with similar views outside the church.

The outbreak of the Second world War both changed and accentuated the prevailing attitude and line of thought. There were more important matters to be dealt with and the threat of a common enemy had closed the ranks and united us all...I offered my services as a Chaplain to the Forces..."⁴⁴

Sullivan was quite unaware that he was combining the two main historical models of military service within his own conviction to enlist. He brings the uniform of the crusader and the task

of the Eusebian pastor together without any apparent contradiction. Thus he can say.

I saw no incongruity in my donning uniform as a clergyman and becoming involved in the business of killing. All my contemporaries throughout the country had been called up and I simply felt I had to be with them, to help them, stand by them and minister to them.⁴⁵

It is evident that, in general, an underlying motivational factor was the conviction that the only way forward was to finish the war and destroy Hitler's philosophy of a Master Race. The social benefits of the Gospel would never be realized for every human being unless the world was in the state of peace as suggested in the fourth century by Augustine.⁴⁶

THE INFLUENCE OF SPOUSE

Given the difference in the social status of women in 1939, when compared with the present time, it could be assumed that wives may not have had a strong influence upon their husband's decision to enter the chaplaincy. From the record, this assumption cannot be sustained. Almost without exception the clergy who enlisted were serving within parishes⁴⁷ while an estimated sixty percent were married men with families.⁴⁸

Few married chaplains have recorded discussing their motivation with their spouse. One who did, Rev'd A. R. Witheford⁴⁹, a Methodist parish minister in Matamata, attempted on the out-

break of war to enlist in the Medical Corps⁵⁰ and on being refused permission by the President of the Church, applied to enter the chaplaincy. His wife did not believe it her place to impose her pacifist beliefs on her husband's vocational decision. The memories of her father leaving for WWI contributed to her understanding of the consequences and effects of war. Witheford became a Garrison chaplain in 1942 and in early 1944 he was flown to Munda in the Solomon Islands as an infantry chaplain. His wife, a former church deaconess, was left with a young child, nursing her deep regrets that despite her ideals, world peace was as illusive as it had been in her childhood.⁵¹ Witheford indicated the core of his convictions in a sermon on his return from the Pacific.

There are urgent appeals for helpers. Am I going to turn them down....I hate war. I hate it with every fibre of my being....Towards...peace, I will do my small utmost, and against that war I will make what contribution I can....if necessary, in the name of Christ...offer protection, and use force against wrong.⁵²

Witheford was hard pressed to avoid facing the ultimate violence of the crusading ministry, but the circumstances of the Pacific war brought home to him that there were times when he too had to "offer protection and...force against wrong." Requested to accompany the 1st Echelon six days prior to embarkation Padre Bicknell's⁵³ text for that Sunday was taken from Joshua 1: 9. "Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

Bicknell was aged 36 years, married with two children 6 and 8 years old. "I fell back on the message I had prepared...as a New Year message...(I) came to the only conclusion left to me - I must either say "yes"...or I cannot preach this sermon."⁵⁴ Bicknell's wife, also a Salvation Army Officer, agreed to his enlistment believing God had opened the way for her husband to serve.

A 33 year old Christchurch clergyman was requested by his senior chaplain to enlist. His wife objected profoundly, and the trauma caused her to lose two stone in weight over a fortnight. She was emotionally and physically distressed at his departure. The chaplain was marked as a brave and deeply committed officer, both in and out of battle. After some months in the battle zone he received information from New Zealand that his wife's behaviour was cause for deep concern. The Senior Divisional Chaplain had the distressed padre flown home to restore his marriage, a privilege not given other ranks.⁵⁵ The opportunity has likely been lost forever to obtain further insights into the impact of the military chaplaincy on the lives of clergys' spouses as few survive after fifty years.⁵⁶

Clergy families were required in some cases to vacate the manse, vicarage or parsonage, and were thrown into the large community pool of younger married women with small children to

compete for the limited accommodation available during the war years. Anecdotal evidence suggests clergy spouses shared the same emotions of separation and loss as their secular sisters, while the denominational support available was limited, if available at all.⁵⁷

PROTAGONISTS: CLERGY AS COMBATANTS

The events in Germany by 1939 demonstrated that aggression, discrimination, and armed force threatened freedom, religion and human dignity. The democracies in 1939 possessed neither the arms nor the military strength to aid and adequately defend their citizens, many of whom believed this state of affairs to be an abdication of democratic responsibility which permitted Nazism, through deceit, force, and political anarchy, to accomplish its ends.⁵⁸

This state of affairs directly influenced a small number of clergy to volunteer as soldiers. At least ten ordained ministers, and quite possibly more, chose to do so and two lost their lives in action.⁵⁹ Invariably, their vocation was known to their comrades and it was not uncommon that they were sought after to conduct religious services in the absence of the chaplain. John Watson preached to his Field Ambulance comrades. Bert Whitten baptized three fellow soldiers in an Italian stream under the guns of guards. Wattie Silvester, a Methodist missionary in the Solomon Islands, remained at his

station as a Coastwatcher and radio operator reporting movements of Japanese shipping. As a direct result of his reports the Japanese were bombed and many killed. He was instrumental in rescuing downed Allied pilots and surviving sailors from sunken American ships. He declined to be relieved of his task until after liberation.⁶⁰

For each clergyman the decision to enlist voluntarily as a fighting soldier was an individual choice. Rev'd Fergus McLaren⁶¹ wrote "There are enough high-minded people doing non-combatant service....If I'm going to be in it, I may as well be in it properly. I think I'll enlist."⁶² When war began he relinquished his plans to study theology in Edinburgh and volunteered as a private soldier for "...the cause of right and of Christendom".⁶³ McLaren was clearly of the "manly type of Christianity"⁶⁴ an example of Christian men who could hold their own in physical ability and Christian character among those who were the hard working products of economically depressed pre-war years.⁶⁵ McLaren obviously believed his contribution as a soldier could be greater than if he had chosen to serve as a chaplain.

It is worth noting that McLaren may have been influenced to enlist as a combatant by the English student of theology, Donald Hankey.⁶⁶ Before he was killed in 1916, Hankey worked in a Street Mission, a contrast from his privileged origins and

life as a former regular army officer. He wanted to learn of life from the people and for him the war was a "...heaven-sent opportunity...trying to follow out the theory that the proper subject of study for the theologian was man..."⁶⁷ McLaren may not have expressed his opinions in Hankey's words, but he followed a similar path by taking his theology into the crucible of war. McLaren seems familiar with Hankey's writing as there are echoes of Hankey in what McLaren did, wrote and said in his short life. For example he used the Easter Message as his Anzac Day theme for 1938 and reminded his listeners that through the dark experience of the grave Christ had gone ahead and conquered death. Hankey took a similar theme and assured his readers that the most rebellious of individuals, the most hardened of soldiers, come to the Good Shepherd through the resurrection which follows death in battle. Both shared a universalist belief about the resurrection, and both emphasized that nothing can separate anyone from the experience of the resurrection and the assurance of the Good Shepherd's love. Hankey may have romanticized death in battle more than McLaren, but McLaren was equally emphatic that the sacrifice of soldiering not in vain.

Fergus McLaren was killed in Greece on 27th April 1941. A chaplain noted, not only of McLaren, but of the impact of other clergy serving as combatants: "They are (the soldiers) looking for less self-complacency and more manly reality in us of the

Church. The latter kind are too few, but those there are held in very high regard...Fergus McLaren, grand man of God."⁶⁸ McLaren's manly Christianity did not go unnoticed.

So strong was the determination to serve that an Anglican priest, Rev'd A. Penhall⁶⁹, resigned his commission as a serving chaplain in New Zealand in late 1942. He then enlisted as a private soldier in May 1943, was wounded in the Aegean Campaign, and later died in a German POW camp. Penhall demonstrated a strong commitment to go to war, bordering on that of a personal crusade.

Rev'd N. T. Wanoa⁷⁰, an Anglican Vicar, enlisted during 1940 as an infantryman into the 28 (Maori) Battalion, and was later, in September 1942, to replace his unit chaplain. He was commissioned in the field following action on Greece and Crete. Wanoa was undoubtedly a crusader yet he had not the slightest difficulty in undertaking the duties of an infantry officer and then reverting once again to the more Eusebian vocation of a chaplain. He was deeply concerned for the Ngati Porou who had been decimated during the 1942 fighting in the Middle East.⁷¹

CLERGY AS NON-COMBATANTS: A DIACONAL MINISTRY

Clergy who volunteered in the noncombatant role of medical orderlies, like those who volunteered as soldiers, have left little direct theological evidence which can give a clue as to

what motivated them to respond by choosing a medical role as against that of a spiritual one. Chaplaincy, with its officer privileges, was an option open to them all, yet they elected the status of a private soldier. Their choice to be a non-combatant is supported by anecdotal evidence that they viewed their enlistment with a theological understanding of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Effectively, in a theological sense, they elected the role of military deacon. Although the Geneva Convention permitted them to carry arms for their personal protection, few medical orderlies were actually placed in the situation of having to use their weapons. YMCA Field Secretaries and Church Army Officers frequently doubled as medical orderlies and they were rarely armed. All wore uniform, all were soldiers, and all had a degree of protection under the Geneva Conventions. The single difference with the medical orderly was that he was much more part of a military unit than his associates.

During November 1939 Rev'd Bert Whitten⁷² was inducted into his first parish of Hawera but was unsettled regarding his future ministry in the light of the outbreak of war. He believed there were sufficient older clergy or lay persons able to supply parishes, and after six weeks in his parish Whitten enlisted as a soldier. His decision was based on the principle that the war against Nazi Germany was just and that everyone who was able ought to do as much as possible to bring Hitler

down.⁷³ He eventually became a Field Ambulance sergeant and in December 1941 was taken a Prisoner of War at Sidi Rezegh.

Rev'd W. Mills⁷⁴ was an ordained minister of the Methodist Church who enlisted as a medical orderly in October 1940. He was led by his senior chaplain to expect an appointment to a chaplaincy after he had spent some time in the ranks. While a medical NCO he gained considerable personal satisfaction and eventually he was commissioned a chaplain in early 1942. Padre Mills' motivation for enlisting is not clear, but his concept of a chaplain's role was that a preacher, pastor and welfare officer⁷⁵ with a Christian perspective. Mills would not press his personal Christianity upon unwilling soldiers.

A probationary minister, Rev'd J Watson⁷⁶ enlisted as a medical orderly in October 1940 and said at his farewell service "...I did not consider that I had solved the problem of Christianity and war but that I went as a learner."⁷⁷ His pacifist convictions when a student minister did not in any way deter him from enlisting. Throughout his three years of active service as an NCO he was involved in initiating worship, preaching, prayer and study groups in the various Units with which he was associated. Watson was ordained in St John's Methodist Church, Cairo on 25th July 1943 and the next day commissioned as a 2NZEFC chaplain.⁷⁸ Although he has left no account of how he changed his mind regarding pacifism, he noted in his diary that

he hoped to remain in the army as a chaplain following the end of the war.⁷⁹ His Diary is written in a military style, in stark contrast to the more pastoral content of other chaplains' diaries. Watson's preaching suggests some clues which influenced his early enlistment as a non-combatant. His characteristic preaching style emphasized duty, suggesting he viewed war as essential to re-establish freedom, peace and restoration of Christian values in the new world.⁸⁰

CONCLUSION

In summary the record of motivation indicates that the majority of enlisted clergy experienced little theological ambivalence in opposing Axis aggression by military force. They believed it was their sacred responsibility as ministers or priests of Christ's Church to prayerfully support those engaged in a war which threatened Christianity and the free world. This was a responsibility little different from that earlier expressed in the Eusebian model of chaplaincy.

To go with, and be part of men who were going to oppose the evils of Nazism and to save our country from the evils it perpetrated. Again to share our faith as the only ultimate answer to oppose falsehood by truth...to care for men-encourage them-share their burdens and hopes.(sic)⁸¹

Those clergy⁸² who held a pre-war theology of pacifism were pressed by the human upheaval of the war to reconsider their understanding of ministry, especially to those who were defending the weak and helpless and recovering the freedoms of

enslaved peoples. Padre Pat Gourdie was typical of the many who owned a strong pacifist belief before September 1939 and who recognized that not to oppose evil would result in its victory. There had to be a conscious choice of the lesser of two evils. Clergy who enlisted as soldiers were still inclined towards the support of their comrades' spiritual necessities which they undertook voluntarily within the bounds of their personal military duties.

Two incidents illustrate the sometimes aggressive crusading response of chaplains to indulge in active combat when they themselves came under enemy fire. The Senior Chaplain, Bishop G. V. Gerard, was observed on one occasion firing an automatic weapon at an attacking German aircraft.⁸³ Near the end of the war Rev'd J. G. Mathews⁸⁴ while caring for wounded, was angered at the close proximity shelling from German artillery. He promptly sought permission from a close-by tank commander and personally loaded, aimed and fired successive rounds into the German positions.

The other day I had a shot at the enemy - strictly against regulations I was at the R.A.P. when some shells from the enemy landed just outside the door and I thought I had finished with the war. When I got my breath back I said to the lads, "Well Jerry is not going to get away with giving me a fright like that.(sic) There were some tanks handy so I slipped over and asked the O.C. to lend me his tank and a few shells - and I sent four of them on their way. Ten minutes later he sent over about fifty in reply, but by that time I was back in the house."⁸⁵

Mathews censored his own letter and certified it as containing

only "private and family matters". Chaplains were among the principal censors, and what Mathew's wrote would certainly NOT have been permitted to pass censorship by even the most junior of officers or chaplain. The content of Mathews' letter questioned and prejudiced his special recognition as a non-combatant religious worker under the Geneva Convention, to the degree that his behaviour, in effect, nullified that position. The contravention and court martial offence of breaking 2NZEF Security Regulations pales into insignificance beside his impulsive disregard for the Geneva Convention's protection of religious workers. Had his action become known to the enemy the consequences for other chaplains and medical orderlies on the field of battle could have been very serious and may well have resulted in the death of some. His action crossed the boundary of the Eusebian role; *to be with and support those who were responsible for the fighting* and he became the crusader.

On the other hand those clergy who elected to take an active combat role must have been profoundly influenced in mind and spirit to cross a theological boundary which set to one side their vows of Ordination as pastors of the Gospel and which permitted them to take part actively in the business of killing the enemy. Their commitment to a belief that the war was unquestionably just before Almighty God seems never to have been challenged by them.

Those few who were commissioned in the field as chaplains preserved their basic convictions in the justice of their cause, for on being commissioned they simply opted for their original role as ministers of the Gospel. Their commitment to oppose the enemies of the Empire and Christian civilization was transferred to the spiritual dimension basic to the Eusebian chaplaincy model. The ease with which they undertook their change of role indicates it was irrelevant to them whether they fought under the banner of the cross, or with the sword. They were personally willing to use either weapon: in fact they accepted both! The war had to be won to re-establish peace, justice and freedom. Their behaviour is close to the understanding that Karl Barth proposed in his support for Christians fighting Hitler:

What, then, is this war? It is a large-scale police measure which has become absolutely necessary in order to repulse an active anarchism which has become a principle....And it seems to me that Christians also would do well to regard it in the same way, and only in that way. This is the only kind of war which we may be commanded to wage.⁸⁶

Barth hints at Swift's notion of the church acting in an ecclesial manner, it was in the interest of the church as well as the state to repulse active anarchism. Barth goes on to write;

And here is one other practical consequence. If Jesus Christ is indeed the reason for our present decision, then it will be made manifest in the humility and sincerity of the faith in which we do what we have decided.⁸⁷

If, as Barth suggests, "Jesus Christ is indeed the reason for our present decision" it is difficult not to avoid the impression that Barth is recognizing that it is in the *name of Jesus* that a crusading war is justified.

At this distance from WW2, with the subsequent ebb and flow of theological thinking from the early pre-war years, it should not be forgotten that the Church and its clergy were profoundly affected by the impact of the Nazi aggression, and also the brutal behaviour of the Japanese military machine. All were aware great matters were at stake for Christendom. It was conceivable that if the Empire and Commonwealth collapsed, then the Christian Church would have great difficulty in surviving also.

The circumstances related above had the powerful effect of impelling clergy who responded in three ways. Some chose the Eusebian model of chaplaincy where they could be with and spiritually support those who were required to undertake the fighting. A much smaller minority elected to become crusaders, to join with and actively fight. They saw little or no difference between their role as a chaplain when commissioned later in the field. Their effort, in whatever role was directed towards the defeat of the enemy, be it by means of prayer or a gun. The third group were made up of those who had the opportunity of performing all three, the one significant

factor being that in whatever role they served they did so with the view of defeating the enemy.

Whether they recognized it or not, implicit in their attitudes and opinions lay the emphasis of a Just War against Germany and Japan. Justice and restoration of freedoms lay at the very core of most chaplains' understanding, and their prayers for the establishment of the peace were offered with the knowledge that this state could only be re-secured through human pain and the sacrifice of life.⁸⁸

CHAPTER SIX

THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS AND WELFARE WORKERS

...we are fighting for Christian civilization on the Continent of Europe...therefore...in fighting we serve the will of God....I believe it to be his will (God's) that "Hitlerism" should be discredited and utterly destroyed....

Nevertheless, when it came to the point that we as a nation had to choose between war and letting Herr Hitler "get away with it again," and no third option was any longer open to us, dare we think we should as a nation have pleased the God revealed in Jesus Christ if we had refused suffering for ourselves and let a monstrous evil go unchecked when we could hope to check it?¹

The sentiments expressed above published in the Christchurch Diocese *Church News* of June 1940 articulate the contemporary opinions emerging among New Zealand churchman and theological students. By July 1940 theological students attending the ten New Zealand denominational theological colleges² were required to register for military service.³ The matter of military service for theological students depended upon two factors. Was the student among the statutory number required by his denomination to cover normal ministerial replacements? If so, his denomination sought his exemption from military call-up. The second factor lay with the student who was free to make a personal decision to enlist, or in some cases refuse military service which could result in his imprisonment in a detention Camp.⁴ The greater number of enlisted theological students were Presbyterians who were called up for military service on completing the first part of their training at university and

prior to entry into three years of theological training at Knox Theological Hall in Dunedin. Of the 70 or so theological students who were enlisted into the 2NZEF, 40 were Presbyterians in various stages of training for ministry.⁵

Information regarding the motivation and convictions of theological students who enlisted is sparse, for the information in *The Analysis* is drawn from but a fraction of the few living survivors.⁶ An important element within the enlistment motives of the majority of theological students was their choice of electing a medical, or military-style diaconal, role as against that of a combat soldier. The choice at least gave them an opportunity to aid and succour the wounded and distressed regardless of nationality. Such a choice presumably reflected their theological convictions, and were perhaps about as practical an example of the "brotherhood of man" that a theological student could safely and adequately express within the conflict of war. Among some who volunteered, their action was a personal statement as a citizen in response to conscription. They recognized that they could not remain uninvolved or protected by their privileged status; they were also citizens with responsibilities to the nation in time of war. "One had opted to serve for the duration, so one just carried on and did one's job, whatever it might be".⁷ Once in the army theological students were encouraged by their chaplains to persist in private study, and at Maadi Base a group was formed under the

chaplains' direction to maintain on-going education.⁸ After 1943 examinations for entry into the Methodist ministry were conducted under the supervision of a chaplain which made it possible for men considering the vocation to prepare for immediate candidature on discharge from military service.⁹ Near the end of the European war the Senior Chaplain 2NZEF requested the military authorities to make arrangements for theological students' early return to New Zealand to aid the resumption of their studies in the forthcoming academic year.¹⁰

VARIETIES OF MILITARY SERVICE

Non Combatant Medical Orderlies

Medical orderlies who were theological students appear to have been less compromised in their convictions on the matter of bearing arms and killing an enemy. As medical orderlies they were required to preserve life rather than take it. The role encouraged their individual vocational pastoral sensitivities which at least contributed to their experience and future skills as ministers of the Gospel. "My role was simply to serve in the care of sick and wounded, but turned out to be the best preparation I can think of for training for the ministry. Dates of enlistment fell between university studies and (entry to) Theological Hall."¹¹ The contribution of theological students to the religious life of the 2NZEF is clearly visible when considered alongside that of chaplains and welfare workers, for they were influenced by their sense of Christian

vocation. "The impossibility of being uninvolved in the existing situation - the decision, to offer for the medical corps service as an opportunity to minister to both sides of the conflict - I had acquired some pacifist leanings."¹² This comment underlines the military style diaconal model of service. From the diaconal perspective another theological student reflected on the basis of his choice. "I believe we should not be obliged to submit to tyranny. I chose the medical corps as a positive aspect in a negative situation. But even so I was a(sic) much more morally involved than the bayonet wielding soldier."¹³

Theological students were generally acknowledged by their peers to be men of God without the privileges of rank or the chaplain's religious status. A number shared the special moments of the dying, both among the enemy and Allied soldiers, for they were singularly placed to be able to offer ministry in the absence of chaplains.¹⁴ It is not known how many lost their lives on active service.¹⁵

Theological Students as Combatants

Student Percy Titchener enlisted as a fighting soldier in the Divisional Cavalry convinced that by sharing life with fellow soldiers God would honour his Christian witness.¹⁶ He had some concerns about the drinking habits of soldiers but was angry with those who criticized them, believing it was wiser to

determine why men got drunk rather than correct a fault without knowledge. Titchener anticipated that his experience as a soldier would benefit his future ministry following his ordination.¹⁷ With the rank of Sergeant, and a tank commander, Titchener's leadership and pastoral abilities had room for expression. He wrote to next-of-kin of those killed in his Unit, and in the absence of a chaplain conducted the burials of fallen comrades. He initially refused the function of a burial celebrant until the death of his friend Hugh at Sidi Rezegh. "...I thought it over and realized that it was perhaps my duty, as well as being, I think, an act which Hugh would have appreciated."¹⁸ Nor did he believe as a theological student he was entitled to a special providence from God.¹⁹ He was killed in action on 24th October 1942 and buried by a German Army Field Chaplain on Meteryia Ridge. Titchener clearly chose a crusading model of military service within which he was later moved to exercise pastoral ministry among his fellow soldiers.

Edward Norman²⁰ enlisted in 1939 as an infantry soldier and had risen through the ranks by 1945 to Lieutenant Colonel. In the closing months of the war Norman commanded an Infantry Battalion in Italy but rarely, if at all, involved himself in any role as a chaplain. Norman could not accept the pacifist position, though he understood it and by his action of enlisting was obviously influenced to do something personally for the war effort. "We just have to hold them off for a year

and then move forward."²¹

Allan Pyatt was at St John's Theological College on the outbreak of war and was influenced by the Spanish Civil War which he believed, "...turned the thoughts of some of us leftish inclined people to war".²² Pyatt enlisted with Norman in 1939 on the completion of their theological studies with motives best expressed in terms "to render to Caesar the things which were Caesar's and the things which were God's to God." Pyatt had no conflict about his choice. He believed that the British Empire was the vehicle of God's providence in the wider world and when it was under threat as a citizen he responded in support of the Crown. After all, had he not enjoyed the advantages of a Christian state? Pyatt put to one side, for the duration of the war, his sense of vocation believing if he should survive the war, there would be time enough to resume his studies and render to God what was God's.²³

Theological student Stewart Perry²⁴ enlisted as a private soldier whilst studying at Knox College in 1940, he was later commissioned and completed active service in Italy in 1945. Whilst engaged in infantry combat at Takhrouna, North Africa in 1942, two of his colleagues were severely wounded. Until this period of his military career Perry had learned through bitter experience to be wary of chaplains: few of them, in his personal estimation, had come up to the expectations that he

believed were required for Christianity within the military. This impression had led him seriously to consider not returning to Knox to complete his training. However, in the midst of the life-threatening battle noted above, these matters seemed academic, and he prayed:

"Lord if you get me out of this, I will renew my studies for Ministry after the war" - I got up and went into that action with a deep sense of "peace". Actually I had to run as never before to get out of a hopeless situation where we had been abandoned by our Company Commander. I knew God had his hand on me that night. Luke 9:62 never leaves me."²⁵

This is an example of the testing that war made upon Perry and many other theological students, including the handful who never returned to their studies. Involvement as a combatant did clearly question both their vocational calling, and the nature of Christian ministry in a world which had failed to adopt the Golden Rule between individuals and Governments. Perry is in no doubt to this day that God did use the experience of that battle to recall him to vocation. Without this experience it is unlikely he would have returned to ministerial training. His experience underscored the justice of the cause for which he sacrificed years of training while it revived a vital spiritual element within him which was deeply tested through the events of war.

Later in Italy, after commissioning as an officer, Perry was requested by his company commander not to eat his meals with

his men. He was reminded there ought to be a suitable social separation between officers and other ranks. Perry's anger exploded for his understanding of the brotherhood of men, bonded by common trial and the facing of death, was more important to him than military traditions and customs of the service. In fact, Perry had spent the entire evening assisting his troops to re-lay a destroyed telephone line and had not actually eaten with his soldiers.²⁶

Combatant students were prepared to go one step further than most of their theological student peers. Most shared the conviction that something had to be done to defeat Nazism. That conviction led directly to their choice of both the crusading and military diaconate roles which was close to Barth's understanding of a Christian response to aggression.

...I comforted the Czech Christians by saying that the Christian Church would stand behind the war thrust upon their country. Whatever the Church may have to say, or not have to say, to other wars--in this regard we speak also of the Church and the political question of *to-day* this is certain: as a praying Church she must support armed defence against the advancement of the dissolution of the just State, just as she would support a police measure...then surely in a military respect, also to render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's.²⁷

Barth seems to be underlining the ecclesial responsibility of the Church to support the State when it is under threat of "dissolution", while at the same time reminding Christians that the claims of Caesar are valid when the "just State" is under threat. Students further acted out Niebuhr's statement not to

be so overcome by the guilt of one's own sins that you overlooked greater ones perpetrated by an enemy which were directly the cause of suffering and the war.²⁸ In effect they made a choice between the lesser of two evils.²⁹

Swift believed Tertullian never came to terms with the fact that Christians elected to fight in the armies of Rome. "At the same time, however, he recognized the growing presence of Christians in the army, and the problem this posed for him was quite simple: he could not reconcile that fact with the Scriptures."³⁰ Christ had disarmed Peter in the Garden of Gethsemane, a symbolic action suggesting that all Christians had been disarmed by their Lord. J. J. Lewis³¹ recalls that a similar conflict arose among some theological students who were members of the Student Christian Movement on the outbreak of war. Although they may well have adopted a pacifism similar to that of a Tertullian, the magnitude of the Nazi threat to mankind was sufficient to persuade numbers of them to set aside their pacifist views and enlist as soldiers.³² In the end their choice had little to do with theological orthodoxy and everything to do with their understanding of, and responsibility to, the Gospel.

Ordinands

The number of ordinands who served in the 2NZEF is not significant enough from which to draw any substantive conclusions

as to their motivation for enlistment.³³ However, the obvious motivation of one, and his subsequent experiences, is worth noting.

Theological student Ian Ryburn³⁴ enlisted as a stretcher bearer and was captured in Crete, eventually being ordained whilst a prisoner of war. Through the offices of the Protecting Power for POW and the International YMCA, the German authorities arranged for the Rev'd Robert Griffiths,³⁵ a Presbyterian chaplain captured in Crete, to be released and taken to Genshagen to conduct the service of ordination for Ryburn. Ryburn had been appointed chaplain to the Genshagen Prisoner of War Holiday Camp by the German authorities. Earlier in 1944 the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of NZ³⁶ had granted their approval for the ordination to proceed. In October 1944 over 200 attended the Service, including senior German army officers, Nazi officials, and British nationals from Berlin who were married to German subjects.³⁷

On his release from POW Camp, in May 1945, Ryburn found that there were many accusations brought against him by former prisoners to the effect that they considered him a traitor. He was released after de-briefing, and without any further action on the specific authority of MI.5. the British Secret Intelligence Organization.³⁸ Post World War Two, Ryburn's actions as a POW have officially been the subject of strict

censorship by the British Intelligence authorities. Ryburn notes his motivation for early enlistment in 1939 included adventure-seeking and retribution against Germany for a school mate killed in the RAF during the first weeks of the war. His comment was: "there was a certain swell of patriotism and I guess I was a romantic".³⁹

The experience of Ryburn stands out as complex and unique. He believed no one, not even pacifists, could escape the reality of the war nor could anyone escape participation.⁴⁰ Ryburn chose to pursue his ministerial vocation following his capture in Crete, firmly believing that by taking a pro-active role he justifiably opposed the lesser of two evils.⁴¹ He saw no dichotomy between his endeavours to follow the way of Christ's love for all men, and the potentially compromising path of an Allied double agent with all the risks involved had he been detected.⁴² To him espionage was entirely compatible with the righteousness of the cause.

CHRISTIAN WELFARE WORKERS

Very few YMCA Field secretaries, or Church Army Officers, known in the 2NZEF Administration as Welfare Workers, were employed in civilian welfare before the outbreak of war.⁴³ Therefore the vast majority of over 120 YMCA Field Secretaries who served in the Pacific and the Middle East were drawn from those confirmed Christian men actively involved in Church life.⁴⁴ There

was no shortage of volunteers as a number of vacancies in the field were filled by men with appropriate qualifications from the ranks of the 2NZEF.⁴⁵ Chief among their duties was the establishment of mobile and static welfare centres which provided hot food, comforts, and a place for relaxation and writing where a chaplain could also use the facilities for worship, bible classes, individual counselling, confirmation classes or study and discussion groups.⁴⁶ A YMCA Field Secretary was appointed to most large military Units.⁴⁷

Field Secretaries prohibited gambling on their premises, did not serve alcohol, and offered alternatives to prostitution and other activities which the YMCA believed were not in the best moral and physical interests of the individual.

Let us not forget the real purpose of our work: then into the framework of a missionary enterprise we can fit in all our activities:- our institutes as bright and comfortable as circumstances permit, our rest hostels, our cinemas and libraries, our trips and tours, our facilities for letter writing and sending parcels home-the things that keep home ties intact - all done to the Glory of God and dovetailing in with the other work of His Church in the Army.⁴⁸

All welfare officers had to be mature confirmed Christians, and in the case of YMCA secretaries the National body required that their staff be teetotal, morally strong, well grounded in the ethics of Christian behaviour, and able to maintain an ordered regular devotional life.⁴⁹ Anglican Church Army Officers understood their ministry as an extension of their parochial

social work. Captain J. Walton's appointment arose through his peace-time work as a part-time acting chaplain at the Auckland Narrow Neck Military Camp.⁵⁰ The Anglican Church at this period of the war showed little enthusiasm for ecumenical co-operation. It was conscious of the task before it as Anglicans represented almost 50% of the enlisted men.⁵¹ Most war-time Church Army officers were drawn from Lay Readers, Sunday school teachers, Bible class leaders and others with a wide range of lay parish experience. The response to a general call throughout the Church of England Men's Society gathered laymen with a strong desire to serve God⁵², and their country, but above all "To serve God and my fellow-men as best I could in whatever service God would be pleased to call me-in this case with the Armed Forces."⁵³ A strong identification with a diaconal ministry in military context is thus demonstrated.

Christian welfare workers were motivated by the desire to offer practical Christian service and were drawn from a wider range of Churches than represented by the 2NZEF chaplaincy.⁵⁴ They shared a practical enthusiasm for an ecumenical non-denominational evangelical outreach⁵⁵, and anecdotal evidence suggests they constituted a wide range of theologically diverse backgrounds, including clergymen⁵⁶ and students of theology from the New Zealand Bible Training Institute⁵⁷. Among this diverse group there were also those with backgrounds in commerce, trades or rural pursuits. All had the desire to serve

in a noncombatant role.⁵⁸

We who are YMCA workers are fortunate in that our ministry is the Ministry of service. Fortunate, in that it is always easier to give a man a cup of tea than to speak to him of God, for he knows he wants a cup of tea, and does not know he wants God.⁵⁹

The enthusiasm of Welfare workers to be "up front" with their hot tea and welfare assistance was not restricted to base or relaxation areas. The army was so cautious and inept in its early use of YMCA Field secretaries in 1941 that the Administration forbade a secretary to accompany the first 2NZEF Divisional Units into Greece. The Field Secretary was not to be outwitted: he travelled as a private soldier, and on arrival in Greece reverted to his role as a Field Secretary.⁶⁰ There is no record of individuals from either of these Welfare groups taking up arms for the defence of themselves or others.

The notion of serving in the military as a Christian welfare noncombatant is visible in the pre-Constantine experience of the Church. The WW2 experience may well have come close to expressing Origen's concept of a Christian's service in a military context. Origen considered a Christian's function ought to be fighting of a different nature:

...Christians fight through their prayers to God on behalf of those doing battle in a just cause and on behalf of an emperor who is ruling justly in order that all opposition and hostility toward those who are acting rightly may be eliminated. What is more, by overcoming with our prayers all the demons who incite wars, who violate oaths and who disturb the peace we help emperors more than those who are supposedly doing the fighting.⁶¹

Origen claimed: "If, then, we must be peaceful toward those who despise peace, we must use the sword against no man".⁶² It is apparent Origen recognized that military service did not exclude Christians provided they did not take human life.⁶³

Parallel with Origen's opinion is the statement by a WW2 YMCA secretary which illustrates the work and motivation of most Christian Welfare workers in the 2NZEF. "I suppose a summary would be that I carried on the Christian conviction of service from my Church Membership (Sunday School teacher, BC leader, Boys club leader etc) in the circumstances I found myself in the war years."⁶⁴ This is indication that the theological convictions of Church Army and YMCA workers were orientated in the direction of service to their fellow man in the practical aspect of meeting the creature needs of soldiers. The motto of the YMCA was "*A cup of water in my name*".⁶⁵ Through meeting these creaturely needs they sought to strengthen the Christian ethic, preserve Christian attitudes, and offer a place to all men and women where they could find congenial fellowship, discussion, peace, activities of interest, and a place of relaxation.

Field secretaries were unequivocally Christian in spirit and practice and it was a matter of importance to them that they maintain their centres as the meeting place for people of all denominations where rank took second place to Christian

fellowship. The skills of the Welfare workers were required to be both secular and spiritual coupled with an easy relationship with all who sought their centres. The welfare workers were generally more available than chaplains. Origen would have had little difficulty in accepting the role of the YMCA or the Church Army within the context of the 2NZEF at war.

Of the seventeen Church Army Officers who served in the 2NZEF, three were taken Prisoner of War: over 16% of their total. Among YMCA Secretaries, of the ninety in the Middle East eight were taken prisoner: just under 10%. An estimated 8% of soldiers serving with the 2NZEF, including the 3rd Division serving in the Pacific, were captured between 1941 and 1943. These figures suggest that welfare diaconal workers were at considerably greater risk of captivity through adhering to their noncombatant convictions.

CONCLUSION

The war had been forced upon an unwilling nation among whom were its theological students and that very unwillingness became the spur to individual decisive action. The entry of Japan into the war on 7th December 1941 quickened the pace of urgency. A potential invasion threatened the very fabric of our society, a realization not lost upon the Rt. Rev. Campbell West-Watson, Archbishop of New Zealand, who wrote:

And if the war should actually come to our shores we shall be forced to remember what our isolated position has

often made us forget, that we cannot cut ourselves off from the world around us...Our own security so far has really been assured by British sea-power, and in days to come it looks as if we shall have to stir ourselves and try and find in fellowship with other peoples some wider guarantee of security, not only for ourselves but for others also.⁶⁶

The prospect of invasion prompted every atom of the New Zealand Church's efforts to support its armed forces, chaplaincy and welfare organizations. As events developed, one of the first expressions of having to "stir ourselves" resulted in dozens of theological students surrendering their privileged position and accepting whatever role within the 2NZEF their conscience would allow. Like the example of Allan Pyatt and Stewart Perry they set their studies and beliefs to one side, influenced no doubt by a similar sentiment expressed by the Archbishop who had written that the motivation for Christian action was "...not only for ourselves, but for others also."

WW2 was a period of intense self-examination for all theological students who were single, of the military age-group, and physically fit. They knew if they asked their denomination to support them in an application for dispensation from military service it would have been distinctly unusual for that support not to have been given. Despite that temptation, dozens elected to respond to their conscription notice or had already volunteered. Laymen who chose welfare work were totally committed to serving their fellow men. Their choice in the

role of a military deacon in no way protected them from the risks of death, wounding and other cruel exigencies of war. The risks of captivity and wounding for welfare workers has been shown to be higher in their category of service than for the average soldier.

The New Zealand Archbishop recognized the spirit of the times.

Our Empire is again fighting for survival, but again, also, it is fighting for what it is persuaded are spiritual and Christian ideals. Again the Church is persuaded that if the Empire is to ask God's help it must consecrate itself not to the survival just of its national ideals, but to a world wide mission of service to God and man.⁶⁷

European political events through the 1930s demonstrated clearly that if aggression was not opposed its destructive potential would grow until it finally overwhelmed any forces which stood in its way. This was the state of the world which challenged civilized ideals and which moved students to lay their hopes to one side, and for the majority to engage in a military style of diaconal or humanitarian service. Students and Welfare officers contributed to the physical succour and spiritual needs of those who were fighting to restore the peace. Their choice could not be the ideal of pacifism for "Pacifism... fail(ed), for the pacifist acts as if all men were regenerate and can be appealed to through persuasion and good-will".⁶⁸ Pacifism had failed but the welfare worker could still be about the business of aiding in the restoration broken

bodies and distributing "*a cup of water*" in the name of Christ. The words of YMCA worker Laurie Greenslade summarize the diaconal dimension of motivation to welfare service:

I knew there was a need, and that conflicted with my absolute belief in pacifism. However, I also knew that war was not in the absolute Will of God. I realized in 1940 that I lived in an imperfect world. The substance which lay behind my Christian conviction - that all men were children of God weighed on me. I could do no other than volunteer at the end of my second year. Then I would be committed for the duration of the war; as long as it took. I left my studies and carried a stretcher and closed the eyes of the dead...collected the parts of the unknown dead. My faith in Jesus Christ took me through those years and I never once, then or now, regretted what I did during those hectic years.⁶⁹

PART THREETHE MINISTRY OF WORD AND SACRAMENT

CHAPTER SEVEN

WORSHIP IN THE 2NZEF

The goal of Christian Worship is to aid the "...development of a Christian life style, progress in wholeness, and the edification or building up of a faithful Christian community..."¹ Within the focus of worship the liturgies of baptism, confirmation, Thanksgiving, morning and evening prayers, Mass or Holy Communion, and the funeral have become for most Christians the spiritual and devotional rituals that mark their life journey. The dedication of a military hospital² or the commemoration service after the battle³, were liturgies which reminded soldiers of an inspired military past, and were the vehicle of encouragement to those who had to face death. Of such liturgies it has been said that they are the:

...link between two spheres of being, the divine and the human...(which)is provided by the religious symbol...the conscious remembrance or actual physical re-presentation of a historical event or an incident held to have taken place in a pretemporal era, when the circumstances of mortality were definitely transcended and humanity met God face to face.⁴

Christian worship developed from Jewish origins, for example from prayers as found in the *Didache* and the hymns of praise of the Hebraic faith. Worship centred around the sacraments of baptism and holy communion, nevertheless there is little in the

New Testament above a sketchy outline of how Christians conducted their worship, other than that the preacher ought always be the vehicle for the eternal Gospel message.⁵

PREACHING UNDER FIRE

Within the context of the 2NZEF preaching was almost entirely the prerogative of its chaplains, although a commanding officer recognized, in the absence of his chaplain, the use of ordained soldiers, lay preachers and Welfare Officers.⁶ Preaching in a military environment was (periodically) a powerful spiritual tool which uplifted men in crisis and reminded the hearers that, in the context of war, God supported their cause. As an example, Padre John Watson might be considered a strident preacher who carefully chose suitable texts with a military content. The following illustrates some of Watson's sermon material prior to battle, and as such may be viewed as an example of the style in which most chaplains faced their task as preachers in the 2NZEF.

Before sailing to Italy early October 1943 Watson selected 2 Sam. 11. 2ff. He did all he could to keep men from bad associations with prostitution by preaching from the story of David and Bathsheba. As a former soldier himself he was well aware of the temptations that men were lead into when away from loved ones. On arrival in Italy late in October 1943, and before commitment to battle, he preached at a Field Engineers'

Service from Jeremiah 44:28b. *"Whose words shall stand, mine, or theirs."*⁷ Watson, in common with his colleagues, was never in the slightest doubt that God inspired and gave strength to those fighting for a crusade of freedom which he believed just and appropriate. He used the authority of scripture in his preaching to assure his listeners God was with them.

Padre Watson exemplified the definition of preaching as "...the activity of communicating, in the context of worship, the message contained in the Bible, and witnessed in the Church that God in Christ is reconciling the world to himself".⁸ That he, and his colleagues, did this in the context of war is evidence of their faith in the commitment of their nation, and indeed their own lives, to the necessity of defeating an enemy who would deny the very principles which the Gospel proclaimed. Even in the context of war Watson's proclamation of the Word of God focuses upon the beliefs and goals of the Kingdom of God, while he himself is recognizable as "The Christian preacher...a man who himself has been "laid hold on by Christ Jesus" (Phil. 3:12 ASV) and who personally believes in the good news he announces to others"⁹.

St. Paul had his own definition of preaching: *"...it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believeBut we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling block, and unto the Greeks foolishness."*¹⁰ This finds echo in

John Watson, for example when he preached during the Cassino battle to members of 7 Field Company's No.1. platoon and concluded with the singing of the hymn "*What a Friend We Have in Jesus*". Halfway through, a German aircraft attacked the locality and the congregation scattered for cover. Anti-aircraft fire did not lessen the ferocity of the attack. The 40 or so men attending the service clung to any cover they could find. Following the attack, as the men regrouped to continue the service, Padre Watson raised considerable laughter as he read the lines of the hymn before they re-commenced the service. "*Are we weak and heavy laden, cumbered with a load of care?*" The least amused was one soldier who had sustained an injury to his buttock from falling shrapnel. Other soldiers close by, recovering from the attack slowly left their places of protection and gradually the numbers of the congregation grew until a hundred voices sang the final verse with depth of feeling. To others who watched there was a silent acknowledgement that either those attending were very foolish, or the worship itself meant a great deal to the participants.¹¹

COMPULSORY CHURCH PARADES.

With the mobilization of the 2NZEF in 1939 the regulations which enabled denominations to separate for worship were continued in the compulsory style of WW1. Provisions for denominational religious worship raised logistical problems for Unit commanders as well as adding to denominational confusion.

Anglican chaplains had to make provision for several hundreds of worshippers, the majority of whom were not entirely willing to be present. By contrast the sole Salvation Army chaplain would have a dozen or so at his service, all of whom desired to be there. Within months this separate practice gave way to the larger ecumenical Sunday Parade Services when the three denominational groups, Anglicans, Roman Catholics and OPDs held their compulsory worship. The chaplains decided they would all preach from the same text, on the same topic and adopt the same readings. This action they believed would stimulate broader interest among the men and demonstrate a positive sense of ecumenical unity.¹² Compulsory Church Parades continued on the ships which took the Echelons and Reinforcements to the Middle East¹³ and in both of the divisional bases in Egypt and New Caledonia chapels and YMCA facilities provided surroundings reminiscent of worship in a parish situation.¹⁴

All sorts and conditions of men were compulsorily paraded for public worship which raised the question among chaplains as to the appropriateness of Army regulations which required compulsory Church Parades. Though the majority of the parades were formal and well conducted, there were occasions when chaplains experienced some embarrassment.

Also we had Unit Church parades on a compulsory basis... the compulsory part of it was more the Army administering its discipline than my asking for it. We had Brigade Church Parades...not always with success, as the time Brig. Inglis made the Brigade march about 4 miles to the Maadi Club, and everything went wrong; the public address

system wouldn't work; the flag wouldn't unfurl; and of the 4 padres taking part, the one doing the scripture reading read out...."We were led like lambs to the slaughter"!!¹⁵

The question of compulsory church parades had special significance as General Montgomery, the British Commander of the 8th Army, banned formal Church parades in the British Army.¹⁶ The military psychologist Dixon suggests General Montgomery issued the order because he had a personal objection to organized services of religion. Nothing was further from the truth. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison, a New Zealand Officer was present when Montgomery reluctantly issued the order on the basis that troops massing for Divine Worship created an ideal target for enemy aircraft.¹⁷ At least one New Zealand soldier lost his life while preparing for a service of Mass around this period so the order had some merit. Montgomery's order was not adopted by the New Zealand Division.¹⁸

The instructions regarding the conduct of services contained in the *Kings Regulations*¹⁹ make no policy statement regarding the necessity for, or justification of, Compulsory Church parades. Though not a conclusive argument, it is suggested these services were maintained simply because of the understanding that they were essential to the good order of army life and that worship shared together had some subtle spiritual and morale advantages. The 2NZEF was therefore seen to worship together even as they fought together.

It is difficult to recall, in this last part of the 20th Century, that there was a time earlier this century when Christian values and rituals were an essential part of the national life. These rituals found expression when the cross-section of the men of the nation, more especially its national army, felt constrained to honour their religious beliefs which were held by the vast majority. They sought to ask for Divine strength in the task of war which lay before them and in this task their chaplains experienced no difficulty. At that time New Zealand was part of the Commonwealth and Empire, and King George VI was *Defender of the Faith*. During WW2 he frequently called the Empire to National Days of Prayer that God might aid the Commonwealth Forces in their fight against Nazism.²⁰ By 1943, the King believed that Divine Providence was responsible in aiding the Allies' victories in the Middle East. He requested that the following prayer be used during worship among the armed forces, including the 2NZEF.

Almighty God, Judge of the nations, we come before Thee in penitence and thanksgiving, in humility and faith. We give Thee hearty thanks for Thy mercy shown us in the success granted to our arms and those of our Allies. We thank Thee for the courage and endurance of our soldiers, sailors, and airmen, for the vision of our statesmen and the skill of our commanders.

And we pray Thee to uphold the spirit of all people of the United Nations that we may be worthy of victory and may so dedicate ourselves to Thy service that we may be able to use it to Thy honour and the benefit of all mankind.²¹

It seems that Compulsory Church parades were maintained because



(Mills Photo)

5th Brigade Church Parade (4000 men approx) of the 21st, 23rd, and 28th (Maori) Battalions Castle Benito near Tripoli. Preacher is the Rev'd Bill Mills.



(Photo YMCA)

Desert Burial circa 1942 of a Maori soldier 28 (Maori) Battalion
L. to R. R.

H. Bushfield YMCA Field Secretary, Padre Bill Mills, unknown
Maori sergeant and another member of 28 Battalion. Padre
conduction the service is possibly Padre Wi Huata.

of the social, religious, and military situation predominant in the 2NZEF throughout the war years. Underhill took the view that most 2NZEF chaplains found little objection to the principle of compulsory church services, believing them to be an extension of all army life which naturally included the religious factor in soldiers' lives.

Religion was important, and so the soldier would have to parade for religion in the same way that he paraded for the dentist. Most civilians would benefit by a system of compulsory dental inspection and treatment, for though they admit the importance of dental health they find many excuses for avoiding the dentist. People often treat religion in the same way; and so it will be seen that there were certain justifications for the Army's system of compulsory Church parades.²²

Throughout the period of WW2 compulsory Church parades were a topic for debate. Rev'd. W. Mills served in the ranks for three years before being commissioned and comments:

I heard little...of the so-called widespread opposition to the parade services. The principle was sometimes argued - at times nonsensically and hardly honest, as when it was averred that if the services were voluntary more would go. A few rebelled honestly, a few on questionable "principle", many took it in their stride, but would have been elsewhere but for the "taken-for-granted" natures of the parade. I didn't say "compulsion". I think only a minority felt that. Many, also, I believe, accepted the parade as a religious discipline, and "the few" would not be absent unless they must. All this might not have meant much, except an opportunity to the chaplain, who could only prepare with a knowledge of all these things, and hope that the paraders would get something...as they presumably did at their meals, for which they also "paraded"-reluctantly.²³

The larger Brigade and more important Parade Services solicited from the army full logistical support, a loud speaker system,

time off for soldiers to attend choir practice, the Brigade Band, plus the presence of all Senior Officers not required for other duties and a full attendance of the walking wounded and medical staffs. YMCA and Church Army Secretaries assisted in the organization while a team of chaplains representing the various denominations shared the service.²⁴

Some churchmen were cynical. Worship arises from the soul, and the ceremonial trappings may well have created for the regular churchman an air of artificiality. Lt. Dean Goffin²⁵, as an active Salvationist was familiar with the large Salvation Army Garrison Churches with their distinctive fiery preachers. His impression of preaching at one compulsory Service was critical.

He is a very shallow chap and when you say that he is a good singer you say all there is to be said about him.

He sang a solo in the service, which seemed a rather weird (sic) thing for the officiating chaplain to do, and preached on Andrew, today being St. Andrew's Day. His manner was frightfully dignified and his accent frightfully B.B.C. and his matter about up to the standard of the "Childrens School Reader" Grade ii. I was not impressed.²⁶

His impression of an earlier Brigade Service conducted by Padre Underhill contrasted with his own Unit chaplain's services. "Our padre...is a different type altogether...and his church parades are delightful, very dignified and carried out in the spirit of worship throughout-C of E of course²⁷."

The chaplains' opinions on the compulsory element of Church parades were quite divided, some were vocal against the

procedure and others equally as accepting. Little thought seems to have been given to the ability of chaplains to cope with such parades. A battalion of almost 900 men, or a Brigade formation of 4500, was a formidable test of preaching skills. Rev'd N. F. Sansom²⁸ came directly into the army from the Southland Woodlands Parish where attendance at his morning congregation would hardly have exceeded fifty people. Rev'd G. A. D. Spence²⁹ of 20 Bn was from a suburban Auckland "aid receiving"³⁰ congregation where services were not large. Underhill³¹ was an extrovert 31 year old, an Oxford MA, and directly enlisted from his first rural New Zealand parish and alert to the challenges of preaching and ministry among a largely unchurched military community. He was an enthusiastic preacher with an alive conviction of Churchmanship, which, when blended with his personality, appealed across denominational and colonial prejudices.³²

Chaplains received no specific training for preaching to large congregations, or any basic understanding of how to preach to their unchurched hearers in the open air.³³ They were selected to preach at ceremonial parades more on the basis of whose turn it was rather than a wiser method of who might be the best qualified. The intimacy of the smaller rural and suburban family congregations was familiar to most chaplains, but the daunting compulsory parades presented challenges for which few chaplains were equipped to adequately exploit in the early

stages of WW2.³⁴

Throughout the war years the compulsory nature of the Parade Service became less of a disputed practice and more of a duty patiently endured by some, accepted by others, and appreciated by those whose spirituality was uplifted by the familiar setting of worship. The army never seriously considered abandoning the nature of compulsion for Parade Services.³⁵ It brought together believers and those whose approach to Christianity was more to do with ethical behaviour than spirituality. The significance of such a compulsory service "...is often very striking in...settings which are most un-church-like and where the oddness of the setting increases the impact of the service."³⁶

EVOLVING ECUMENISM

Twelve months into the war chaplains changed their approach to worship and preaching. No longer did they preach exclusively to their own denomination, for the emerging ecumenical context of their ministry became the order of the day. Anglicans did not insist upon the full liturgy for a particular Sunday, while Presbyterian chaplains recognized numbers of Anglicans were present and included some of the liturgy familiar to them.³⁷ Roman Catholics maintained their ecclesiastical distance from the developing ecumenical style, their function was strictly denominational with regard to worship. The military system

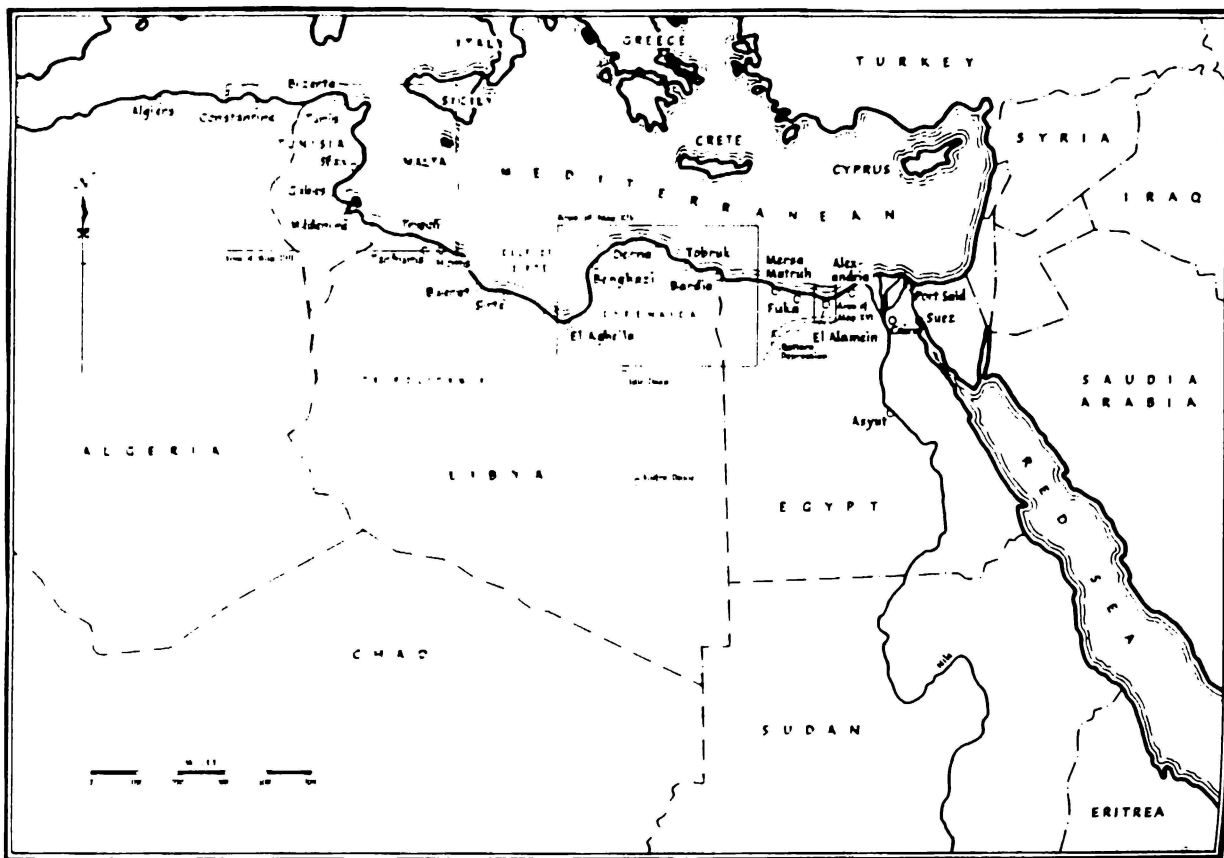
created the ideal environment for Roman Catholics who were perceived to be a tight knit extended Christian family group within the Unit.³⁸

Compulsory worship emphasized the ecumenical nature of the chaplaincy, the best in worship was done for the greater good which minimized the presence of doctrinal differences. In effect, there was a platform for practical ecumenism in the broadest setting where the spiritual needs of the greatest number could be met outside the denominational ministry. The chaplains were on trial to present a Gospel message relevant to all, not just to the members of their own Churches. The element of broad inclusiveness inherent in a compulsory service demonstrated the increasing desire, at least by General Freyberg and his chaplains, for an ecumenical Christian spirit which would demonstrate the unity of the churches. This was not only shared by them, but also by the Archbishop of New Zealand.

Its formation (ecumenism) is gradually going forward even in these days of war, and the hope is that when the war is over it may focus and express the spiritual aspirations of Christians of every colour and clime and race, and be enabled to remove some of the obstacles in the way of Reunion.³⁹

VOLUNTARY SERVICES IN THE FIELD

Voluntary services conducted in the field, or behind operations at the Unit level, arose from the desire of the unit chaplain to minister as if he and his parishioners were still in a civilian setting.⁴⁰ Chaplains discovered this was the most



The Operational Area of the 2NZEF (Middle East Forces) 1940-1945.



Rev. J. W. McKenzie plays his violin as accompaniment for an evening voluntary service. Middle East, Somewhere in Libya. July 1942.

practical manner to address the needs of preaching and ministry to an army in combat.⁴¹ The evidence of using a civilian parish model as the example upon which to base voluntary services is prolific, for all the chaplains' journals and diaries describe, whilst in the front-line, numerous small services, prayer groups and informal religious gatherings. These were normally at the platoon level, or even smaller and at times with a single individual.⁴² When withdrawn to a rear area a Unit memorial and thanksgiving service for the fallen was virtually a compulsory service. It was a time of mourning, regeneration and morale uplift.⁴³ The service was the occasion when men, in the dimension of the spiritual, shared their loss of comrades as distinct from their drinking, rowdiness, anti-social behaviour and personal withdrawal which were their otherwise more usual "coping mechanisms".

Padre Mill's comments of encouragement to men to join in services organized in the "reserve" front-line positions would seem representative of all chaplains.

There were great differences in venue and congregation. Sometimes it was a well-appointed hut with a piano, and may be even a few band instruments to lead the singing, a group of active participants, an outer fringe of one-ear listeners busy also with pen and paper, and even some card-players not wholly uninterested in the service. Only once do I remember a pair of these last obstructively noisy Sometimes it was the padre's tent with hurricane lights, or an electric lead off the battery. Sometimes it was in the moonlight or the darkness. According to the situation and the singing mood the men would choose few or many hymns to sing. Circumstances and inspiration often ruled, or at least modified, the proceeding. Text and talk, as well as tent, were sometimes improvised. I would

give a talk on the message of one of the hymns, or some other short word I thought fitted the occasion. Tea and biscuits usually followed.⁴⁴

Each Company occupying slit trenches or a defended position would be visited by a chaplain and small voluntary services conducted in a semi-tactical mode. The chaplains took with them cigarettes, writing materials, mail and other comforts which they distributed to all in the locality. The Senior 2NZEF chaplain described this activity as "milling about"⁴⁵, an activity he considered important and encouraged among his chaplains in the pause before and after the battle. This was a time when men were vulnerable to their fears and individuals made their confession or sought from their chaplain what Christian doctrine had to say about this or that question."... "This was the pattern (or drift) of a chaplain's work in such forward positions."⁴⁶

This pattern of impromptu sermons, phrases of liturgy, and groups in a worship mode, were appropriate before battle and they provided a reflective situation which brought men face to face with their living and dying. This gave them a sense of protection, or provided a spiritual preparedness to face the reality of death and injury. Corporate worship with mates generated a strength to face situations where wounding and death were imminent. Men perhaps did not feel they faced these dreadful experiences alone, for if God were with them who could

be against them? The chaplain's activity of leading worship in the proximity of battle forestalled many an argument about life after death and focused reflection on home and family or mates, and built a sense of comradeship on the battle-field. Many admit to seeking God's support, not necessarily for their own survival, but that God might give them the victory over the enemy. "This is the reason for their (worship and liturgy)... in situations where ordinary human dialogue is impractical or impossible because people are too frightened, too depressed... to be reached in any other way."⁴⁷

There are no better examples of the outcomes of preaching than the worship immediately following capture and after battle. Such services touched the critical journey of soldiers' lives and communicated to them a source of inner strength which was able to grant them courage in their situation. During the fighting of late November 1941 between Rommel's Africa Corps and the struggling 8th Army, the 2nd Division NZEF suffered severe reverses. On 27th November Brigadier James Hargest⁴⁸, Commander of 5 Brigade, and a number of his staff were taken prisoner.⁴⁹ Among them was the Rev'd C. G. Palmer⁵⁰ who on the first Sunday following captivity conducted a Church service. Hargest wrote of Palmer:

...(the) sermon...was a model of brevity, hope and encouragement to weary men from all parts of the Empirewe sang our hymns, and at the end the National AnthemThat night in our shed a few of the fellows began singing....Then the Padre read a little from the prayer book, and the meeting developed into an evening

service...⁵¹

Worship and preaching aids the pathway to faith and, in the situation of 800 captive wounded, worship was reminiscent of the Apostles Peter and John's experience, who after their appearance before the High Priest prayed "*And now, Lord, behold their threatenings: and grant unto thy servants, that with all boldness they may speak thy word,*" (Acts 4:29) A service of worship for 200 wounded able to attend was conducted by Rev'd Frank Green⁵² who took as his text "*Who shall separate us from the love of Christ?...*" (Romans 8:35). "The spirit was amazing, what a congregation - a number of orderlies and people who were whole, and the rest in bandages, slings and on crutches! All that afternoon men were saying how much they had enjoyed the service."⁵³

The reaction to the service was the antidote to the effects from the depressing numbers of burials the chaplains had conducted over the short captivity.⁵⁴ In the midst of defeat the authority of the Scriptures underwrote the chaplain's faith as he sought Almighty God to heal, encourage, and uplift men facing death, hunger, thirst and the pain of wounds. Through their privations men were open to a spiritual power which confirmed them as God's people in the midst of defeat.⁵⁵

The Pacific Theatre

The 2NZEF In The Pacific (2NZEF(IP)) was no different in its organization of religious services from the 2 (NZ) Div. in the Middle East. Outside of the battle area and whilst training compulsory services were part of the military schedule. The nature of the terrain in which the 3 (NZ) Div.(IP) fought dictated to a large extent the environment in which all services of worship were conducted. There is one example which reveals the different character of the Pacific context which deserves mention.

On the ending of the Mono Island campaign a small independent commando style Unit asked their chaplain to specifically conduct a worship service which expressed their thankfulness for delivery from death, wounding and imprisonment. Some days earlier they had crept ashore ahead of the main landing on Mono Island and had been detected by the Japanese who pursued them and thwarted their planned diversionary attack. The men believed that because they did not sustain any casualties it was an expression of Divine Providence.⁵⁶ Their chaplain took the text from John 15: 13, "*Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends*".

A photograph taken immediately after the ten days of fighting on Mono Island shows a group of twenty five exhausted men, sallow of countenance, standing in a small jungle clearing as

the chaplain conducted the first service since their landing. The faces have a look which can only be described as thankful, yet worn with the strain of battle. Their first act on the cessation of fighting was not only to cook a good meal and change into dry clothing, but also to offer God Thanksgiving for victory and deliverance.⁵⁷

CONCLUSION

Worship was for most, regardless of rank, a reminder that there was a higher authority over all of life quite apart from the authority of the army. Worship focused men's attention upon God who was honoured as being Holy and, most believed, to whom all individuals were ultimately responsible. Honouring God in worship reinforced the perceived justice with which New Zealanders believed the war was being fought. They also shared a hope that God would impose His own solutions upon the human condition in which men found themselves. These hopes were often enough expressed publicly in prayers.

O Lord, we beseech Thee, in these days of distress of nations...let not our courage fail. Say to our souls, Be not afraid, My help is near; and when all things around us are shaken, keep firm our faith in eternal things that cannot be shaken, and in Thy kingdom that cannot be moved. *Lift up our eyes above all storm and terror, to see Thee on Thine eternal throne, ruling in righteousness, and bringing all things into subjection to Thy abiding purpose; so that, even in the darkest times, we may abound in hope, and persevere without wavering in the work Thou hast given us to do, assured that our labour is not in vain in Thee; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen* ⁵⁸

The majority among the young men and women of the 2NZEF had largely been raised as children to say their prayers daily and to recognize the importance of living by the Golden Rule.⁵⁹ Few were unfamiliar with church attendance, or at least Sunday school worship. Christian rites of worship in the context war in the Pacific and the Middle East reminded those present of the universal presence of God. The Church was with them, God shared their hardships and suffering and somehow gave an assurance that victory could not be denied in such a costly war.

Church services played an important part in the promotion of a spiritual awareness within men about to enter battle. It focused their spirits on their humanity, their sense of unity in belonging to a wider military community, and reminded them that they were a nation in a Commonwealth which held spiritual values to be as important as those of nationhood. It was through the avenue of worship conducted by Padres Green and Palmer that captured soldiers believed their future lay with a higher authority despite the presence of the guns of their German and Italian captors. Those soldiers who gave thanks to God for their deliverance from the Japanese believed that God had been with them and had indeed delivered them. It was no accident, and they responded with thanksgiving.

Compulsory Church parades were as much a part of military life

as any other compulsory activity within the 2NZEF. Some chaplains found difficulty in accepting the compulsion; others accepted it as a natural part of army life. Underhill noted (later) there were those who wanted to be there, those who did not feel unduly threatened by being there, and a few who roundly objected. At the end of the service there were few who did not gain something from the experience.⁶⁰ Compulsory church parades find a mention in a one line entry in the diary of a soldier who professed no particular religious beliefs. Private R. A. Bell notes his several attendances at compulsory Brigade parades with a stark single phrase: "Church Parade at Brigade".⁶¹ Bell simply noted his attendance as an event of the day. He shared in the Worship of Almighty God which within the context of the 2NZEF was unquestionably associated with the hope that God would give strength to their arms and courage to individuals in facing death. Hope lay in a future for a world without war. The Archbishop of New Zealand addressed that hope and assured New Zealand soldiers in his Christmas greetings to them in 1944 that victory would be ultimately be theirs.

"Your Church in New Zealand is proud of you, and is praying for you, and looking forward to the time when once again you will play your part in building the Kingdom of God in you own country in peace."⁶²

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE ANGLICAN TRADITION

The traditional practice of the Church of The Province of New Zealand during the 1930s restricted the celebration of Communion to confirmed communicants. By the admission of Anglican Churchmen in recent times, confirmation at that period was not always an indication by the individual of real and personal commitment to the Christian faith. It was a time when it was thought that people generally grew-up naturally part of a Christian society.¹ Pre-war, within the Territorial Force, Anglicans ministered to Anglicans. SCF 2NZEF Bishop G. V. Gerard had great difficulty in accepting the suggestion of inter-communion with non Anglicans and in this opinion he does not appear to have been an isolated voice. Early in the war the Anglican Military Affairs' Committee pledged to demonstrate their emphasis for a distinctive Anglican witness with the provision of a portable communion set for all Anglican chaplains.² Bishop Gerard was in England when the early decision on the ecumenical Unit Chaplain policy was made at Maadi and on his return to the Middle East as SCF 2NZEF he found the policy already well established.

From mid 1940 Unit chaplains usually ministered to an establishment of between 700 and 900 soldiers aided with the visiting Brigade Roman Catholic chaplain working all of the

units which constituted a Brigade. Thus the Anglican position of ministering to Anglicans alone was not only difficult but well-nigh impossible. All chaplains had a Unit responsibility for preaching, burials, attendance upon the wounded, men in detention or prison, hospital work, compulsory church parades, pastoral work and censorship of mail.³ Everyone, including Roman Catholics, became a parishioner of the Unit chaplain when engaged in battle.⁴

Anglican chaplains were the largest denominational group within the 2NZEF, which advantaged soldiers with Anglican convictions who, as a consequence, were more likely to receive the sacrament from an Anglican Unit chaplain simply because there were more of them.⁵ Throughout the war Anglican chaplains appointed to Garrison, Field Hospital, General Hospital, Troopship, Base duties at Maadi, or New Caledonia celebrated Holy Communion when specifically requested by Anglicans in Units which did not have an Anglican chaplain. Padre Underhill mentions some of these occasions in the Middle East, which, as the war progressed, became less and less sectarian. On the other hand, in Italy Presbyterian and Methodist Rallies were held during Easter 1945 with Communion as the central celebration for the Methodists.⁶ There were times when denominational families did their own celebrating, but they were not regular occasions.

The nature of the Anglican Sacraments is defined by the Anglican theologian E. J. Bicknell.

Sacraments are a necessary condition of the social side of religion. If a man wishes to enter into any relations with his fellowmen he must employ material means. The use of a physical medium is the condition of all human intercourse....A purely spiritual life, if it were conceivable for a man, would be a life of isolation. The very nature of the Christian sacraments emphasizes the social side of all true religion. They are 'a divine provision against spiritual individualism'....They remind us that religion includes not only our relation to God but our relation to our brethren. While corporate religion cannot exist without sacraments of some kind, the Christian sacraments are particularly expressive of this common life....A purely individual religion may be most spiritual, but it is not the religion of Jesus Christ.⁷

The special celebratory occasions of the Christian Calendar, eg. Lent, Easter, Advent and Christmas, emphasized "the social side of all true religion" among members of the Anglican church. These were times when the larger Christian family came together for the spiritual celebration of their faith. Padre Underhill wrote to his Bishop in 1944 of his expectation for a particular Anglican communion:

...I am hoping to have a great service on Good Friday. I have been writing a liturgy, in the manner of Tubby Clayton and Cranmer....I am hoping to get the name of every man who makes his Easter Communion this year following the practice of Tubby Clayton.⁸

Confirmed Anglicans had a strong tradition that it was their spiritual duty to regularly take the sacrament. "It has been said, (of Anglicans) 'The grace of Sacraments does not depend on our faith, but for its effect in us all depends on our

faith'; and again, 'Grace without faith may come upon us, but it cannot make us holy'.⁹ The Holy Communion reminded Anglicans of Christ's sustenance of their faith and the Grace which Christ continued to offer them: It was a reminder of "*...the exceeding great love of our Master, and only Saviour, Jesus Christ, thus dying for us,*" as well as "*...a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort.*"¹⁰ Words of the liturgy such as these were central to a vitally important spiritual element in a chaplain's ministry. Anglican chaplains, and those confirmed in their faith, together believed;

- (1) The bread and wine were the tokens of the inward Grace which God gave, which through an act of faith by the recipient made it possible that "*...Christ is present...in the hearts of the faithful recipients.*"¹¹
- (2) It was through the faith of the believer that Christ was present, "*The Presence is spiritual, not material*"¹²

The sacrament became an extension of the incarnation and a powerful spiritual aid to those engaged in the business of war. Through the sacrament Christ was in their midst, a universal experience where soldiers were linked to their families who received the elements in their home parishes.

Tradition and custom urged the celebration of the sacrament as food for the soul with regular frequency. Men were gathered for a brief sentence of scripture, a scrap of prayer in response to the communion invitation, "*Ye that do truly and*

earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life..."¹³ To experience the Presence of Christ in the midst of the most dreadful expectations of war, death, injury, and carnage was a powerful spiritual assurance to any communicant about to face the battlefield.¹⁴

THE SACRAMENT IN BATTLE

An account of the celebration of Holy Communion in November 1941 is representative of the practice of the sacrament as experienced by many Anglicans in battle. It took place in a group of Field Hospitals caring for over 800 patients near Sidi Rezegh¹⁵, where, as the sole Anglican chaplain, Padre Underhill conducted services of Holy Communion. The hospitals had been captured by the Germans and his record of seven days in captivity concentrates on the regular celebration of Holy Communion among the dying, sick and wounded. He changed from uniform into a cassock and went about celebrating public and private communions. His act of wearing a cassock was not only to reinforce his own sense of a priestly function, but to demonstrate to the enemy that a priest was about his business. By wearing his cassock Padre Underhill was subtly distancing himself from the war, yet endeavouring to meet the consequences of war with spiritual food by way of rites he knew had efficacy. His cassock conveyed to the wounded a subtle emphasis altogether different from that of a uniform while he

was not viewed by the Germans and Italians simply as another enemy officer. Soldiers, friend or foe, recognized the parish clergyman, a reminder of home, and a person who came with healing and peace.¹⁶

Although there were six captured chaplains present, and all were involved with ministry to the wounded, Underhill is the only one who emphasized the celebration of communion. His regular daily persistence in the administration of dozens of private and public communions is a marked demonstration of his belief that communicants apprehended by faith the real Presence of Christ through receiving the bread and wine. God was indeed sharing with them in the midst of their suffering.

On the fifth day of captivity, following a combined church parade attended by two hundred walking patients, and surrounded by an armed enemy, he celebrated a Communion service for the fifty who remained.¹⁷ Padre Underhill believed these men were drawn together in a twofold manner. Their common belief in and confession of Christ, plus a desire for the attendant gift of Grace that was apprehended by all who took part in the sacrament. Underhill's response to physical deprivation, death, and fear for the captured patients' and staffs' lives, was a spiritual one. In offering the sacrament he believed in a specific comfort, an inner resolve which was the gift of God to an individual, when by faith, through the reception of the

elements, Christ was among them. The sacrament was a vehicle for the work of God in the hearts of the believers. It gave support to their wounded bodies and courage to survive those days without adequate water, food and the medical necessities. The social experience of a military family of believers was real and aided their courage as soldiers of an army, defeated, but not humiliated.¹⁸

One notable event deserves special mention. The crew of a German Field Ambulance arrived at the field hospital and sought out the cassocked chaplain and asked him to bury their officer. Underhill, in fluent German, recited the words of the burial service and ministered to the youthful German stretcher bearers.¹⁹ Within hours of this burial, Bren-gun carriers appeared out of the desert and the Field Hospital was retaken by the British. Relief had come: with water left for one day only, hundreds of men would not have survived another 48 hours. There were many men who believed that God had providentially rescued them from death and further suffering. "...it was a great experience, and a lot of men, not only from our crowd but from other parts of the battle have come back from that hell with their faith strengthened or re-awakened, which seems a wonderful thing."²⁰

Similar experiences by Anglican chaplains are recorded with the same clarity of purpose. Rev'd Pat Gourdie, chaplain to an

Armoured Regiment, believed most Commanding Officers realized a chaplain could influence a Regiment, and that "...services and sacraments of the Church are in the highest rank as morale builders."²¹ Padre Underhill's celebration of the Holy Communion during captivity, when considered together with regular daily worship, hymn-singing, and community singing conducted by Underhill's six fellow chaplains, was described in the *N.Z.E.F TIMES*;

Their morale (of the wounded) could not have been higher... according to the wounded...was due to the chaplains who had been a very real help in many ways....To them (chaplains) fell the additional task of keeping alive the hope...that before long they would be restored...that the wounded might be sent to Germany or Italy was not allowed to take shape..."²²

Clearly the spiritual impact of the sacrament aided the morale, alleviated the physical anxieties of the wounded, and reinforced confidence in a hope of release. Through the sacrament, they were reminded and strengthened for their part in a righteous cause, for which as wounded they were suffering: "Many asked for and received all the spiritual helps (sic) provided by their particular church."²³

Anglican Communion in Prison Camps

Included among the captured Anglican chaplains were Bishop G. V. Gerard, Rev'd I. Hopkins²⁴ and Rev'd W. Hurst²⁵, but only Hopkins and the bishop have left a clear record of their celebration of Holy communion. Padre Hopkins ministered to all

regardless of denomination or nationality of which more is noted later.

Rev'd R. G. McDowall²⁶, a Presbyterian, captured in 1941, noted that in the several prison camps of his experience British Anglican chaplains celebrated communion for Anglicans only. McDowall on the other hand shared his services and co-celebrated communion with Anglican chaplains of various Commonwealth nations. He notes that in instances where organized Anglican worship was conducted in German POW Camps there were huge numbers of men, thus the adoption of the denominational practice of separate communions may well have contributed to a stronger Anglican family spirituality. This seems to have been more of a British army practice and was certainly not followed by the majority of New Zealand Anglican chaplains in German or Italian POW camps.²⁷ Until his repatriation from Italy, through the Offices of the Vatican, Bishop Gerard occasionally travelled from one Prison Camp to another to conduct Holy communion Services or Services of Confirmation. The candidates for Confirmation had in some cases been prepared by non-Anglican chaplains.²⁸

Authority to celebrate Holy Communion

It has been earlier noted that the Church Army and the YMCA Field Secretaries offered considerable assistance to chaplains. The former did not have the authority of their Bishop to

administer the sacraments²⁹, a situation which created a problem for Church Army Captain John Walton. Captured in Crete, Walton was accredited by the German authorities as a chaplain and sent to an Air-Force POW Camp, Stalag Luft 5, where he was the only chaplain among several thousand airmen. Walton was met by the German commandant who was a former WW1 Officer. He greeted Walton kindly and told him he had some difficult parishioners among the RAF prisoners of war. He asked Walton how much Communion wine he would require. Walton suggested a large amount which the German Commandant readily provided. As a consequence a great deal of the sacramental wine was used in the camp cooking and on special celebrations.³⁰ The Senior British Officer wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, through the Protecting Power, and within several weeks approval was given for Walton to conduct the Holy Communion.

YMCA Secretary Mr J. H. Ledgerwood, taken prisoner in Greece, was in a similar manner accorded the status of an honorary Anglican chaplain while a POW with authority to celebrate the sacrament.³¹ Evidently the theological requirement for ordination was not essential when the exigencies of the war were considered. The sacrament and its meaning was more important than the status of the celebrant. Indeed the Anglican Church had long maintained that the efficacy of the Holy Communion was unaffected by the status of the celebrant.

The Sacrament in Death and Dying

When the necessity arose some Anglican chaplains, depending upon the theological tradition of their parishioners, were able to exercise the sacraments of Extreme Unction, Anointing with oil and Holy Communion. Located as they were at Regimental Aid Posts, Casualty Clearing Stations, and Field Hospitals some chaplains were well placed to provide the means of spiritual and physical aid to the wounded and dying. The importance of the efficacy of Holy Communion is central to the spiritual life of Anglican believers as the example below demonstrates.

Rev'd D. Thorpe³³, as a youthful boxing student at Christ's College, personally knew Major Arthur Grigg.³⁴ The Major was a sheep farmer on the Banks Peninsula and the Church Warden to his local Parish. Grigg was wounded, and not expected to live. All his battery crew had been killed earlier in the day. Thorpe records:

...and in an underground, cavern casualty clearing station, an officer whose men in gun-crew had been killed, and he, a leg shot off, and not expect to live - and he and I receiving Jesus words and the broken bread and the wine of HIS LIFE GIVEN.(sic)³⁵

Padre Thorpe felt Major Grigg's death deeply, "BUT!! my littleness,(sic) nothingness, in a vast sea of action - desiring to give - and giving as I could - But! So little!!"³⁶ To the believer, such as Major Grigg, the life that He (Christ) imparts to us is life that has passed through death. Now it is

fitly mediated through the sacramental elements of bread and wine.

Anglican chaplains celebrated the sacrament many times over in similar situations to that of the incident above. Thorpe's experience is a typical example of the personal preparation through the celebration of the sacrament for the horrors of battle. Anglicans accepted the opportunity to celebrate the sacrament among all with whom they served, which of course included members of Other Denominations. There are indications that the war fostered the climate for an Anglican willingness to forego a strict rubric as to who was eligible to receive the communion. A Regimental medical officer Dr. J. Borrie³⁷ makes the point that during the Greek campaign Padre Hurst had no difficulty in offering the sacrament to all who extended their hands for the wafer and their lips for the wine. After the war Hurst became Dean of Dunedin and Dr. Borrie sought communion at the Cathedral. Dean Hurst refused Dr. Borrie until such time as he had been instructed for Anglican Confirmation.³⁸

THE ANGLICAN DILEMMA

The implications of having opened the Anglican Holy Communion to a more inclusive participation were raised by Padre Underhill to his Bishop in 1944. He believed the Anglican chaplains and the Church Army "...generally has lacked continuity and one set policy. They both have muddled

through."³⁹ The comradely spirit evident in the NZ Chaplains' Department he considered was due to the good work of Senior Chaplain McKenzie, a Presbyterian. Underhill wrote. "But we (Anglicans) have fallen down in providing a common front with a cutting edge...but no splendid tradition has been founded."⁴⁰ During a period of four years at Maadi Base the chaplains of all denominations had run popular and combined "...non-conformist song services or Evensong" which Underhill judged to "have been weak affairs."⁴¹ He believed if a narrower Anglican position had been tried "...we would have cut a lot more ice, with a possible but not very probable risk of spoiling the friendly relations between the denominations."⁴² Anglicans, Underhill believed, ought to have emphasized their denominational character much earlier in the war years.⁴³

Despite these opinions, in April 1944 Padre Underhill was the driving force behind one of the largest Combined Good Friday Services to be held in Maadi Camp when 3000 men attended the service conducted by chaplains of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches. He reported to the Bishop arrangements for a Holy Week Programme with daily Communion in two places in Maadi Camp. He sent to all Anglican Parish priests in New Zealand a list of the names of men who had attended Easter Communion, estimating at least 15% of Anglicans in the Base area had communicated during Easter 1944.⁴⁴ He kept a **Church Register** during this period whether in action or out of the

line, and from 7th April 1941 until late in 1944 he had given the elements to 6896 soldiers at 274 services. Underhill's combined communion services had, between late 1941 and 1943, an average of twenty three at each.⁴⁵

Anglo-Catholic Compromise

A small number of Anglican chaplains were insistent upon following the more Catholic rubrics of their Church. These High Churchmen, among others, were represented by Rev'ds K. Schollar⁴⁶, and B. O. Plumb⁴⁷ who preferred to be addressed as 'Father' rather than 'Padre'. In civilian life they adhered strictly to the more Catholic notions of the Anglican communion. However, there is no record of communion ever being refused to OPDs in the military situation in either the Middle East or the Pacific by Anglicans who held "high" theological convictions. There is an example of the difficulty one Anglican chaplain experienced towards non Anglicans coming to receive Holy Communion. A member of the Church of Christ remembers clearly that just before receiving the elements from him he "...welcomed us all and then said that it was a *great privilege* for those of us present who *were not Anglicans* to be able to celebrate this *mass and the Blessed Sacrament of Holy Communion.*" He added that "...he hoped non Anglicans present would be *suitably aware* of that fact."⁴⁸

Chaplains of the "high" understanding of the sacramental office

were readily noticed among the troops. Private Murray Forster was prepared and Confirmed as an Anglican Communicant while at Base Camp Maadi and acknowledged most of his understanding of the Christian Faith sprang from his Army environment. While serving in the 2 NZ Div. Cav. Rev'd H. Taylor was the unit chaplain and "...he "attended his flock" (a pretty hard bunch) and retained their respect...Someone suggested that if Ministers at home acted as he did, the Church would be a lot better off."⁴⁹ Padre Taylor was replaced by Rev'd A. K. Warren⁵⁰: "He was a bit high church for the "old Digs" who viewed him with suspicion".⁵¹ Forster noted that after experience in battle this high churchman, very different from the legendary 'low' churchman Padre Taylor, mellowed and became much more approachable and accepted by the regiment.

A typical example of the Anglican church's ability to include Catholic as well as Protestant understanding of the Holy Communion occurred in Stalag Luft 5 in late 1943. Rev'd Ivor Hopkins, never noted as a "high" churchman⁵² was concerned for a group of several hundred Cypriot Greeks who were without pastoral care. He learned their language, and the rituals for the Holy Communion of the Greek Orthodox Church, which resulted in Bishop Germanos, the Greek Orthodox Patriarch in London, granting him authority to act as a Greek Orthodox priest. Hopkins learned the different style of liturgy and language for the one and a half hour service which climaxed as the celebrant

offered the bread and wine together. In the form of a "sop" it was placed by the priest on the tongue of the communicant with the words "...servant of God is now receiving forgiveness of sins and eternal life."⁵³ This example of the catholicity of Anglican practice enabled Walton and Ledgerwood, on one hand, to celebrate Holy Communion for all, despite their lack of Ordination, while it enabled Hopkins to minister within an otherwise exclusive Orthodox tradition.

Anglicans believed that in the celebration of Holy Communion communicants apprehended by faith the "presence of Christ" or, as they defined it, "receptionism".⁵⁴ It was the meeting place for Grace and renewal by Christians to the service of Christ and His Kingdom. The Anglican understanding of "apprehending by faith" the social and corporate spiritual benefits of the Holy Communion, could not, in the final analysis, be denied to any individuals who offered their hands to receive the bread of life.

After all, there were pragmatic changes in the practice of the sacrament in captivity, when for example Padre Hopkins celebrated communion on more than one occasion with ersatz elements of cold tea and army biscuit. Cyprian, (circa 200 - 258 CE) described as a Bishop of High Church persuasion,⁵⁵ wrote strongly against the practice of using any substitute other than a mixture of wine and water in the communion cup.

But how shall we drink the new wine of the fruit of the vine with Christ in the kingdom of His Father, if in the sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ we do not offer wine, nor mix the cup of the Lord by the Lord's own tradition?⁵⁶

He further questioned, no doubt with the Diocletian persecutions (circa from 285 CE) in mind, "But how can we shed our blood for Christ, who blush to drink the blood of Christ?"⁵⁷ Cyprian instructs that his priests, "...keep the truth of the Lord's tradition."⁵⁸

Several Anglican chaplains have reported celebrating Holy Communion with non-traditional elements and, like Hopkins, did so without conscience. In a situation of battle and crisis, they believed the elements were received from their hands as "*...bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion...*"⁵⁹ So far as communicants were aware, the spiritual apprehension and faith relationship within the celebration was unhindered by the use of alternative representative elements. One chaplain pragmatically noted, "Needs must when the devil drives."⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

New Zealanders had united to support England through the bonds of Commonwealth, kinship, and cultural ties, reinforced by the belief that the aggressive Japanese had to be checked and the

Nazi philosophy defeated.

The experience of war brought home to the Anglican chaplains the importance to all believers of the sacrament of Holy Communion. In that sense it was an ecclesial factor, the sacrament was of common vital interest to the whole church, of which Anglicans were simply one branch. There could be no with-holding of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper from any who sought to "apprehend by faith", and renew their allegiance to Christ. The pastoral considerations of caring for all Christians engaged in the material and spiritual crusade against the forces of evil far out-weighed the traditional theological barriers of the sectarian understanding Anglicans traditionally held of the Holy Communion. How seriously Anglican chaplains responded to the advice of the GOC is exemplified by their actions as they set aside a particular theological treasure in response to the spiritual needs of all men and women involved in the greatest military crusade in history.

The crusade included not only an Anglican community who shared in a sacramental expression of the Christian faith, but also, a majority body of Christians who did not adhere to an Anglican credo. The spiritual and social aspects of the shared open community nature of the Holy Communion was infinitely more important than the Anglican sectarian practice which took no

account of the material and spiritual effects of war. This became a significant ecumenical bridge which cannot be underestimated in its importance among the OPD's who were either soldiers or chaplains. Its impact was to have far-reaching outcomes in the years following WW2 and upon the traditional understanding of the sacrament by The Church of the Province of New Zealand.

CHAPTER NINE

ROMAN CATHOLIC PRACTICE

The Roman Catholic (RC) church is a minority religious body within New Zealand society. It has consistently over the last sixty years represented 13.5% of the total population.¹ New Zealand RCs share a common international religious language and doctrine which over-rides nationality and culture. New Zealand Catholicism as part of a world church owes its allegiance to the Pope.²

During the period of the "great depression" of the 1930s and the rise of Adolf Hitler's Nazi dictatorship, Catholicism was involved in the politics and tensions of Germany and Italy. The RC world family watched as events unfolded, and under the spiritual guidance of their Pontiff offered prayers for peace and good Government in Germany. New Zealand Catholics were, to some degree, marginally more informed than Protestants regarding the political events prior to WW2 through the newspapers of their church.³ The participation in politics, and the practice of the RC religious life, especially concern for the Catholic poor, were more openly identified among the New Zealand pre-war Catholic community than their Protestant associates.⁴ Gustafson suggests two leading Catholic bishops, Liston and O'Shea, had a similar influence upon the then Prime minister, Michael Savage⁵, as did the liberal Methodist

Auckland missionary C. G. Scrimgeour.⁶

Bishop Liston's papers reveal that on one occasion he used his position as a Bishop of the Catholic Church to gain extra Roman Catholic military chaplains. Liston believed Roman Catholic army chaplains to be under-represented. The Military Secretary was married to a Roman Catholic, so Liston wrote discreetly to him requesting a review. The correspondence reveals the review favoured the Bishop's request.⁷

Before we can understand the full import of the RC contribution to the spiritual and sacramental life of the 2NZEF it is necessary to survey the religio-social over-view of RCs within New Zealand society at the declaration of war.

NEW ZEALAND CATHOLICS

It is difficult, in an age of ecumenism, to recall clearly the sectarian division⁸ which existed between Catholic and non-Catholic through the decades of New Zealand settlement right up until the outbreak of war in 1939. During the 1930s, for example, throughout Otago and Southland almost fifty percent of the community were Presbyterians.⁹ It was inevitable that Catholics in WW2 became victims of prejudices which arose from the traditions of a past era.¹⁰ This was encouraged by the separate Roman Catholic education system which divided most RC children off from the secular and state education system.

West Coast Roman Catholics represented twenty eight percent of the population, the largest Catholic representation per-head of population in New Zealand.¹¹ Most were working class with an Irish background and there were not infrequent clashes in hotels when political and religious discussion became heated.¹² Nuns warned Catholic children of a burning in hell that awaited them if they attended Protestant worship.¹³ Crude school-boy stories of Nuns and Priests were circulated by uninformed Protestant teenagers. Priests and Nuns wore distinctive clothing which set them apart from the overwhelming majority of the Protestant population.

In most dominantly Protestant provinces of New Zealand, there was a deep suspicion of Catholics who, according to popular opinion, were over-represented in the Public Service, Police Force, and as publicans and railway workers.¹⁴ These distinctive provincial prejudices were prevalent to a lesser or greater degree throughout New Zealand. A contemporary Maori Catholic scholar believed that at least until the early 1940s there were too many priests of Irish background coming to New Zealand. Father Bennett considered their deeply entrenched Irish prejudices concerning British behaviour in Ireland clouded their judgement of the quite different New Zealand character.¹⁵ "Irish Roman Catholic links were rather more important and were strongly maintained by ecclesiastics like Bishop Moran (Dunedin 1871-95) and Bishop Liston of Auckland"¹⁶

In the railway workshops of Dunedin, just after the declaration of war, an argument erupted in a trade Union meeting when immigrant Irish Catholics reminded their New Zealand brothers of the Irish uprising of 1916 and questioned New Zealand's decision to fight a British war.¹⁷ Dan Davin's novel *No Remittance*¹⁸ set in the Southland sectarian Catholic Vs Presbyterian culture of the 1930s provides a glimpse of that era. Marriage outside the Catholic Church was discouraged unless the Protestant party was not only won in love but also converted to the Roman Catholic faith.¹⁹ An RC who enlisted into the 2NZEF as a volunteer or conscript was no longer required to seek permission of his priest to eat meat on a Friday, and he was exempted from the usual feastsdays.²⁰

Roman Catholic Labour Prime Minister Michael Savage is said to have rediscovered his Christian roots in the late 1930s. The nation had elected a Labour Government in 1936 where hard working people of all religious persuasions found in the New Zealand Labour Party a political common denominator. Savage's frequent use of scripture in his electioneering to describe his policies was a feature of his speeches.²¹ The sectarian differences at the political level of New Zealand society may well have been less obvious within the changing political climate on the eve of war, for Savage was supported by a number of Catholic as well as Protestant clergy and lay associates.²²

Within the New Zealand military organization there was a definite social bias against RCs. When questioned directly "How well did you get on with your Roman Catholic colleagues in the first period of the 2NZEF?" Padre Underhill considered the question carefully and replied: "We did not trust them."²³ This gives an indication of a lack of communication in the wider community, the church, and among clergy. They were, of course, New Zealanders, or immigrants from a Catholic country, but they were a people apart; separated, as Dickie has suggested, in many respects from the Protestant ethic and society when the religious dimensions of Catholics' lives were considered. The Catholic historian Simmons considers that at that time "The Catholic community was turned inwards on itself...".²⁴

VACILLATING VATICAN

The Roman Catholic Church, through Pope Pius XII, signed a concordat with Nazi Germany in July 1933 "...which...guaranteed the freedom of the Catholic religion and the right of the Church "to regulate her own affairs."²⁵ By 1937 Pope Pious XII charged the German Government with evasion and violation of the concordat as scores of Catholic publications were suppressed and thousands of Catholics in religious orders persecuted. The Pope saw the threatening storm clouds of destructive religious war which he believed had no other aim than racial extermination.²⁶ This opinion New Zealand Labour Prime Minister Michael Joseph Savage and his Government also shared concern-

ing the emerging dangers of the Nazi philosophy. But it was a position not totally shared by the British Government of the time.²⁷

On whose side was the Pope?

Catholic army chaplains and servicemen were questioned by non Catholics on the war-time politics of the Pope. "Perhaps the most common question put to a Catholic soldier today is this "Why does not the Pope declare in favour of the Allies?".²⁸ Some Protestant soldiers seriously questioned the loyalty of New Zealand Catholics because they owed spiritual allegiance to an Italian religious leader and Italy was an enemy country. As a Catholic minority in a Protestant country the question was raised as to why the Pope and the Catholic Church had not positively declared in favour of the Allies' cause and vigorously condemned Germany and Italy in their dictatorships and war of aggression.

In July 1942 RC chaplains issued a statement which emphasized that Pope Pius XII was the common Father of all Catholics throughout the world. As the Bishop of Rome he has "...never ceased to condemn the unjust persecution of nations now subject to enemy control."²⁹ Through Papal representatives time and again the Holy Father had interceded and raised his voice against the injustices perpetrated by Germany and her allies. If the nations chose not to heed his warning, they were no

different from the British Empire which in times past had also chosen not to heed the Pope's warning. "The Pope has no "leanings" in time of war or in time of peace. His duty as the successor of St. Peter...is plainly that of the Father of all men..."³⁰ For that reason the Pope had to tolerate the tragedy of war, watch out for its consequences, pray constantly for the intervention of Catholic Justice and the Spirit of Almighty God. The Pope was impartial and appealed to all for prayers for peace.³¹

The universality of this perspective was self evident. There was a twice weekly Mass held in Maadi Camp which became the vehicle through which pastoral care was expressed to German and Italian POWs by New Zealand Catholic chaplains until the end of the war.³² It was the Catholic chaplain's universality as a Priest of the Roman Church, owing allegiance to the Holy Father, which gave him this accepted role with those who, because of nationality, were considered enemies nonetheless. This situation was equally true of the Italian Army Chaplains who offered ministry and sacraments to New Zealand Roman Catholic prisoners of war.³³

THE MASS

The Roman Catholic Church has a distinct and sectarian position on matters of doctrine and the sacraments. Therefore, within the context of the 2NZEF, they understood their priests to be

endowed with a function which Protestant clergy never sought to assume or held as a matter of faith.

As in the last war, so in the present struggle, the Catholic soldier looks to his Chaplain for guidance, for sympathy in troubles, great and small, and for that perfect understanding which distinguishes the Catholic priest from other men. Truly can it be said that soldiers come and go, but the spirit of the Catholic Chaplain lives on forever.³⁴

It was an unchallenged rubric that only Roman Catholic priests could minister to Catholics, though Roman Catholic chaplains claimed they could minister to non-Catholics.³⁵ The Roman Catholic Church laid claim to being the One True Catholic and Apostolic Church and the only true Body of Christ on earth.³⁶ All other Christian worship was but a shadow of the truth, lacking true Catholic substance. Nor were Protestants part of the Church Universal.³⁷ Non-Catholics were believed by many Roman Catholics to be doomed or excluded from eternity.³⁸

The New Zealand military regulations honoured the Roman Catholic ministry and, as already discussed, made provision for a RC chaplain to be based at Brigade Headquarters where he had access to all of the Units in the Brigade. The Mass, so central to Roman Catholic spiritual life, could only be celebrated by a Roman Catholic chaplain. There were no circumstances in which either a Catholic layman or a non-Catholic chaplain could, in the eyes of Roman Catholics, legitimately celebrate Mass for Catholics. This created within the 2NZEF two distinct patterns of practice. The Anglican

bridge of ecumenical acceptance had eased the way for the creation of an open and combined Protestant celebration of the sacrament. The second pattern was that of a strict sectarian Roman Catholic practice. Not even the comradeship, shared hardships, and close friendships among the chaplains could ever bring them to the agreement that one Sacrament could be celebrated for all Christians.

Centrality of Mass to the Catholic Faith

The Council of Trent³⁹ described the Mass as having two functions; a memorial "...to the end of time," and a sacrifice "...the visible rite which is so suitable and so needful to our nature."⁴⁰ Roman Catholics held the Mass to be a memorial of Christ's death and resurrection, and "...that Christ offers Himself in this sacrifice...the Sacrifice of the Mass is the same, in substance, as the Sacrifice of Calvary, the difference being only in the manner of offering."⁴¹

Pope Leo XIII said the Mass was not only a commemoration of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ, but was a mystical renewal of it. The Mass recreated the obedience of Jesus Christ showing "...His dominion...".⁴² Properly understood, the Mass expressed on the altar a symbolic death of Christ and the priest's consecration of the Blessed Elements, the very Body and Blood of the Saviour, demonstrated that Jesus was again presented before His Heavenly Father in death. Christ

was once more on the altar as a victim, the Lamb of God again prepared for death. The priest, by consecration offered the sacrifice of Christ to "...be renewed on our altars to the end of time..."⁴³ To participate in the Mass was a spiritual drama of great consequence for a Roman Catholic and for the priest a sacred responsibility as Christ's representative. Through the reception of the transubstantiated⁴⁴ Body and Blood of Jesus Christ the communicant experienced again the salvation won on the Cross, and with it the forgiveness of sins. The forgiveness which only Christ could offer was received by communicants *aided by the function of a Catholic Priest*. The mystery of eternity was close to a Catholic in the sacrament, as was Christ to whom, after personal penance, they offered their lives in service once again.

Roman Catholic Mass in the 2NZEF

From the outset of the war priests directed their efforts towards encouraging Catholic soldiers to make a regular Confession and attendance at Mass. Rev'd Father Forsman aboard ship in 1940 "...exert(ed) the men to come to Mass and Holy Communion. To make certain of this I intend to open every lecture with the following diagram."

GOD
 ^
 ^
 ^
 6 precepts of Church = LAW OF GOD = 10 Commandments.
 ^
 ^
 GRACE

PRAYER. / \ SACRAMENTS. 45

From the diagram Forsman taught that participation in prayer and the sacraments enabled believers to experience Grace. It was through Grace, and the recognition of God's Law, that Catholics were encouraged to live by the commandments and the precepts of the church. Through their regular presence at the Mass Roman Catholics came to know God. Thus participating in the sacrament engendered a state of Grace vital to a Roman Catholic's salvation, and for men embarking upon war their soul was not only their own responsibility but also that of the shepherd-priest. All exertions, physical, spiritual and material were directed so that no Catholic would suffer eternal damnation through any laxity on a priest's part. Their efforts to encourage, entreat, teach and care for their people were vitally important to the salvation of their servicemen.

At the Divisional Base in Maadi Camp, RC chaplains celebrated Mass as frequently as possible thus offering the opportunity for communion to all.⁴⁶ The use of YMCA facilities, as well as their Chapel, gave a full range of amenities for Catholic religious life as noted below.

Masses.	Twice daily, up to 14 Services weekly.
Confessions.	Available at least six times weekly.
POW Confessions.	Three or four times weekly.
Devotions.	Up to three times weekly.
Prayers for the Sick.	Twice weekly. 47

The single criticism of RC chaplains was one which recognized their persistence in offering the Mass before and during battle. Their desire to offer the sacrament to their flock, not infrequently at risk to their own lives, brought danger to those to whom they ministered and criticism from Protestant soldiers. Many complained, especially in the desert, of RC chaplains arriving in the battle area in their vehicle which raised the dust of the desert and revealed the position of the unit to the enemy.⁴⁸

Rev'd Father L. Spring,⁴⁹ the Senior 2nd Divisional RC Chaplain, was very much in the mould of the parish priest and his instructions to his fellow priests reflected the priority of Mass as the principle ministry for Catholic soldiers. He appointed one priest to each Brigade where the Catholic chaplain then had access to the infantry battalions. Protestant chaplains developed a sense of responsibility towards Catholics in their units, structuring, in the early part of the war, the beginning of an ecumenical awareness which became the cornerstone of the growth to better understanding between religious groups within the 2NZEF.⁵⁰

With the emphasis that every Catholic soldier ought to be in a state of Grace, the necessity for soldiers to communicate and make their confessions regularly lay at the heart of the RC chaplains' ministry. Moreover, the importance of RC chaplains

being located at the medical and field hospitals while in battle was vital to their pastoral responsibility. Father Spring made provision that in every General Hospital and Field Hospital, inclusive of Casualty Clearing Stations and the Advanced Dressing Station, for a RC chaplain to be available. It was in the role of a hospital chaplain, rather than a front-line chaplain, that the majority of Catholic chaplains served in the Middle East and Italy. This was a criticism justly made about their role by some RC chaplains who believed it was as important to minister in the front-line as to the wounded in the rear.⁵¹

The personal importance of the Mass for priests, when coupled with the Pauline statement "*...for I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, wherewith to be content.*" (Philippians 4:11) is noted by Rev'd Father Sheely⁵² who was taken prisoner in November 1941. The German authorities, in accordance with the Geneva Convention, allowed Padre Sheely to leave the POW Camp and celebrate a weekly Mass in the nearest village Church. Sheely wrote to Bishop Liston "I have clung grimly to my Mass outfit,⁵³" and also that he had difficulty in obtaining the sacramental elements for celebrating mass among his fellow prisoners. By October 1943 Father Sheely was being provided with these by the Protecting Power, and had received assistance from two New Zealand priests working in the Vatican.⁵⁴

By Christmas 1944 RC chaplains in Italy had become expert at exercising their particular ministry throughout the Division. Father Forsman wrote:

Some of them have never been under fire before they are all carrying out their work with a zeal and gallantry that yield a rich unfailing harvest of Masses, Confessions and Holy Communions. Day after day, night after night they move along roads and almost impassable muddy tracks under incessant fire to strengthen and console their flocks with the grace of the Sacraments. They are indeed a wonderful team of apostles...⁵⁵

The spiritual vitality and significance of Mass

The importance of the Mass among RC chaplains was demonstrated by the manner in which they organized their ministry within the 2NZE, and the priority they gave to its regular celebration at every possible opportunity. It was the only time, apart from Compulsory or voluntary Church parades, when RCs could see their strength of numbers and renew their sense of family as a religious body. Keeping the flame of the RC identity burning was vitally important.⁵⁶ Roman Catholics who had opposed Hitler had suffered considerably as had those in the occupied territories. Catholic life and culture was as important as civilization, as Father Forsman wrote:

For wisdom, beauty, faith and mirth
 Are Catholic things of Catholic earth
 To stir the blood and brace the bone
 Whenever graciousness is known.
 Thus Catholic kith would Catholic kin
 Bequeath the Catholic grace herein.⁵⁷

The centrality of the Mass within the Catholic culture of the

2NZEF has no better description than that of a Catholic soldier who in 1945 attended Mass at St Peter's.

There, right before our eyes was Christ's vicar standing in the place of Christ offering Christ to His Heavenly Father for the salvation of the whole world. As the Holy Father raised aloft the bread and the wine at the Offertory, he offered to God in union with Christ all the sorrows, anxieties, injustices and outrages, all the prayers, fastings and penances...the merits of the saints and martyrs...the merits of Mary, God's own Blessed Mother, and all...Jesus Christ, had won for us as God and man in the days that lay between Nazareth, Calvary and the tomb.⁵⁸

A COMMUNION THEOLOGY: Father Forsman

The want of a corporate and objective theological commentary written by the 2NZEF chaplains which reflected upon their work poses a real difficulty for the task of serious investigation. The lack of such theological material or comment leaves only those rare reflections by a small number of chaplains who took time, not only to reflect, but also to consider their work from a theological perspective. One such was Father Forsman who wrote theological poetry and who reflected upon his task as a priest involved in the activity of war. It is from the pen of Padre Forsman that some insights may be drawn concerning the theological implications of Roman Catholic Christians and the practice of their sacramental life within the 2NZEF.

Father Edward Forsman was a gifted priest, his ability as a poet reveals a side of his intellect which speaks of a war-time Catholic theology of the Mass.

What though they lie in trackless wadis deep



"Again" c1943 (USA)
Thomas Hart Benton

Christ-ooze of Him Gethsemanied brims up not yet
The Judus-gold cupping a chaliced world?
Yet, yet the crown of malice mocking hurled
On His Headship? Must maverick might sly set,
Herod and Pilate, foe and friend, to whet
Huge hate on Him scourged, urged, strength-furled?
Or liar question truth of Truth soon whirled
To a traitor's doom. His Kingliest deeds held debt?

Rev'd Father E Forsman 2NZEF 1943.

Or by some lonely barren sand-knoll sleep
 Among strange dead: They are not dead who Christ
 Upon the altar, daily sacrificed,
 Received with reverent knee on faithless sands;
 They drench with grace bare unrepentant lands
 Until the cross above their desert tomb
 Bursts peace-abundant in effulgent bloom.
 Then shall hushed hermits rise in vocal song:
 "Come Holy Ghost, the earth rebuild
 Because of these, the temples Thou hast filled!"
 Such vital dead shall thrive amid rechristened sands,
 Though all things solid shift and shake in greener lands.⁵⁹

Padre Forsman's selected poems *suggest* that as a result of a Catholic soldier's death in war there is a Divine vicarious work for the world in general. Forsman's poetry touches on the sacrifice of a soldier killed in battle and the similarity of Christ's sacrifice expressed in the Mass.

We are thy wheat, O Lord,
 Garnered from lands abroad,
 Glad, in our battle's hour,
 Grist for thy mighty flour,
 Made when we suffer most,
 Christ is His Sacred Host
 So from the rising sun,
 Even till day is done
 Grace shall us meet suffice
 Whole in our sacrifice.⁶⁰

Forsman believed a Catholic soldier killed in battle was "*Grist for thy mighty flour*" who through suffering and death, like that of Christ, gained the means of Grace and entry into eternity, "*Grace shall us meet suffice*". The sacrificial death of a Catholic soldier was like the death of Christ, and as such death had no fear for the Catholic soldier. "*Even till day is done*" for the cause was right, "*Whole in our Sacrifice.*" A

Catholic soldier died as a holy sacrifice for a cause blessed by Christ.

This war's a cross and not a curse from God
 When bold minds suffer gladly with their Christ
 A VIA CRUCIS free men freely trod.
 Ours be the pangs that bear a godlier earth,
 Ours be the truth and age-old Christian mirth,
 And what we give's not lost, but sacrificed. ⁶¹

CONCLUSION

Roman Catholic chaplains were driven by a sense of their sacramental responsibility which often-times took a toll upon their health. Father Pierce reveals the effect upon his spirit and health as a result of extensive tropical travelling as he desperately sought relief from his responsibilities as a Senior Roman Catholic chaplain. He was barely able to pluck the courage to ask his Bishop to have him taken out of the line before he disgraced himself by falling ill.⁶²

Their total purpose in ministry was to aid their flock to be in the constant state of Grace. Their priorities differed from the majority of Protestant chaplains who exercised a less priestly function. RC chaplains were aided by a high proportion of soldier participation, well over fifty percent of Roman Catholic soldiers attended mass in the field.⁶³ Attendance at this rate reflects the strong Roman Catholic culture born out of an independent education system, sporting clubs, family relationships, and a common, largely manual working background. The 2NZEF was for them business as usual regardless of the

change from civilian to soldier. Roman Catholics at war were involved in a serious activity and imminent death could result. Priest and soldier had a responsibility for the salvation of souls, one as the shepherd and the other with a responsibility to commit no sin and remain in a state of Grace. Both combined to acknowledge the eternity with which they were surrounded. Neither death, suffering, battle nor separation from loved ones was cause for fear, and ideally Catholics could be at peace with God.⁶⁴

The ideal Catholic soldier was an **Apostle for Christ** where his sole aim was "...to promote and foster the Faith and quicken a Christian patriotism among soldiers."⁶⁵ Mass became the central sacramental expression of such a hope. Moreover, the hope was renewed over and over again through sacrifice, both by Christ and Catholic soldiers, who, with Christ, gave their lives for the cause of the Salvation of the world. Catholic chaplains collectively without difficulty identified with the Eusebian model of chaplaincy although the theological significance of Father Forsman's poetry, much of it published in the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* is more suggestive of the Crusading Model.

The seas that bred us restless
 Have launched us on our raids,
 But the Southern Cross is reckless
 And has made our wars crusades.
 We'll wash the world with laughter,
 We'll gird the globe with song,
 For we've God and His Hereafter
 Though all things else go wrong. 66

Nowhere do RC chaplains comment or suggest political sympathies with fellow religionists who belonged to belligerent nations. Their loyalty to the spiritual values which lay behind the defeat of the Axis was unquestioned. Nor were there any serious doubts as to the justice of the cause for which they fought and died.

As we face the imminent prospect of battle on our own shores, some will say that we should forget everything except the war....There is no conflict between the war effort and the ordinary man's aspirations toward social justice. Our soldiers will fight better, our munitions workers will redouble their toil, if they can really be convinced that the order for which they are fighting is superior to the order an invader would impose.⁶⁷

For RC chaplains the universalism of their denomination gave them ease of access to large numbers of co-religionists who were prisoners of war. In the POW camps they exercised their priestly and pastoral functions for the care of souls of those who were technically their enemies. That is not to deny the same pastoral concern was exercised by Protestant chaplains, but among RCs there was an ease of communication through a universal liturgy. Roman Catholics offered the Mass as consistently as time and circumstances would permit in the POW camps, indeed everywhere it was possible so to do.

In late June 1943 the Headquarters Staff of 2NZEF, the GOC, General Sir Bernard Freyberg, in company with Senior Catholic Divisional Chaplain Father L. Spring gained an audience with the Pontiff. A trio of Brigadiers, Parkinson, Crump and

Burrows and all of the Roman Catholic chaplains in company with Fathers Sneddon and Flannagan, the two previously noted New Zealand Catholic priests who were caught by the war and took refuge at the Vatican, completed the party for the audience. The Pontiff addressed the Staff Officers and chaplains for a few moments and the audience ended with his blessing. John Currie the NZBC commentator described the event: "...it was for many the greatest day in their lives."⁶⁸

CHAPTER TEN

OTHER PROTESTANT DENOMINATIONS

One quarter of those enlisted claimed to be Presbyterians, eight percent Methodists, while the four smaller churches constituted four percent which together represented 37% of all 2NZEF enlistments.¹ **Other Protestant Denominations** represented the Reformed, or Free Church traditions which reflected the colonial immigration to New Zealand.

The experience of chaplaincy among the Protestant denominations during WW1 brought with it the realization they shared much of their Protestant heritage in common. As separate denominations they were small and less effective in making their religious impact on the army but together they were, in numbers, almost equal to Anglicans. There were a few OPD chaplains who envied the Anglicans their greater numbers and an assumed defacto status some Anglican chaplains claimed to a religious establishment in the 2NZEF much after a similar pattern of the British Army.²

Throughout the emerging ecumenical co-operation during the 1930s the OP denominations were interlinked by a strong network of organizations such as the Bible Class Union, New Zealand Christian Youth Council, Christian Endeavour, Inter-Varsity Fellowship, YMCA and the Student Christian Movement.³ Methodist and Congregational theological students trained together while

Baptist ministry students had earlier in the century trained with Presbyterians. The parent churches, including the Anglican Church, had by 1941 established the first significant ecumenical body in New Zealand history, *The National Council of Churches*.⁴ (NCC) Twelve months later another ecumenical body, the *Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council*⁵ (Ch.DAC.), was established to oversee the work and appointment of Chaplains not only to the 2NZEF but to all Armed services. By the time Japan entered the late in 1941, the main-stream churches of New Zealand had already begun to move along an ecumenical journey together. Included in that journey was the experience of co-operation within the 2NZEF pioneered by chaplains who learned that their task as ministers of Christ's gospel was more relevant when everyone was included. On the other hand, to some extent this pragmatic approach to chaplaincy was forced upon chaplains more by the exigencies of war than by any progressive theological or ecumenical insight.

The churches which constituted the Other Protestant Denominations did not give credence to the Catholic or Apostolic doctrinal requirement that an ordained cleric was necessary for the celebration of the sacrament. Nor did they deny the right of believers of other Christian traditions to participate in their services of Holy Communion.⁶ On the other hand the Salvation Army did not practise any sacramental ministry, indeed, it considered the sacraments as unessential to the

salvation of individual Christians. Baptists used the term *Ordinance*, in preference to the term "sacrament" to describe the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion.⁷ In common with the Salvation Army Baptists did not believe the Ordinance essential to salvation. For those members of Other Denominations, the qualification for taking part in the Holy Communion was normally membership of their church, but even this was not essential or demanded. Rather, admission to the communion among Other Protestants arose from personal spiritual self examination: *"Ye therefore that do truly and earnestly repent of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life..."*⁸ It would be difficult to find any evidence that OPDs believed their Communion Tables to be exclusive to themselves.

With the exception of the Salvation Army and the Methodists, the remaining Other Protestants shared a recognizable style in the celebration of Holy Communion. In format it was similar to that of the Presbyterian Church with its traditional use of those who held the office of elders or deacons, while women assisted with the sacrament in some of the smaller denominations. All Other Protestant Denominations held strongly to the Priesthood of All Believers.⁹

PRESBYTERIANS

In reviewing the Holy Communion within the Presbyterian

tradition in the context of war there is a significant lack of information. Perhaps this is not surprising as mention has been made of the The Presbyterian Church's *Pocket Companion*,¹⁰ a small devotional hymnal with selected prayers, readings and manly advice written by former WW1 chaplains.¹⁰ It contains no liturgy for the Holy Communion, nor indeed *any* liturgical form of worship. It is as though the Presbyterian Church considered hymn singing, scripture readings, and use of the psalms, of greater value in themselves for a soldier's worship than the Holy Communion. Yet there is a record, noted by Anglican chaplains, of Presbyterian chaplains officiating at combined communion services aboard troopships, Maadi Base, Hospital, Field Ambulances and occasionally immediately following battle.¹¹

Within the established civilian parishes New Zealand Presbyterians celebrated the Communion Quarterly, issued Communion Cards as personal and devotional reminders, and as a parish record of attendance. Presbyterian clergy were considered *Teaching Elders*, separated by Ordination for the work of ministry, who, together with ordained elders shared in the spiritual oversight of the Parish. Minister and elders aided in the distribution of the elements to a seated congregation.

New Zealand Presbyterians were inheritors of a Scottish Free Church and Church of Scotland tradition which by the 1930's had

combined to present, not only a memorial of Christ's work, but also for the believer, an apprehension by faith of Christ's Presence at the Communion. *"Holy Communion thus shows us sacrifice, fellowship and remembrance mingled in the intimacy of love. It is the characteristic act of the Christian Family and is the touchstone for all the other acts of the church."*¹² As an echo from the Reformation the confirmation Manual is explicit:

" 'Tis a Communion, not a Mass,
No sacrifice, but a life-giving Feast."¹³

Christ was "...really present, not by any word of a priest endowed with divine power, but with the power of His own Holy Spirit. The real presence is a spiritual presence."¹⁴

The Presbyterian Church advised its soldiers: "If you make a habit of regularly attending Communion services you will find that you receive from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ through this sacrament - courage, strength, hope and peace".¹⁵ The sacrament became the focus where together the Parish family remembered their Lord, and by Faith apprehended His presence, thereby renewing a pledge of loyalty to the Kingdom of God. The probable infrequency of a Presbyterian celebration of holy communion in the 2NZEF was coloured by the norms of civilian parish life; the sacrament was celebrated in most Parishes only four times a year. And some were taken even less frequent. As late as the early 1940s at least one Parish in Otago, East Taieri, celebrated the communion only twice yearly.¹⁶ There was

at least one other Otago parish which adopted the custom inherited from Scotland when the sacrament was celebrated annually. The rare occasions of the Presbyterian custom of celebrating *supplementary* Communion in the evening for those unable to be present at the morning service, may well account for the lack of evidence of evening celebrations of holy communion by Presbyterians.¹⁷

In contrast to the usual Presbyterian practice, Rev'd R. G. McDowall, a Southland Presbyterian who was taken prisoner in November 1941, offered the sacrament to all Sunday by Sunday. On regular occasions he celebrated within the confines of the Prisoner of War camp mid weekly. He invited theological students, lay persons and serving clergy to be his elders while he used the New Zealand Presbyterian Church's liturgy from the *Book of Order*.¹⁸ At his regular services he welcomed all Christians, among them the many strands of European Orthodox Christians¹⁹ with whom he found exceptional acceptance and fulfilling ministry. His persistence in celebration of the sacrament reveals an understanding of the Holy Communion beyond the traditional Presbyterian or Zwinglian memorial of Christ's death. McDowall demonstrates a recognition of Christ's spiritual presence through the celebration of the sacrament to himself and other the prisoners. The living Christ shared their hardships and gave to them a sense of spiritual liberty. The sacrament he believed "...opens windows to heaven."²⁰ An

Italian Army chaplain appointed to the pastoral care of New Zealand Roman Catholics provided McDowall with the elements of wine and wafers.²¹

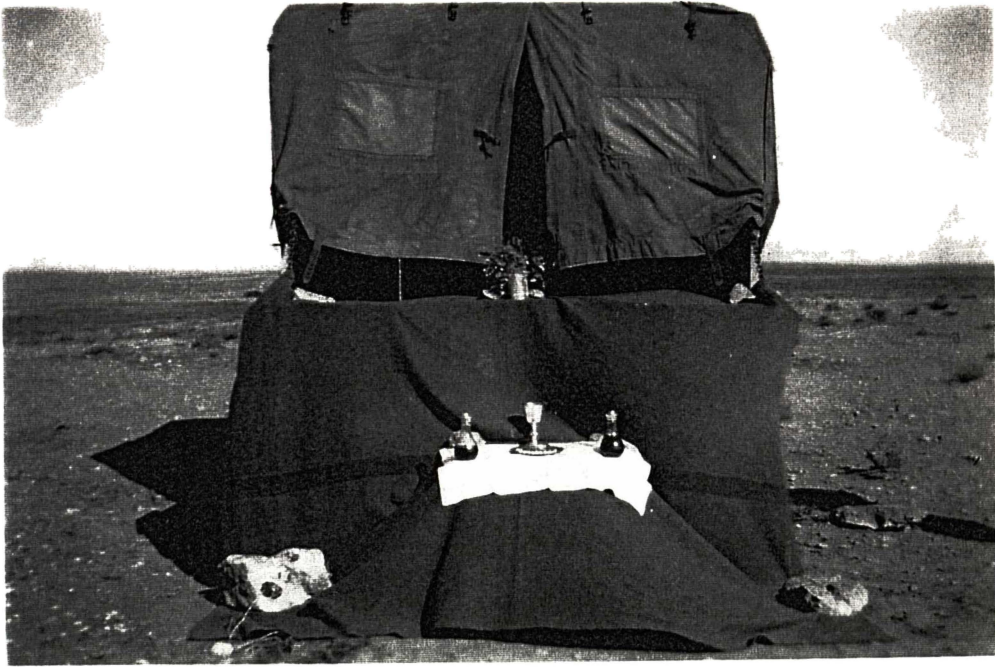
An isolated incident is recalled by a Presbyterian theological student in 1941. Stewart Perry²² and the battalion YMCA Field Secretary took the opportunity of attending a communion service and out of courtesy informed the chaplain they were not Anglicans.

...he told us that we couldn't partake!! "You are not of my faith" = Wyn was Baptist and I Presby, both of evangelical persuasion, we saw "red", and insisted that he was a chaplain to ALL troops, and so we demanded the right to take communion. That rocked me and from then I saw little need to confer with any chaplains.²³

The chaplain included both men in the service and made no further comment. The event had the effect of alienating Perry from attending any communion service for almost the entire duration of the war, apart from those which he knew would be conducted by a Presbyterian or other non-Anglican chaplains.

METHODISTS

The practice and liturgy of the Methodist Holy Communion sprang from a revised 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* handed down from Rev'd John Wesley. Methodists of the 1930's believed the Communion to be a memorial to Christ's redeeming work. It was a fellowship experience, to a degree a eucharistic expression and a sense of Thanksgiving for Christ's work.



(Mills Photo)

Communion table on the rear drop board of the padre's one ton vehicle - somewhere in the middle East 1942.



(Mills Photo)

The YMCA and Padre as a team in 21 Battalion. L to R. R. H. Bushfield YMCA Field Secretary, Padre Bill Mills and his driver. First dug-out at Nufilia 1942.

The Lord's supper is an ordinance of thankful remembrance of Christ's death...bread and wine symbols of the body and blood of Christ...spiritually received by the faithful, strengthening and refreshing... Believers have fellowship with the living and present Christ, renew pledges of loyalty to Him and have fellowship one with another.²⁴

Inheriting a more liturgical Catholic sympathy, Methodist Unit chaplains were diligent in the celebration of Holy Communion as time and the operational conditions permitted. In common with the Anglican concept of "receptionism", Methodists held that believers apprehended by faith a Grace which could be the means of significant spiritual strength. That being so, hopefully, it directly influenced soldiers' morale. An incident during the evacuation from Greece underlines this awareness and the importance of the regular sacramental life in the midst of battle.

In May 1941, Rev'd R. Jamieson's²⁵ Unit was in retreat from Greece. On orders to evacuate from the beaches he disposed of his accoutrements retaining only his portable communion set, and while he prepared to embark asked a soldier to hold the set for him. In a moment the soldier vanished, and with him the communion set. Padre Jamieson was distraught, the means of "apprehending by faith" was taken from him. The physical tokens through which the sacramental ministry of Christ were made available were gone. Denied the means to exercise ministry at the faith-soul level he recalled "The retreat and evacuation were times of great testing."²⁶

Because of the similarity of Anglican and Methodist Holy Communion liturgy, there being only a few selected words of difference during the 1940s, few Anglicans knew Jamieson was a Methodist. Some never thought about it, for as he and his colleagues uttered, *"Have mercy upon us, Have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; For Thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake..."*²⁷ these familiar words were food to their soul. Methodist or Anglican, they valued those familiar words, *"Thou that takest away the sin of the world, receive our prayer."*²⁸ Units with Methodist chaplains undoubtedly contributed to the building of the ecumenical bridge across the traditions of the Free Church or Reformed and Anglican. Presbyterians were of the European Reformed tradition while Methodists through Anglicanism were products of the Reformation as well as Catholic traditions.²⁹

OTHER SACRAMENTAL ALTERNATIVES

The Associated Churches' of Christ, Baptist and Congregational chaplains³⁰ conducted communion services in the style and form familiar to their denomination, but plainly these were recognizable to all Other Protestants. In accordance with custom the Churches of Christ, Baptist, and Congregational chaplains chose soldiers who were deacons or elders to assist them.³¹ The common ground among OPD's was that the sacrament was a memorial, the pledge of loyalty to Christ within the Christian family. It was not a sacerdotal celebration as most

Protestants considered the Roman Catholic Holy communion, but it was a corporate participation of the Priesthood of all believers presided over by either a minister or lay-person.

Conversion to the Christian faith was the goal of OPD religious activity, and the communion was seen as a means of Grace for a believer following their conversion to Christianity. The emphasis of the OPD pastoral and preaching functions found expression through the use of prayer, reading of scripture and suitable devotional encouragement; items of the pastoral inventory which placed more emphasis upon the interaction between pastor and parishioner. The lack of sacramental emphasis among Other Protestants was compensated for by the reading of scripture and engaging in prayer as the regular worship fare.

The lack of Other Protestants' Holy Communion practice in the context of active service, with the noted exception of the Methodists, may well have been substituted for an evangelical "*word of prayer*" and "*reading of scripture*" among groups of soldiers gathered before the battle. This is borne out through a survey of OPD former servicemen.³² The group of veterans surveyed, without exception, recall the prayer meetings, Bible study groups, wayside and quiet prayer times with Protestant chaplains. The group believed these to be the significant spiritual times of refreshment for men of their Protestant

persuasion, while they scarcely recall attending a formal Holy communion service. If they did, it was part of formal worship which was an infrequent occasion. Clearly, the offering of non-liturgical prayers as a pastoral tool and spiritual aid common to the evangelical Protestant life of the 1930s, substituted for the Protestant chaplain's sacramental ministry in Aid Posts, Field Hospitals and General Hospitals. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison was a regular attender at all the communion services he could get to. He confirms the anecdotal evidence that Protestant chaplains did not celebrate the sacrament as frequently as their Anglican colleagues. He suggests there was an atmosphere of informality in a Protestant service which had a homely sense of worship and friendship, an attraction of its own.³⁶

Protestant students among the various OPD churches of the 1930s were aware of the suspicions abroad of written or liturgical prayers. Moreover, it was the mark of spiritual strength to engage in extemporaneous prayers for appropriate times and seasons. Belief in the use of prayer for the dying, wounded, and groups of men, was a natural spontaneous alternative to the Holy Communion. Chaplains who offered prayer, and those who received it, may well have conveyed a sense of spirituality equal to the sacrament. The Salvationist Padre Thompson used a prayer passed between himself and his men as they moved into battle.

"Almighty God, give me the strength today to do the job that must be done, and to take what comes without complaining!"³⁴

He used another based upon 1 Peter 5: 7. as he moved around his men during action.

*"He careth for me, he careth for me,
Through sunshine and shadow,
He careth for me".*³⁵

These are close to a sacramental activity when considered in the Protestant military tradition. For numbers of men these words were the last they heard of prayer or scripture before their lives were taken in action.

The strong net-working of Bible Class, student groups, and YMCA included many Anglicans who would not unnaturally respond to group fellowships. What the sacrament could not allow in terms of more open and free worship, the traditions of the Protestant style was able to provide. The difference was of custom and tradition, not ability, and in so doing paved the way for greater understanding, acceptance and shared participation. The twin roads to ecumenical understanding of the sacrament, *a word of prayer and scripture*, may well have paved through time good-will and appreciation of each denomination's spiritual contribution.

Denominational communions were arranged and celebrated among the Protestants in base and static situations.³⁶ Sacramental

opportunities did not replace the Unit chaplain's function, but were in addition to it. Moreover, in Egypt and Italy denominational rallies were not uncommon, being held in safe areas behind the fighting line.³⁷ The Baptist Egyptian Mission, Methodist, Presbyterian and the Open Brethren Assembly in Cairo, the Waldensian, Armenian Baptist and Methodist Churches in Italy became places where men and chaplains of all Protestant denominations gathered as a band of Christians and in the time available shared the sacramental ministry.³⁸

The Salvation Army Communion alternative

On the outbreak of WW2 the Salvation Army had been established in New Zealand less than sixty years but enjoyed a reputation of down to earth identification with those in need. One Salvation Army chaplain records his celebration of Holy Communion and in so doing presented a theological question which was never resolved. It had to do with the question of who was entitled to celebrate the sacrament. Anglicans believed only clergy ordained in the apostolic succession had that right. Most of the Other Protestants held to the view that those who were ordained and appropriately licensed were able to conduct the sacrament. Protestants also believed those laypersons ordained as elders and deacons were entitled to assist or even officiate at the Holy Communion. In spite of having no denominational background in the sacraments Padre Thompson, a Salvationist, chose to celebrate communion as part of his unit

chaplain duties.

...using my vehicle as an altar, we held a communion service with about half a dozen men. I asked a Bible Class lad to read us some of his favourite verses. He chose the calm reassuring words of Jesus spoken when He knew He was about to die: "My peace I LEAVE with you. My peace I GIVE to you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid".

We were grateful he had chosen this Scripture. The words seemed to take on new meaning. We knew in faith that in the hour of our passing there would be peace - not chaos!³⁹

Padre Thompson⁴⁰ conducted this alternative form of Communion which demonstrated its worth among the men he served.

The Anglican Church never seriously raised the issue of an unauthorised chaplain conducting the sacraments, or challenged the practice by demanding on what authority a Salvation Army Officer could celebrate the Sacrament. From the Anglican perspective a Salvation Army Officer was in the same category as a Christian welfare worker, similar to that of an Anglican Church Army Officer. Neither person was ordained to the ministry and sacraments. Logically Anglicans believed Salvation Army Officers ought not be commissioned as Chaplains but should work as a Protestant Order similar to the Church Army and as a Christian Welfare Agency assisting Protestant chaplains.⁴¹ The question was never resolved, perhaps because there exists a breadth of Anglican Catholicity for almost all theological difficulties. The matter was of little consequence among Protestant chaplains, some of whom were happy to assist and

instruct Salvation Army Officers in conducting the mechanics of the sacrament.

The Anglican Underhill was blunt, "...little though I respect the S.A., I must take my hat off to Bicknell for first class Christian work, right on top all the time."⁴² Notwithstanding his rejection of the Salvation Army as a religious body corporate, he was warmly spontaneous in sharing worship with Padre Bicknell at the "song-services" back at Maadi which he roundly disliked as an alternative to Anglican Communion Services.⁴³

The sectarian Protestant minorities

Small groups of conservative Christians came together in Maadi Base and elsewhere as time and opportunity presented. In hut or tent, they broke bread together and shared the grape juice symbolic of wine. These were men from the Open Brethren Assemblies, various Pentecostal groups, and men from churches which did not have a stipendiary clergy. The celebrant in these situations, they considered, could be a soldier who was a lay preacher, elder, deacon, theological or bible student. Nor did they need a chaplain to lead them in prayers or in a prayer meeting.⁴⁴ As Christians they believed such activity to be their own responsibility. Nor did these men always attend a communion service conducted by a chaplain who was in their eyes, a professional clergyman part of the institutional

church, and thereby considered by some to be theologically suspect. This tiny group were continuing the traditions and beliefs of the Assemblies to which they belonged in New Zealand. Few there were, but they were within the spiritual life of the 2NZE. Occasionally, at Maadi, or in hospital, a soldier would find a religious tract on his bunk, asking that he make repentance for his sins, and urging him to Confess the Lord Jesus as His Saviour.⁴⁵ The discovery of a tract rarely passed without some form of angry response by its recipient who gave rise to comment about "religious cranks."⁴⁶

CONCLUSION

Holy Communion was openly celebrated for all non Catholics by Protestant chaplains, albeit the frequency of celebration constrained by their own traditional spiritual culture and theological roots in the Evangelical and Reformed traditions. Protestant chaplains placed less importance on a sacramental ministry, the Methodist possibly excepted, and in accordance with a Free church or evangelical tradition most chaplains applied the alternative spiritual tool of extempore prayer and the devotional use of the scriptures.

By way of a precedent for such conduct there is a pre-Constantine record of Christian prayer and fellowship in the context of the Roman Army circa 197CE during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE). Tertullian and Eusebius give

accounts of Christians in the 12th Legion (*Legio XII fulminata*) uniting in prayers for the express purposes of asking God for rain. The Romans were in grave danger of losing their campaign against the Germans through a lack of available water. The Patristic Fathers believed the resulting victory by the Romans was a response by God to the prayers of Christian soldiers.⁴⁷ Christian Prayer has obviously been more consciously practised within the military than the sacramental ministry, although it must be acknowledged there is no record as to when Holy Communion was first celebrated in the environs of a military situation. In-so-far as we know at the present time the Protestant chaplain's tradition of a word of prayer and a passage of scripture as an alternative to, but not exclusive of the regular practice Holy Communion, has its origins back in the earliest time when Christians were first found serving in the Roman army.

A more recent colonial precedent is recorded in the earliest tradition of the New Zealand chaplaincy and arises during the First Taranaki War of 1860-61. Rev'd John Whiteley, the Wesleyan missionary has left ample records of reading the scripture and sharing in prayers with groups of soldiers, Maori, militia and refugees but has never recorded the conduct of Holy Communion in the field.⁴⁸ This pattern was well established by 1864 in the ministry of Rev'd John Rishworth⁵¹ chaplain to the Military Settler Regiments. A passage in his

Journal makes a strong pastoral statement as he ministers a soldier.

I had a melancholy conversation with Sergt Short of the 40th Regt who was once a member of a class and truly earnest but now a miserable backslider. He owned to much unhappiness of mind and sense of deep and dreadful guilt in thus turning from Christ. I tried to encourage him again to come to the Cross as he had come at first when a convinced penitent and believing sinner he cast his soul on the atonement of Jesus. I reminded him of the fearful condition of a once enlightened and happy soul when again it turns to the "beggary elements of this world" all of which he assented to and on leaving him I sought (in prayer) to urge him to come...to the good Shepherd.⁵⁰

Anglican churchmen serving in units with the OPD chaplains identified with the spontaneous word of prayer and scripture. One such was Bishop Allan Pyatt⁵¹, then a tank commander, who served in a combat unit with a Presbyterian chaplain.

I received the Holy Communion in the reformed style, learned an appreciation of spontaneous prayer which came from the heart, while I appreciated more richly the use of scripture in daily devotions. My Anglicanism was enriched with a broader understanding of the Church Universal.⁵²

Clearly the OPD holy communion tradition did not hold a place of priority yet the importance of the sacrament was not underestimated for Padre Falloon conducted a communion service in the field immediately following the cessation of fighting and the jungle cleared of the enemy.⁵³ It would appear it was a matter of emphasis, where the traditional Protestant word of prayer and scripture reading was virtually as sacramental as the more formal celebration. There were other differences chaplains had to adjust to as part of their ecumenical journey

of ministry and understanding. Padre Watson, a Methodist, recalled a holy communion service during the Cassino Battle. The use of candles and a cross elicited a sentence in his diary that people at home might consider a service which used such "extras" was too much like "popery".⁵⁴ Likewise the participation of Salvation Army chaplains as celebrants of the Holy Communion which was pragmatic for the times which drew little formal theological criticism from non Catholic chaplains.⁵⁵

General Freyberg was loath to lose his 2NZEF Senior chaplain, a Presbyterian, Rev'd J. W. McKenzie⁵⁶ who elected to return to NZ on leave in late 1944. Freyberg was keen to have Padre McKenzie return to Italy⁵⁷ and resume his duties for he had an ally in McKenzie who had helped foster the unit chaplain policy and the inter-communion that had proved so effective. McKenzie, who was fifty four years old, did not return, and the Rev'd G.A.D. Spence⁵⁸ replaced him. Spence was also a Presbyterian and while the Ch.DAC. in Wellington might have wanted to prevaricate on his appointment, Freyberg appointed Spence without consulting them.⁵⁹ Spence was confirmed as SCF 2NZEF and the intercommunion policy continued.⁶⁰ Freyberg knew the proposed New Zealand nominated replacement for McKenzie was a churchman who may not have conscientiously shared the ecumenical convictions of an open common communion table for the 2NZEF. Hon Sir John White⁶¹ believes Freyberg's appointment of Rev'd G. A. D. Spence was made more on Spence's

seniority and his ability as an outstanding Unit chaplain.⁶² Freyberg was of course familiar with these qualities, but he also knew Spence was committed to the ecumenical policy of an open Communion table to all within the 2NZE.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE PACIFIC ECUMENICAL EXPERIENCE

Thus far I have examined the development of ecumenical bridges which enabled the Holy Communion to become an open inclusive celebration among Other Protestant Denominations and Anglicans. I have drawn chiefly on the front line experiences of chaplains and how they adapted, for the most part, the ministry of word and sacraments to meet the Middle East and Italian active service conditions. There remains a further area of exploration, that of the 2NZEF in the Pacific, (IP) which until recent years has not rated highly as an area of interest with military historians when compared with the five years of battle in the Middle East and Italy.

The 3 (NZ) Division in the Pacific was actively engaged against the Japanese from September 1943 until its final battle in February 1944.¹ The shortage of man-power within New Zealand industry resulted in the withdrawal and return to New Zealand of the Division from the Pacific where it was disbanded in October 1944.² The casualty figures give the contrast between New Zealand at war in the Middle East and the South Pacific. In the period of active service in the Pacific 203 members of the 3. (NZ) Div. died on active service, 213 were wounded, and only 7 survived Japanese captivity from the 26 taken prisoner.³ In the Middle East over five years of active service, 6,068 had

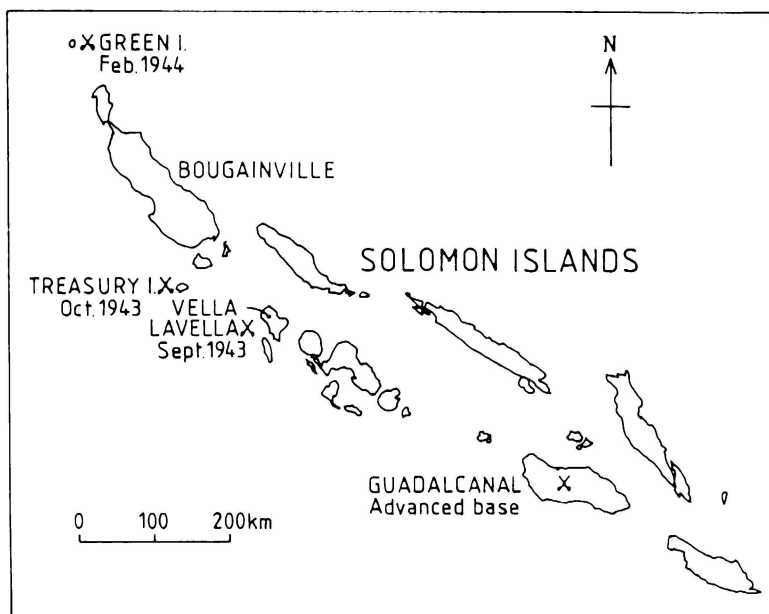
died, 15,108 were wounded, and 8,369 were taken prisoner, of whom 513 died in captivity.⁴ These figures emphasize the geographical difference in the two distinct arenas of warfare and the effect upon an army of an extended period of operations against an enemy. They also underscore differences, no matter how small, which chaplains of all denominations in the Pacific faced in their task as celebrants of the Holy Communion and ministry of the Word. The numbers of soldiers serving in the 2NZEF(IP) reached 17,891⁵ in December 1943. All that time they were scattered on many islands across thousands of kilometers of sea.

In the previous chapters distinctions have been made between the three denominational groups in the endeavour to find and map overall emphases and patterns of ministry. The short life of the 3. (NZ) Div. and the relatively brief period of its action preclude this mode of analysis. Nevertheless it is the purpose of this chapter to examine the Pacific experience in order to complete the picture of the chaplaincy of the 2NZEF both in the Middle East and the Pacific.

With the formation of the 3. (NZ) Div. in 1942⁶, most of its chaplains experienced the benefit of attending a Chaplains' Training School⁷ and the two years of accumulated wisdom of the Chaplains' Department in the Middle East. Moreover, the geographical nature of the South Pacific conspired to produce a style

of ministry advantageous to an ecumenical format, for the Unit chaplain was surrounded by sea on an isolated jungle-covered Island and often without adequate means of transport. Pacific chaplains, through their isolation and lack of consultation, experienced a diminished denominational emphasis and so exercised a more ecumenical ministry. They were able to achieve a degree of co-operation greater than that experienced in the Middle East. Their isolation distanced them from one another, the authority of the churches, and the military-ecclesiastical administration.⁸

By late 1942 the arrival of two US Marine Divisions in New Zealand as a consequence of the Pacific war meant that New Zealand RCs found themselves joined by great numbers of American GI Catholics. Thus New Zealand RCs discovered they were no longer simply a minority denomination in a dominant Protestant society. The close association of American Catholic servicemen⁹ with the New Zealand Catholic church was the catalyst which contributed to ending their sense of isolation. New Zealand Catholic chaplains became involved with units of the United States Armed Forces and discovered that American RC chaplains were trained to minister to everyone, even across faith boundaries.¹⁰ Because of the nature of the Pacific Theatre conditions, Catholic chaplains experienced an almost total lack of privacy for the celebration of Holy Communion. Most services had to be held outdoors. However, protestant



2NZEF(IP) 1943 - 1944 Areas of Operations in the British Solomon Islands



Padre George Falloon conducts a burial of men from 36 Battalion 2NZEF(IP) who fell in the invasion of Vella Lavella. September 1943.

curiosity about the Mass was stimulated to the extent that many Catholic servicemen were asked by comrades to explain the meaning.¹¹

The 3 (NZ) Div. chaplains implemented the policy of the Unit chaplain as tested and approved by the Ch.DAC. Major General H. Barrowclough,¹² was appointed GOC of the Division, and he in turn appointed the SCF 2 NZEF(IP) the Rev'd. Keith Liggett¹³ who had previous Garrison experience on Fiji and Norfolk Islands. The only 3 (NZ) Div. Chaplains' Conference, (indeed any divisional chaplains' gathering) was held on New Caledonia in July 1943¹⁴ when intercommunion between all non Catholic chaplains was celebrated. The GOC 3 (NZ) Div.(IP) gave his personal support for the work chaplains were about to undertake as the division prepared to encounter the Japanese.¹⁵

Padre Liggett selected those chaplains for the various Units whom he considered best suited to the physically demanding task,¹⁶ rather than attempt to make a balance of denominational coverage as was the policy in the Middle East. He placed older men, and sometimes the more experienced chaplains, at General Hospital and Base situations. Rev'd Father J. Pierce,¹⁷ Senior Divisional Roman Catholic chaplain stationed his priests, "...in view of distances between units¹⁸", one at each Brigade to include United States Army units without Catholic chaplains. 3rd Division chaplains were restricted in movement,

for they were for the most part without personal transport. Holy Communion among Roman Catholics for US and NZ Units in New Caledonia could only be celebrated fortnightly,¹⁹ and then only at centres where the Army provided the troops with transport. At Father Pierce's first Mass in New Caledonia 107 attended with 41 taking communion. He advised the Bishop that "...while we have the usual percentage...in general our men keep it."²⁰ In New Caledonia Padre Pierce permitted Catholics to attend Mass in the Catholic Mission Church despite his misgiving over the politics of the mission Priests viz a viz De Gaulle and Vichy.²¹ However the political implications were unimportant for Father Pierce believed it vital for Catholic soldiers to avail themselves of the Mass as frequently as possible.²²

A UNIQUE CONTEXT

Unit chaplains rarely saw each other as the division, before deployment north into the Solomon Islands, was scattered along the 340 kilometer coast-line of New Caledonia. The lack of individual transport compelled chaplains and the Unit YMCA Field Secretary to combine into a welfare and spiritual team.²³ After August 1943 some of the units of 3 (NZ) Div. moved to Guadalcanal and subsequently to Efate Island in the New Hebrides for sea-borne landing training.²⁴ During the intervening months before committal into battle, from October 1943 until February 1944, chaplains in the forward areas of the Task Force Brigades lived nomadic and physically active lives.

Chaplains training in the jungle and on board ship lacked the facilities for regular Holy Communion and, in common with experience in the Middle East, the sacramental ministry was substituted by Protestant chaplains with Bible Classes and prayer meetings. Rev'ds George Falloon²⁵ and Wally Harford²⁶ of 36 and 37 Battalions frequently record in their diaries the tent fellowships which they called together before the Treasuries' invasion in late October 1943.²⁷

Throughout the movement northwards, for the September 1943 Vella Lavella landing and the October Treasury Islands invasion, there were seldom suitable conditions in which to celebrate large Battalion, or even the Brigade services. Those communion services that were conducted were limited to the numbers of men within walking distance of the service. There was a sense of urgency in the training programme as the days shortened before the committal of the division into action.²⁸ The short sharp campaigns of October-November 1943 on Vella Lavella, and Mono Island, together with the last engagement on Nissen in February 1944 brought the combat role of the Division to a halt. One record of communion in the field followed the Service of Thanksgiving for the 36 Battalion when Padre Falloon celebrated following the Memorial Service for the fallen on Vella Lavella. He noted 30 attended.²⁹

After the cessation of fighting, Holy Communion services

conducted by Unit chaplains were held in Methodist and other village Mission chapels recaptured from the Japanese. The singing of the Islanders was greatly appreciated by soldiers.³⁰ By comparison with chaplains in Italy, who had the advantage of the basic but war-torn fabric of civilization, the chaplains of the Pacific sweated hard to erect bamboo YMCA hut facilities or to make room in their tents for up to a dozen men for worship and discussion groups.³¹ The climatic conditions, limited transport, and the requirement for the chaplain to carry most of his ecclesiastical equipment on his back, gave opportunity only for short and limited services of worship.

If the exigencies of the situation presented them with a choice of a communion service for some, or a word of prayer and scripture for all, Protestant chaplains elected for the latter. Up to six services on a Sunday were conducted throughout most of the static jungle-based Battalion areas. Chaplains were dependent on barge transport, and unreliable weather conditions frequently flooded the tracks which passed for roads making them so muddy that progress had to continue on foot. Often a chaplain found that his weekly planning for religious services had to be abandoned, either his transport had broken down, or the exigencies of the army gave a greater priority to its use elsewhere.³²

Catholic chaplains' dedication to the celebration of Holy

Communion in the war zones of the Pacific was rivalled only by their Middle East brethren. In the Pacific they adopted the Methodist "circuit" concept travelling around the various units usually by supply barge. Among their communicants were hundreds of Americans, easy going and friendly men who inspired the New Zealand priests with a sense of belonging to the larger family of the Catholic Church. Rev'd Father E. Ryan³³ went around his "circuit" hearing Confessions and, "...carry the Blessed Sacrament to Station B, then go on and say mass in Station C."³⁴ He reported to Bishop Liston, "It has come to be the accepted thing, for practically everybody to go to Confession and Holy Communion (sic)"³⁵

In the Pacific the conditions for sacramental ministry were determined not only by the jungle fighting, but the suitability of the ground and weather. Despite the climatic conditions Catholic chaplains insisted upon the use of proper ecclesiastical garments and consecrated elements for these were important to the setting of the Holy Communion.³⁶ They were the symbols of spiritual truths which added to the sense of Catholic family in the midst of hostile and dangerous surroundings. Father Pierce may not have appreciated the theological basis of the YMCA but he attempted a style of Catholic welfare along the same lines.

I hold no brief for the Y.M.C.A. but the Army has taught me the value of tea for a Chaplains(sic) job. So, as my Batman is a willing worker we ran a Recreation Hut back there, and even here I managed (sic)"scrounge" a large tent from the

US and we turn on tea and supper at nights.³⁷

In a heavily censored letter to a friend he tells of his decision to go forward to the combat area and remain close to the Field ambulance, "...and waited to receive our boys from both outfits. I tried to cover all units before the move, and by saying Masses morning and afternoon I managed to cover most of the ground."³⁸

ECUMENICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The following incident holds the key to understanding the development of inter-communion in the Pacific. On Mono Island in 1943 an Anglican chaplain gathered men on the edge of the jungle for a communion service. He welcomed them and stated that he hoped those among them who were not Anglicans would appreciate the high privilege of receiving the Communion from an Anglican priest.³⁹ The remark was indiscreet, demonstrating an attitude of condescension on the chaplain's part due, no doubt, to his orders to offer the Communion to all who sought it.

The incident confirms the Anglican acceptance of the war-time intercommunion in both the Middle East and the Pacific of and the willingness of non Anglicans to receive it. The remark by the chaplain also highlights a particular belief among Anglicans:

...through faith in his (Christ's) blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto thee; humbly beseeching thee, that all we, who are partakers of this holy Communion, may be fulfilled with thy grace and heavenly benediction.⁴⁰

The words are not exclusive to Anglicans. They contain the hope of personal spiritual reconciliation with God common to all believers. Anglican priests in the Pacific, in common with those of the Middle East, could not deny the means of grace to any individual who sought it, and indeed they did not. The nature of jungle warfare and the isolation of chaplains in the Pacific conspired to overcome the hitherto sectarian Anglican sacramental tradition, which as a result of the war-time ecumenical development came to exist as an equal alongside the Holy Communion traditions of Other Protestant Denominations. No tradition was more important than another; all were at the heart of a pragmatic ecumenical journey, a journey parallel to that travelled by Anglican chaplains in the Middle East. It was possible, in the Pacific, for a Church of Christ soldier to receive Communion from an Anglican chaplain in the sweaty jungle of Mono Island but, in New Zealand, his church-going parents would not easily have been granted that same right had they presented themselves at a similar service in their city Anglican Church. Chaplains in the 3 (NZ) Div. appreciated that there was a Catholicity within the Christian church, of which they were individual representatives, and this very

diversity and catholicity strengthened the road towards their ecumenical growth.⁴¹

Following the capture of the Island, and the occasion of the opening of the Mono Memorial Church in 1944, a communion service was conducted by a team of chaplains, after which Padre Witheford posed the question: "Why can't we do things like this together at home in New Zealand?"⁴²

The experience of a close ecumenical spirit bound by inter-communion drew from the SCF Padre Liggett a recognition and a challenge to the New Zealand church when he broadcast a Christmas Greeting from the Pacific in October 1943.

All denominations work together for here we have learned what brotherhood means, denominational difference becomes an academic question....I wish you folk at home would see it that way too, not only in the sphere of religion but in everything, your pet ideas, your likes and dislikes are all very well in their way, but at least here they don't seem very important, not when they are purely selfish. When you're taking a line on an enemy or lying in the mud as still as a cat listening for a more significant sound than the drip drip from the rain soaked jungle all that matters then is to know that your cobbers are not far away and they're on the same job as you are yourself, it gives you courage and courage is what you need on a job like this. Courage is what you need too at home, we won't always be fighting in the jungle or desert or plain or on the mountain top. There is always a more insidious enemy to fight, we cannot afford to have all this sacrifice for nothing, the price is too dear.⁴³

The experience of the Unit chaplain had opened Liggett's understanding of a broader challenge for the future, clarified through his experience in the Pacific:



Rev. A. C. K Harper CF (CofE)
NZ Army Chaplains' Department
Killed in Action
Italy
22 February 1944



Rev. John K. Watson MC. (Meth)
One of the 42 New Zealand
chaplains to be recognized
with an awarded or m.i.d. "I
could not make it out"



Reconstruction: Mono Island Memorial Church 1944. Built by New Zealand and US servicemen to replace the Methodist Mission Church destroyed by the Japanese. Front row: L to R. In robes, Rev. E. O Shields (CofE) Rev A. R. Witheford (Meth) The group is made up of senior American and NZ officers and some local Mission leaders.

The comradeship of war can be the comradeship of peace ...we shall win the war, there is no doubt about that at all, let us win the peace. When we have smashed the doctrines of Nazism, and whatever the Japs call their particular ism, the smashing of world selfishism will be well on its way, and we, I hope, will be well in the van.

Our beaches will ring again with the laughter of our youth,

things will hum again, but this time let the hum be one of purpose...not the jangled cacophony of bad pictures, strikes, lock-outs, unnecessary newspaper criticism and comment, bad sermons and the like. The comradeship of war can be the comradeship of peace and it isn't anybody's business but yours and mine.⁴⁴

In common with Witherford, Liggett wanted to see the gains of the ecumenical experience from the Pacific war transferred into a much improved ecumenical New Zealand, and his comments of Christmas 1943 foreshadowed the ecumenical journey that the Church in New Zealand followed at the conclusion of WW2.

CONCLUSION

This limited study of the Pacific setting demonstrates that theological sacred cows were being put to one side. The pragmatic necessity was that of reaching every man and woman, Catholic or Protestant, who could "...by faith be made partakers of His body and blood...".⁴⁵ The Presence of Christ was significantly more important than the side issues of the means of celebration or the necessity for the communicant to be confirmed.

The Pacific war of 1942-44 strengthened the pattern of inter-

communion begun in the Middle East between OPD and Anglicans, a situation which had not been achieved in the civilian church of New Zealand at that time. Wide public observation of Catholics at worship, and Christian fellowship with priests, who were all part of the whole military community at worship, contributed to the break-down of Catholic-Protestant socio-religious prejudices.⁴⁶ This situation was not dissimilar from that experienced by all chaplains when Christianity under the constraints of war was forced to shed some of its tradition and exclusiveness to meet the needs of men's and women's spiritual morale.

As a result of his war experience Padre Liggett, and other Pacific chaplains, caught a vision of a potential New Zealand ecumenical journey which they believed the Church needed to travel following the end of the war. Liggett's vision stands in contrast to Underhill's deep regret that Anglicans in the Middle East had not been stronger in their denominational ministry.⁴⁷ Both Liggett and Underhill were Anglicans of orthodox persuasion, and where Liggett was captivated by a vision of a nation discovering a new sense of unity in Christ, Underhill's regret was that the Anglican Church had surrendered unique opportunities created by the war to extend the Anglican Church's growth and social impact in the years of peace.⁴⁸

If we accept Padre Baragwanath's insistence that the experience

of Pacific chaplains was more ecumenical than their Middle East contemporaries⁴⁹, the contrast between Liggett's insight for the future and that of Underhill might well be the measure of difference. Liggett was genuine in his spiritual discernment and hopes for an ecumenical understanding, while Underhill made the same journey on pragmatic grounds rather than being inspired by a spiritual vision.

Padre Baragwanath recalls each individual chaplain, regardless of his denomination, had to deal with all religious matters in his Unit. Catholic chaplains had to care for Protestants and Protestants for Catholics.⁵⁰ The niceties and shibboleths of religious denominations were overshadowed by the jungles and swamped by the seas, while isolation, coupled with an acute boredom which affected everyone once the fighting had ceased.⁵¹

Pacific chaplains experienced freedom to create their own religious climate within the unit to which they were posted. They were untrammelled by the administration of a Chaplains' Department which organized regular conferences and refresher courses. They lived cheek by jowl with their men in the sweating jungles and were consistently found during the short weeks of action only a few meters directly behind the front line close to their soldiers.

It is not possible to enumerate all the fine acts done during the action, but the battalion picture would not be complete without some reference to Padre W. Parker who, throughout the entire action and often under the worst

possible conditions, always had a cup of tea and a cheery word for all comers. Nothing could deter him. Rain and mud could not dampen his spirits or extinguish his primus; enemy fire - and he was subject to plenty of that with one or two narrow escapes - did not interrupt his tea-making activities, and many a wounded soldier or weary patrol passing through...has reason to remember the padre's kind services.⁵²

The Pacific experience confirmed within the whole 2NZEF the building of the ecumenical bridge over which Holy Communion was available to any non-Catholic who presented their open hands. In the experience of the 2NZEF chaplains the gentle ecumenical growth which was already endemic within the spirit of New Zealand Christianity had gone beyond being just a movement. It had gathered momentum and it could be said that the New Zealand Army after 1943 was the most ecumenical body within any part of New Zealand society at home or abroad.

PART FOUR
THE MINISTRY OF PASTORAL CARE
CHAPTER TWELVE
WELFARE MINISTRY IN THE 2NZEF

As noted earlier the role of the military diaconate or the military Welfare worker is similar to that of the seven deacons selected by the apostles and recorded in Acts 6. Welfare officers shared the virtues of these first century examples of the diaconate. The Welfare ministry was the church selecting "*whom we may appoint*" (v3), to offer a "*cup of water to drink in my name*" (Mark 9: 41.). This was an incarnational display of diakonia, or 'costly service' in a world of conflict. It is doubtful, in my view, that the chaplaincy of the 2 NZEF could have functioned as effectively as it did were it not for the supportive role of the military field deacon.

Within the British tradition the Christian churches began their ministry of welfare to soldiers and sailors in the latter part of the nineteenth century.¹ Provision by the various religious denominations for their welfare huts or Institutes during WW1 was a golden opportunity to maintain contact with adherents and church members as well as a demonstration of support for the war effort. However, during WW1 the major contributor to welfare was the New Zealand YMCA.

It was essentially a peaceful organization, concerned normally with the social welfare of the citizen ; but here

at one stroke the particular class of citizen with whom it had to deal, the young man in civilian life, had been called away en masse to the battlefield. The demand that the Y.M.C.A. should march with them was inexorable.²

The YMCA in New Zealand had a long association with Territorial Camps since the early part of the 20th century through the provision of non alcoholic refreshments and a marquee or quiet place where soldiers could congregate, write letters, read, or hold bible classes and worship. During the 1930s, until the outbreak of war, the YMCA and the Church Army continued welfare ministry within the Territorial Forces.³

Prior to the outbreak of WW2 the Church Army authorities were hopeful that they could undertake a welfare-spiritual role similar to that undertaken in WW1. One day before the declaration of war the Church Army telegraphed the Senior Chaplain-elect, Bishop G. V. Gerard, to the effect that it was willing to undertake the task of welfare within the New Zealand army establishment.⁴

The YMCA, on the other hand, was not denominationally oriented. It represented all churches except the Salvation Army, Roman Catholic and Anglican. During the period of the 1930s the YMCA had been involved in providing welfare in many of the unemployment work camps (as had the CA) throughout New Zealand and was recognized by the community as much less of a sectarian or denominational body. There was a strong element of social

ecumenism among those who belonged to the YMCA, they were a diverse group of young men, many of whom were not committed to any particular church but who were part of the YMCA social and physical programmes.

PAROCHIAL TURMOIL.

The outbreak of war exploded with a bitter example of the sectarian distrust. In 1939 the National Council of Churches did not exist, and the Dominion Chaplains' Advisory Council was not constituted until April 1942. Thus at the outset of the war there was no single body through which the churches were equally represented and would enable them to consult and seek a wider overview of the needs of welfare. This was a period in church history where denominational flag flying was important and when the memory of the contribution of sectarian welfare during World War One was remembered with pride.

Thus, on the eve of war tensions developed between religious bodies seeking individual recognition by the Adjutant General to provide a welfare ministry to the 2NZEF. Among the church groups involved was The Salvation Army; the YMCA with its very strong support from many Protestant Denominations; and the Anglican Church Army with its strong claim to special entitlement on the basis of high Anglican representation.⁵ They also considered their prior experience within the armed forces gave them some precedent for making a bid for the Welfare work of

the future 2NZEF. Church Army officials had indeed prepared for such an occasion.

Before the outbreak of war the Church Army had arranged to place its organization and resources at the service of the Chaplains of the Church of England and the Defence Department. The Archbishop and Senior Chaplain (Anglican) have now decided (on the outbreak of war) to use the Church Army for work of all descriptions amongst New Zealand soldiers at home and overseas if required.⁶

The Salvation Army on the outbreak of war announced that there were twelve Salvation Army officers ready for immediate call-up as army chaplains, while their workers were ready to erect marquees in the main military camps. They proposed to donate six ambulances, the costs of which the Salvation Army believed would be donated to them by public subscription.⁷

Within hours of the outbreak of war the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New Zealand, Thomas O'Shea, decided not to pursue the policy of 1914-18 when the Roman Catholic church established its own Institute huts. He broke with a long tradition of non-cooperation with Protestant bodies and accepted the YMCA offer to provide full facilities for Roman Catholic soldiers and their chaplains. Writing to Bishop Liston of his decision the Archbishop commented "I promised to co-operate and they assured me the YMCA would offer every facility to us in regard to the use of their buildings for our religious services in camps in which we have no convenient buildings ourselves and I am sure they can be trusted."⁸

In the midst of these rapid developments the NZ Government legislated for the provision of welfare. It had no desire to see a proliferation of religious welfare agencies similar to WW1 when over 600 separate funds had been created and, various denominations had, on occasions, duplicated each other's work.⁹ The Hon. W. E. Parry, Minister for Internal Affairs, introduced a Bill into the House and had it passed on the 4 October 1939 creating the *Patriotic Purposes Emergency Regulations*. The Government was then able to establish the *National Patriotic Fund Board* which became the single statutory body permitted to raise and expend money for welfare.¹⁰

The YMCA felt strongly disposed to assume a welfare role not only because of its past experience but also because of the support it had from its constituent churches, including the Roman Catholic. Many individual members of congregations, leaders, elders and clergy were the directors on local YMCA boards. On the 26th September 1939 the General Secretary, Mr Roy Brasted, addressed the Presbyterian General Assembly Chaplaincy Committee. He "...spoke on the grave possibility of the introduction of the wet canteen into camps"¹¹ in response to which he "was cordially thanked, and assured of the thorough cooperation (to oppose such a canteen) of our Church."¹² The same meeting decided that all clergy of the Presbyterian Church were to be informed "...that it is not the intention of our church to provide huts or recreation facilities in camp or to

raise funds in that connection but that that function will be carried out for us by the YMCA."¹³

Meanwhile the Government had granted the YMCA and the Salvation Army approval to be collecting agencies for the funds of the *National Patriotic Board Fund* namely one hundred thousand pounds (\$200,000).¹⁴ This stimulated the main Protestant bodies immediately to seek an interview with the Minister of Internal Affairs. Indignant representatives from the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist and Churches of Christ informed the minister;

...to make the Salvation Army an expending agent of the National Patriotic Fund Board was to discriminate in favour of a single denomination which was "one of the smallest, if not the smallest, in the Dominion". These Churches were happy to approve the YMCA as an expending agency, because it was undenominational and international. They were also concerned that the Anglican church had reached an arrangement with the National Patriotic Fund Board authorising a Church Army hut at the base camp overseas with an establishment of four Church Army officers.¹⁵

The newly established National Patriotic Board failed to provide funds directly to the Anglican Church Army thus forcing it to raise its own money: "...and that we shall have to peg away and raise all that we require..."¹⁶ was the Anglican Church's first response. And, later in February 1940, it was made clear that "...in plain language they (The National Patriotic Fund Board) fail to realize the immensity of the job."¹⁷

The NZ Government was faced with having to make a decision for the squabbling factions which were all convinced that, independent of each other, they could significantly contribute to the welfare work of the 2NZE. The Anglicans were totally sectarian to the degree that they were prepared to provide their own funds and were uncompromising in respect of any cooperation with other churches.¹⁸ The Protestant denominations who supported the YMCA may have accepted the right of the Church Army to be represented purely on the number of Anglicans involved, but their combined hostility towards the Salvation Army being granted the right to have their own welfare huts and to be represented within the 2NZE by uniformed Salvation Army officers, brought an incensed reaction. The Prime Minister Peter Fraser had been bluntly informed;

...a prominent Presbyterian Minister...(had told him) that if any...concessions are granted to the Salvation Army, the other churches would ask for similar concessions, and the whole co-operative arrangement made between the Churches would burst assunder.¹⁹

The Government could no longer allow sectarian squabbling to continue. Through the National Patriotic Fund Board an eventual solution was forced upon the Churches. The Anglican Military Affairs Committee reported on the 10th April 1940 a solution that it was forced to accept.

That Church of England, Church Army Officers, should further be granted opportunities to accompany the Division, when it leaves the base, and work in the Y.M.C.A. Huts under the direction of the Y.M.C.A., but to retain their identity as Church Army Officers.²⁰

The National Patriotic Fund Board informed the Salvation Army that two of its Officers could work as part of the YMCA, wearing YMCA uniform with a small letter "S" on the lapel. Commissioner J. Evan Smith rejected the suggestion outright, and no Salvation Army officers served overseas as welfare officers following this rejection.²¹ Thus, the YMCA and the Church Army were finally forced into unwilling harness and were delegated by the Government as the two representative religious bodies responsible for welfare. The caveat to this arrangement was that the Church Army, if it was to receive its share of Patriotic Funds, was required to work under the direct authority of the YMCA.²²

In effect the Labour Government forced the Anglican Church and the Salvation Army to accept their decision based not only on the experience of WW1, but because the 2NZEF Administration wished to deal with only one welfare authority for it had a preference:

The YMCA is a body of the highest repute. While undenominational, its principles are those of the christian religion, and its work is aimed at improving the conditions of life of all those who care to accept its ministrations. Men knew that in dealing with the YMCA they were above all things getting a square deal, and thus gave the YMCA a confidence and trust which New Zealanders, suspicious and critical as they are, rarely give to organised bodies.²³

The preference of the 2NZEF Administration for a single welfare organization was with a view to ease administration in the field. General Stevens is on record as stating: "...the

introduction of the Church Army was a mistake...".²⁴

The Anglican Military Affairs Committee suspected that the YMCA used its position as the co-ordinating body to obstruct Anglican work in the Middle East and Fiji, and it was not until March 1943 that they considered their association with the YMCA was working satisfactorily.²⁵ Norfolk Island was the only military Garrison where the Church Army acted independently as the sole welfare agency,²⁶ and so strong was the YMCA impact throughout the forces that the Church Army Centre was generally known to the local Norfolk Island community and among the garrison as the "YM".²⁷

The Salvation Army, denied the establishment of its welfare huts, described the Minister's action as sectarian and expedient. The Salvationists had earlier raised money in New Zealand for the establishment of a building in the Middle East which had been completed just after the policy decision was adopted. The building was then handed to the YMCA and became part of the larger amenities.²⁸ The Salvation Army did not permit its the name on the YMCA letter-head with those of other New Zealand churches who recognized it as their welfare representative. It was not until after mid 1940 that the welfare work in the Middle East and Fiji began to demonstrate any form of cohesion.²⁹

A PRACTICAL OVERVIEW

Quite apart from the establishment of buildings on permanent base sites; and the unpacking and repacking of tents, coupled with the fetching and carrying of loads of comforts, fruit, cigarettes, chocolates, film projector, and all of the other paraphernalia required to install hot tea and biscuits; the YMCA secretary or Church Army officer had to be physically fit and extremely mobile. The ministry did not end at the handouts of welfare and the running of a commercial canteen. Most secretaries were responsible for collecting and distributing soldiers' Unit mail, acted as sports officers, choir masters, and organizers of bible study groups and more especially for Protestants and Anglicans organized the Sunday "evening song service".³⁰ In the absence of the chaplain the secretary or the Church Army Officer conducted services, generally at a specific request from a Commanding Officer of the Unit.³¹

As noted previously, the YMCA, in contrast with the Church Army, was much more ecumenically focused:

...doing of things for others: first to the Glory of God, and secondly for the sake of the man we serve; serving him in such a way that he feels that he is a person who counts, far more than his regimental number or his sergeant major would suggest....that he is a potential member of God's family and infinitely precious as such, no matter how blasphemous, uncouth, or unappreciative he may be. And with this conviction of the sacredness of personality we set out to safe-guard it; keeping men from the things that do them harm and drive them further from the position where they can be reached by the sweeter influences of their peace-time lives.³²

The YMCA provided extensive accommodation in leave centres and towns and, following the occupation of Italy, provided amenities for social relaxation, retreats and other activities to ease the pressures of military life.³³ The logistical difficulties for the YMCA were more apparent in the Pacific Theatre, where distance, island topography and jungle fighting denied the construction of the more standard welfare buildings.³⁴ On the other hand they worked more closely with chaplains and were often the only people available to assist Pacific chaplains in the recovery of bodies and arranging burials.³⁵

Welfare officers of both agencies did not wear rank, nor did they have officer or NCO status, and they were not entitled to be saluted. They did have the right to live in the Officers' mess which meant they mixed freely with all of the officers of the unit, including the doctor and the chaplain. Criticism of YMCA secretaries is rare and the record of their assistance to chaplains legion. At the end of the war General Stevens paid the YMCA a singular tribute:

...YMCA institutes...sometimes only a tent with a staff of one, were conducted in a way that was beyond criticism, the atmosphere was clean and fresh, the spirit was one of mutual helpfulness, and always in the background was the secretary ready to be consulted and to advise, and perhaps more accessible even than the chaplains. Liquor and gambling in any form were not allowed, and the greatest efforts were made to ensure that men had some real relaxation in an atmosphere as peaceful as is ever possible in any army.³⁶

The function of the Church Army officer, despite orientation towards the Anglican tradition, was little different from his YMCA associate. He provided a library service and other comforts and encouraged evangelism and spiritual work as direct assistants, or more appropriately as military deacons, to Anglican chaplains. The Anglican Church was concerned to provide alternatives and sweeter influences to counteract the social deprivation which was known, from the events of WW1, to tempt soldiers to visit brothels. After fifteen months of war the "moral" conditions which threatened soldiers overseas were the cause of some anxiety to the AMC resulting in some heart searching in an effort to find a solution. This did not go beyond the discussion stage and the committee decided to live with the reality that not all men were convinced that chastity was a virtue worth maintaining in war-time.³⁷

WELFARE WORKERS AND THE GENEVA CONVENTION

Welfare workers were not provided for under the terms 1929 Geneva Conventions. Article 9 (*Personnel*) which deals with the conditions of captured non combatants specifically notes;

The personnel engaged exclusively in the collection, transport and treatment of the wounded and sick, and in the administration of medical formations...and chaplains attached to armies, shall be respected and protected under all circumstances.

Soldiers specially trained to be employed, in case of necessity, as auxiliary nurses or stretcher-bearers for the collection, transport and treatment of the wounded and sick, and furnished with a proof of identity, shall enjoy the same treatment as the permanent medical personnel... while carrying out these functions.³⁸

Welfare officers were by definition civilians and not soldiers despite Church Army and YMCA Field Secretaries being issued with Army numbers and having their salaries subsidized by the army.³⁹ Their position was a contradiction in terms; they were religious and non-combatant, yet partly paid by the belligerent Government as employees of the military machine, who, through the work of welfare, succoured and supported the fighting men. The Church Army Welfare workers were confidentially advised by the 2NZEF administration before leaving New Zealand that if captured they were to give only their name, number, and rank as Chaplain Class 1V.⁴⁰ German or Italian authorities had only a vague understanding of religious welfare agencies, while the Japanese had none. The former however made provision within their own armed forces for the work of chaplains and understood their function. No Christian chaplains served with the Japanese Imperial Forces. All three nations, as well as New Zealand, had been signatories to the 1929 Geneva Conventions so all ought to have been aware of its provisions. The pragmatic recourse of a captured welfare worker claiming the status of a chaplain was accepted with little question at the higher level of German and Italian Command.⁴¹ It was not easy, however, in the first hours of capture to convince German and Italian soldiers that religious welfare workers were chaplains. Sometimes they were put to harrowing experiences, eg, the moving of ammunition, hard difficult and dangerous work, following the fall of Crete.⁴²

Had such an anomaly been recognized by the 1929 draftees of the Convention, it may well have eased the stringent treatment of captured workers and allowed their release, as was the case with captured chaplains and doctors, to succour the wants and needs of captured soldiers. Captured welfare workers eventually, and after some tribulation, undertook in captivity the role of an Acting Chaplain.⁴³

WOMEN'S WELFARE CHAPLAINCY.

The war was a month old when the Church Army suggested to the AMC the "...desirability of appointing a Church Army Sister to work among the girls at Papakura"⁴⁴ where women were engaged in a civilian capacity. The matter was not pressed but raised again in November 1942 when the Committee authorized an enquiry "...ascertaining whether Church Army Sisters would be allowed to give service in Women's Camps."⁴⁵ Again the matter was discussed but not resolved. Early in 1944 the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council received information regarding the appointment in the British Armed Forces of women in the capacity of chaplains' assistants. These were ordained deaconesses of the Church of England, Church of Scotland or the British Methodist Conference.⁴⁶ Several thousand women were by then enlisted into all three services within New Zealand, with almost a thousand serving overseas.⁴⁷ The acknowledged shortage of clergy in New Zealand by 1944 made it impossible to fill all of the military and civilian requirements, thus the

suggestion had merit.⁴⁸

In July 1944 the Minister of Defence declined to implement the Ch.DACs approval of the policy and outlined new measures to increase social activity and participation in sport so that women could engage in more useful leisure employment.⁴⁹ The reaction to the Government rejection of chaplains' assistants was widespread, both from the Ch.DAC and the New Zealand Churches who believed women assistants were better placed to deal with spiritual needs among service women.⁵⁰ The *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* openly criticized the Minister of Defence's refusal to institute the scheme under the heading, "Minister's Veto on Women Chaplains" and described the decision as "curiously blind."⁵¹

ENFORCED ECUMENISM

One church has recorded of its work:

What was recognised as the immediate duty of the Church everywhere was to throw the weight of its influence in the scale against what was too obviously an attack upon national rights of existence. The sword drawn was that of a blood-lusted (German) Imperialism, which scoffed at the idea of mercy for the conquered.⁵²

However, time was to over-ride sectarian thinking as the fresh experiences of a quite different war impacted on the churches. In its most charitable light the desire of the churches to be in the forefront of welfare work was a demonstration of their patriotism and loyalty, their ecclesial response to the nation

at war, and their parishioners on the battlefield. This was not to be and the Government, as we have seen, decreed that the YMCA would be the sole religious welfare agency, a decision that the Church of England reluctantly lived with.⁵³ Surviving Church Army officers give strong signals even in today's ecumenical climate of a bitter-ness which erupted from time to time when decisions were made by the YMCA Commissioner involving active service for Church Army Staff.⁵⁴

Forced to become ecumenical bed-fellows, a cautious willingness, at least to attempt to work together, gradually developed. Yet there were, in addition to the cautious amalgamation of the YMCA and the Church Army, two remarkable ecumenical achievements. The first was the acceptance by the New Zealand Jewish Congregations of the YMCA as its official welfare agency. This represented a highly significant crossing of an inter-faith boundary hardly considered possible in New Zealand before 1939.⁵⁵ The second was just as notable. The Roman Catholic Church in New Zealand elected to use the strongly Protestant YMCA as the agency for its own pastoral and welfare work within the 2NZEF. Although sanctioned by the Catholic Arch-bishop, not all Catholic chaplains elected to follow the agreement in practice, but at least the majority of Catholic chaplains did so to the satisfaction and convenience of their soldiers.

We shall never know if all three bodies acting independently could have improved upon the work of the YMCA. Had this been the case, then it is highly unlikely that either the Jewish Congregations or the Roman Catholic Church would have adopted the Church Army or the Salvation Army as their welfare representatives. Rather, it would have seemed logical for the RCs and Jews, and perhaps other religious bodies, to have petitioned the Government to repeat the WWI style and each religious body establish its own Welfare huts. Thus the defects of WWI Welfare work would have reappeared. Instead a cornerstone of welfare ecumenism was laid when the Government of the day effectively forced the Churches to recognize the need to co-operate and work together in much the same way that General Freyberg had asked his chaplains to work together in Units and so avoid sectarianism. The churches were being moulded, not by theological convictions, but by the pragmatic events of the day and the experience of those in the secular world. It was these forces which were effecting change in the churches, not grand theological insights or the burning desire to fulfil the prayer of Christ, "...that they may be one, as we are." (John 17:11b.)

CONCLUSION

One reason for the sectarian bickering and strong Anglican pressure to maintain a separate welfare organization lay in the establishment of the Church Army in New Zealand. It was the jewel in the crown of that Church's efforts to cope with the

social and human ills caused in the depression years as well as an out-reach to the ordinary New Zealander. The Church Army was newly established having been founded in New Zealand during the depression years of 1929-35.⁵⁶ It was the social-evangelical wing of the Anglican Church in the difficult "great depression" decade before WW2. The Church Army provided new spiritual life and identified the Anglican Church in many grass roots situations in a nation which was struggling to establish a social welfare system and a better standard of living for its people.⁵⁷

The second reason is more ecclesiological. Until 1939 there existed a sectarian shibboleth that only Anglicans could minister to Anglicans. So strong was this conviction that the Bishop of Waiapu, Rt. Rev'd G. V. Gerard hoped, indeed almost insisted, that in the 2NZEF Anglican servicemen would receive periods of instruction from Anglican chaplains.⁵⁸ These expectations, mixed with much of the scripture texts which inspired the evangelical work of the Church Army, would certainly add to their impetus to take full responsibility for Anglicans socially and spiritually.⁵⁹

The failure of the Geneva convention to recognize Welfare workers can be attributed to those negotiators in 1929 who ignored the previous record of the International YMCA which had served all belligerents in WW1. They failed to appreciate that

in a future war such workers would be placed at risk if captured. During World War One, with its trench warfare and restricted movement, welfare institutions were placed at a distance behind the fighting lines. Those who drafted the convention may well have considered it impossible for welfare workers ever to be in a position to be captured. Their captors were not helped in their understanding of welfare workers' role by Clauses from the Geneva Convention nor the instructions given to welfare workers that should they be captured they were to seek chaplains' status.⁶⁰

The concept of women acting as chaplains in a welfare capacity among women of the 2NZEF came at a time when women in New Zealand constituted tens of thousands of the work force and had virtually replaced an equal number of men released for the armed forces.⁶¹ The Churches and the Dominion Chaplains' Advisory Council were clearly in agreement with the proposal, the British precedent having functioned sufficiently long enough to have assured the New Zealand churches that the scheme would work.⁶² Nevertheless, despite advice to this effect, the Government refused to give the scheme its blessing. This decision was not received with approval by either the churches nor, on the face of it, by the 2NZEF Administration. Arguably, had the policy been adopted fewer chaplains would have been required overseas, and the Women's Red Cross, Tui and WAAC Units⁶³ would have been served by women assistant chaplains

enabling the release of additional chaplains from base areas for front-line appointments. The chronic shortage of clergy in New Zealand may well have been alleviated, and the quality of the chaplaincy may well have been enhanced.⁶⁴

Those who filled the welfare role of military deacons were men with a burning energy and a tireless Christian spirit. Great risks were taken by them to deliver this ministry, a task in which they, as inner directed men, were driven by the deep sense of compassion for those involved in war. General Freyberg paid a tribute as the war ended.

"...I welcome this opportunity to send a message of deepest gratitude to all those members of the YMCA...who have worked so hard and unsparingly,"...."Their determination to share all dangers and hardships and their interest in the welfare of the troops have been instrumental in maintaining morale at its preset high state. During five long years of war they have never failed in their task...."⁶⁵

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

MORALE AND SPIRITUALITY

Morale in the military context is that human quality which inspires fighting spirit and confidence. The term "morale" was first used in the British military c1831 to refer to the well being, confidence and good discipline of soldiers. Post 1870, the term was increasingly used to describe the virtues of discipline, good health and the fitness of soldiers.¹

During WW2 there was an unwritten expectation by the New Zealand military administration that chaplains would be the purveyors of a morale programme necessary to maintain a healthy and contented army. The 2NZEF, in the absence of specifically New Zealand military orders and regulations had adopted as its administrative guide the use of the British Army *Kings' Regulations*. In the climate of the late Empire period the adoption of British Regulations was considered sensible and made for ease of administration throughout the Commonwealth Forces associated with the British Army.

The *King's Regulations* instructed chaplains that they were responsible to attend "*generally to the religious instruction and welfare of soldiers.*" From the military perspective, spirituality was contributed by the chaplain's good humoured social contact with soldiers, visiting the sick, the wounded

and those in detention barracks, and making provision for daily prayers and Holy Communion. Providing servicemen were receiving these benefits of "confidence discipline, etc."² the Generals had every reason to hope their men would behave bravely and have the physical and mental capacity to defeat the enemy. Nowhere in the *Kings' Regulations* of the period was it specifically stated that chaplains were expected to contribute to the purely *military* morale of soldiers, although clearly the *Regulations* meant their task was to work for the spiritual confidence and good discipline³ of their parishioners.

There is no record of the 2NZEF administration instructing its chaplains on how best to do their work. General Sir Bernard Freyberg either consciously or unconsciously held to the common and private viewpoint of most New Zealanders with regard to spiritual matters.

Like most of us, he never spoke of religion; but there is no doubt that his thoughts often dwelt on the deeper things of life. On several occasions before and during battle our senior chaplain Jim McKenzie remembers him saying: "Padre, pray for me. We need your prayers."⁴

Thus the chaplains' contribution towards morale was by way of spiritual and pastoral skills applied to meet a need. Their contribution and presence was a reminder to soldiers that the conduct of the war was based on the choice of a lesser evil, for to have done nothing to oppose Hitler would surely have meant slavery of one form or another. In this chapter the

comparisons between the chaplains' spiritual work and that which the army termed "morale" is considered.

MILITARY MORALE

Xenophon believed that it was not numbers which achieved victory in battle but "...whichever army goes into battle stronger in soul, their enemies cannot generally withstand them".⁵ Clausewitz wrote "...the physical seems little more than the wooden hilt (of the sword)...while the moral factors are the precious metal, the real weapon, the finely-honed blade".⁶ Napoleon maintained that morale is to the physical as three is numerically greater than one.⁷ Morale in the army is the responsibility of military management. It requires that soldiers be well fed, given comfortable quarters, time for relaxation, and provided with social outlets within a disciplined organization. Morale aims to create a climate of confidence between the Army Staff and the soldiers who are expected to implement their military planning.

It was rarely the express intention of any New Zealand soldier to die in battle, thus the prerequisite for military success lay in the quality of the humanity and care given to troops who endanger their lives for the cause.

The most important weapon on the battlefield is the human being, yet it is the most unstable and vulnerable one. Combat is a situation of fears and stresses foreign to most individuals, and the ability to cope with them, both individually and collectively, often determines success or failure in war.

The soldier's ability to cope with these fears and stresses is dependent upon his morale, which many military commentators claim is the "greatest single factor in war".⁸

Among those commanders in recent history who have earned a place of respect are several who have recognized their soldiers as individuals with human needs. These commanders endeared themselves to their men who in turn did not fail to respond in battle because of the morale engendered. A morale which gave them a sense of recognition as persons, a sense of purpose, confidence and a spirit of comradeship, directly contributed to their fighting qualities.

...Wellington, Nelson, Montgomery or that paragon of military virtuosity, the Zulu general Shaka, by according to logistical planning the highest priority, achieved not only the affection and loyalty of their men, but also, as a consequence, standards of health out of all proportion to the purely physical benefits which their energy conferred.⁹

Combat training for the New Zealand soldier was directed at stimulating the aggressive attitude of making the **enemy** die for **his** country. This was achieved through the inculcation of confidence, the mastery of minor tactics at section and platoon level, coupled with the honing of individual battle skills. Maintaining a positive attitude in training was the cornerstone of battle morale. In the preparation for battle the aggressive inclinations of men were trained to that of killing by instinct. Some chaplains had seen the results.

I had hitched a ride in this jeep, much to the unease of its crew. They were hunters, and as we turned the corner I saw a small patrol of Germans, seven or eight men

fifteen or twenty yards ahead - they bounded for the ditch. All hell broke loose from the jeep, I found myself alone and half-way out and halfway in. The firing and shouting never seemed to end. Then it stopped. A voice shouted "Padre you old bastard...there's a bit of work here for you. We got the lot." They had, I buried those seven young Germans, still warm with life with the help of my companions, they bore not hate. They were some mothers sons.¹⁰

Battle training, aimed at reducing the individual soldier's fear of his own death followed the experience of WW1 where the bayonet became the focus of aggression. Such training produces a problem in terms of coping with the element of fear and uncertainty.

Terror and nervous reactions take place before action, especially when approaching the white line....It's most nerve wracking - all your past sins appear and you try to cleanse yourself before God in battle. All soldiers standing on the white line cannot deny this.¹¹

Swift movement forward over exposed ground, engaging the enemy with the cut and thrust of steel, was designed to overcome individual fear of death and foster confidence and determination to defeat the enemy in the face of all odds. Soldiers must not just assume they are the best, they must be confident that they are the best. Such a conviction existed within the Maori Battalion, and it was in Crete where their most striking example of *esprit de corps* was clearly demonstrated. The Brigade was located at a defensive position known as *42 Street*. The New Zealanders were under severe threat from the advancing victorious Germans and the response to this perilous situation was that the remnants of the Maori Battalion fixed their

bayonets and took to the Germans head-on.

"Jerry tried to hold us back with everything he had...We walked all the way...jumped into his first positions, bayoneted or tommy-gunned them, then walked on to his next line." Section after section of the enemy were wiped out in the face of the inexorable advance of the Maori bayonet charge...Men behaved as if they were on parade and after they got to the second line the Germans started to "crack and run."¹²

The Maori Battalion chased the Germans, three times their number, hundreds of meters from where their near-defeated, tired and tattered comrades were hidden and at rest. Time was won to reorganize and retreat towards the coastal ports and embarkation to safety. This *esprit de corps* and good morale amply demonstrated by the Maori Battalion typifies Xenophon's belief that the army with the strongest soul or spirit, even with the disadvantage of numbers, generally defeats larger armies.

Maintaining good military morale was a priority responsibility of officers and senior NCOs. They were the man managers, the first line in the process of problem solving. It was essential that they understood their men, their problems, and possess a knowledge of their individual strengths and weakness. However, New Zealand officers and NCOs received very little training in personnel management. They learned from daily experience and the demands of the battlefield.

There were two occasions¹³ when New Zealand soldiers refused to

go into battle, and on both of these occasions the field punishment of the soldiers concerned was suspended. The officers and NCOs of the platoons involved were posted elsewhere.¹⁴ The official enquiry confirmed that the leadership was expected to come from the top and although the men may well have refused to obey a lawful command, responsibility for this problem lay with the officers and NCOs concerned.¹⁵

FACTORS OF GOOD MORALE

Comradeship, and a sense of identity either as a national or provincial group, was an important aspect of morale. The 2NZEF organization encouraged the composition of units to include men from the same provincial areas, sharing a common identity, schooling, friends, sporting clubs, scouting, student life and church associations. These human islands of provincialism strengthened the spirit of competition and stimulated rivalry and aided in cementing a team spirit. One unit drawn from Otago and Southland remained aloof within the 2NZEF for some years. Their team spirit was so strong they created a myth that anyone north of the Waitaki were not proper New Zealanders and required a visitors pass to get into their lines.¹⁶

Men who were fighting alongside their fellows from their own town, alongside men who will remember their success or failure throughout the rest of their lives, have strong incentives to do their best. You cannot let a man down if you are going to meet him in the street every remaining day of your life.¹⁷

Two specific factors necessary for the maintenance of good

morale are identified as follows.

(i) Flexible and Open Administration

The 2NZEF Administration placed great importance on the efficiency of postal facilities, creative relaxation, sport and other recreational facilities. Chaplains were involved in some of these quite apart from their spiritual ministry, for within the army context commanders and men did not restrict a chaplain's enthusiasm if he believed it was his function in carrying out "spiritual welfare".¹⁸ Chaplains were expected to referee Rugby, soccer, and hockey activities. He was frequently the concert master of ceremonies, librarian, as well as the celebrant of Divine worship and the sacraments.

(ii) High quality Medical Facilities

Medical facilities within the 2NZEF were among the most competent of the allied armies. At the close of the war it was reported:

...NZ Medical Services are without equal. The standard of surgical and medical treatment, administration of hospitals, casualty clearing stations, field ambulances, and convalescent depots have been most important in keeping up high standard of morale in your force overseas.¹⁹

A soldier needed to be assured that he was not cannon fodder, nor that his life would be wasted in a futile cause and that if he were wounded he would be evacuated to a hospital where all of his needs would be professionally and kindly attended to. He

needed to be assured that his life was of value. He was then the more prepared to risk it in the "higher cause".

MORALE FROM THE TOP

From 1942 General Sir Bernard Montgomery commanded the 8th Army which included the 2.(NZ).Div., and he clearly understood the significance of high morale.

The raw material with which the general has to deal is men. It is essential to understand that battles are won primarily in the hearts of men. An army is not merely a collection of individuals....The real strength of an army is, and must be, far greater than the sum of its parts; that extra strength is provided by morale, by fighting spirit, by mutual confidence between the leaders and the led...and by many other intangible spiritual qualities.²⁰

Montgomery recognized that at the heart of morale there must also be a spiritual dimension, though not all senior commanders were able to be as articulate as Montgomery on the subject.

I do not believe that today a commander can inspire great armies, or single units, or even individual men, unless he has a proper sense of religious truth...All leadership is based on the spiritual quality, the power to inspire others to follow.²¹

On this topic General Freyberg, despite his lack of articulation, did not in practice deny the importance of his soldier's morale. It has been said by a biographer that it was, indeed, among the most valuable contributions he made to all who fought under his command.

He, together with his subordinate commanders, sustained the soldier's morale by making him feel recognised as an individual whose fears and hopes were realised by his

leaders, and by convincing him that the hardships he had to suffer were not due to folly or neglect, that if he was wounded he would be properly cared for, and that his life would never become expendable.²²

General Freyberg practised what he insisted his officers should also be competent to do in the area of building morale. His aide, General W. Stevens, speaks of the General's frequent visits to the battle zone when he too was at risk from enemy fire. He frequently made a point of calling into a strong-point for a chat with his men, who were always impressed that "Tiny" had come to visit **them**. The General would casually ask before he left if they had the latest copy of the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES*, and of course they did not. General Freyberg replied "Right then, you can have mine" and he would double back to his vehicle, take a copy from the pile on the back seat and return with it. They never failed to be impressed, and as an act of morale, goodwill, and an expression of interest in his men, it had a profound morale-boosting effect.²³

Montgomery recognized that as part of morale there were "many other intangible spiritual qualities".²⁴ Members of the Maori Battalion would go further than noting just intangible qualities, for among them, many held the view that battle itself, to be adequately faced, required a recognition by each individual of "*something spiritual*".²⁵

MORALE AND THE HOME-FRONT

Padre Bicknell became aware of falling morale among New Zealand troops in June 1942. It concerned him deeply that the spirit of enthusiasm had gone from his unit.

The first signs of disruption to family life seem to come with the invasion of American troops to NZ. I, along with other Padres, had to deal with men who were devastated when they began receiving word of the invasion into their homes of Americans and the infidelity of wives or sweet-hearts. I recall the occasion when I approached the Military Secretary with a soldier's request to be granted compassionate leave in an endeavour to save his domestic affairs from breakdown. Unfortunately he replied, "Padre if we were to start doing that we would be sending dozens home". It became evident that war in The Pacific was already showing its effect on family life in N.Z.²⁶

There is much more which could be noted in respect to the effects of the so-called *American Invasion*, suffice to say that numbers of men preferred to go deliberately to their deaths as a result of their loved one's infidelity. Padre Bill Thompson counselled and prayed with one man whose wife had written to him to say she was pregnant by another. Padre Thompson learned later in the day the soldier deliberately walked into machine-gun fire and was killed.²⁷ Corporal Jack Melrose has bluntly outlined those times in the 2NZEF as it affected him.

It has to be remembered that this was an extremely difficult time for an army of expatriate New Zealanders - for God's sake the bloody Japs were at our back door in mid 1942, and 50,000 hot blooded yanks were knocking off our wives and so-called girl friends. Jesus Christ - the next thing we expected - but dared not talk about was that New Zealand would be invaded and we would be an army without a homeland! Don't talk to me about morale - it was sheer hanging in by your gut strings. I for one got little consolation out of the church parades when a hairy arsed fresh faced padre spouted on about finding your



While you are away,

(German Propaganda Poster)

The first signs of disruption to family life came with the invasion of American troops to NZ. I Along with other Padres had to deal with men who were devastated when they began receiving word...of the infidelity of wives and sweethearts. I appealed to the Military Secretary with a soldiers request to be given compassionate leave in an endeavour to save his domestic affairs from breakdown. "Padre, if we were to start doing that we would be sending dozens home." (Padre Norman Bicknell)

strength in God and saying your prayers, and trust and such like. I remembered this - strange that! Now that we won the war I think I believe him!²⁸

Very few chaplains note this period of extreme difficulty and lowering of morale, rather their diaries reflect the movement and constant challenges in battle. The priority was the war, and those men who suffered as a result of what the war caused in its wake lived or died, as Melrose said, "by hanging in on your gut strings."

MORALE IN THE FIELD

Considering the plethora of diary and other written material chaplains have left, few have commented on the state of military and spiritual morale. Their references are sparse and their comments more implicit than explicit. They noted morale as an attitude of mind, either collectively or in individuals. During the retreat and flight from Greece on 25th April 1941 Padre Hopkins was with a medical unit, he noted the mood of the time.

The day (Anzac Day) that all the other blokes were going ashore and making a name for themselves as courageous men we were going away with our tails between our legs. And quite frankly I didn't think of myself as a priest who was running, I thought of myself as part of the New Zealand Army...it was discredited and disheartened, discouraged and depressed.²⁹

Questioned how he reacted to this situation Padre Hopkins noted that at the time any form of religious ceremony was as

inappropriate as it was impossible. He believed his best response was to work as a stretcher bearer, encouraging the tired, and literally carrying the weak. Padre Hopkins became another pair of helping hands. "One could hardly pray out loud in a situation like that, there was too much to do."³⁰

Maadi Camp, the Base establishment, was known as 6 Division in the military nomenclature of the 2NZEF. Chaplains had to take their turn, or recover from hard work in the base area. Some servicemen never got beyond the base area because their administrative tasks did not require them to be fighting soldiers. Maadi was where the reinforcements gathered before their dispersal to the front line units, it was the "home area" of the New Zealanders. Padre Gourdie writes "At the time we arrived in Maadi there had been no reinforcements since October, 1941...and of course the Japs carrying everything before them, morale in the Base Camp was very low."³¹ Gourdie had to stay three months in Maadi before being eligible to be posted to a front-line unit. During those three months he managed a recreational tent and discovered his assistant robbed the till of five pounds a week, and observed of the morale at base in October 1942.

...rather than go "up the blue" one of my helpers put a .303 through his foot and was charged with giving himself a self inflicted wound...Yes, morale was low at that time, but in fairness be it said, there were many who should really have been returned to NZ, but could not be spared. When Rommel took Tobruk, surrounded the Division at Minqua Quaim; and got as far as Alamein, morale slumped to rock bottom and I thought that I must do what I could for my

own unit - which wasn't much. I walked miles to get a Maori Choir, only to be asked, "Don't you know there's a war on?" I forget what I finally got, but I did what I could. Unfortunately in doing that, I missed a chaplains' get together, and the Senior Anglican Chaplain came gunning for me, though I rather guessed another narrow gutted padre had pimped on me.³²

Gourdie responded to the low morale in the only way he knew, by trying to provide a suitable form of entertainment, only to discover the Maoris declined to help him. The system of padres' conferences at Maadi continued despite the vicissitudes of war and Gourdie considered these unimportant while the atmosphere of gloom and "rock bottom" morale existed. There is no record that the Maadi Administration attempted to deal with the problem in mid 1942.

During the preparation for the attack on Cassino in March 1944 the field engineers' padre Rev'd John Watson was aware the atmosphere among the troops was not good. Watson had until a year previously been a medical NCO and knew well the signs of a failing of morale. He was edgy about the prospect of the attack on such a prominent feature as Cassino.

The O.C. said that tomorrow the show was "on". This will be a good thing because the men have been kept waiting for a long time and morale has been slipping. Each night the O.C. has been along to Brigade H.Q. to find out whether it is "on" or "off". Apparently the bombing attack has to be laid on from England.³³

Padre Watson was among the most astute of all the 2NZEF padres, his military knowledge equalled that of combatants. He knew

that morale was falling because of incessant waiting, and he too, was not unaffected. Watson was concerned by this lowering of morale, but he was also troubled in his own confidence about the campaign. There is an element of relief in his remark "Now at last the bombing of Cassino is laid on for 8.30 a.m."³⁴ He had no occasion to feel any sorrow for the outcome, he had laid to rest too many dead and shared in the recovery of too many wounded in the previous three weeks to be concerned about the destruction of a building. He was a wise enough chaplain to recognize that with movement and action morale is likely to be restored.

Pacific chaplains faced a different context for morale. The fighting was brief, a matter of a few months, followed by boring garrison duties on remote, isolated and inhospitable islands. There were no cities or luxuries of civilization, just heat, rain, and jungle conditions. There was no way, apart from boat or by aircraft, troops could get off their island. This inability to move about caused a pressing morale problem among the scattered units of the 3 (NZ) Div. Padre Witheford believed the army faced a massive morale problem in terms of control and discipline following the clearing of the Japanese army. To alleviate the boredom he requested 1000 books from New Zealand, organized swimming competitions, yachting, and turned a blind eye to the regular thieving by New Zealanders from their American neighbours.³⁵ He assisted in

organizing the rebuilding of mission churches destroyed in the fighting, for many of the Islanders were part of Methodist and Anglican missions administered from New Zealand. He busied himself censoring letters written by the hundreds of bored men.³⁶ Padre Falloon employed as many as he could encourage for as long as the job lasted to clear and build a permanent cemetery for the New Zealand dead. He erected a bamboo YMCA hut and encouraged men in physical activities of sport, fishing, and engaging in as many evening activities as possible, providing they were not raided by Japanese aircraft.³⁷

Within the great wealth of diary and journal material padres have recorded little of the hard times and periods of low morale, but it is plain that they recognized such periods and set about to try and deal with the problem. Hopkins worked with his hands while Gourdie, despite good intentions, failed to arrange a singing group. Church services might have conveyed the hope that God would keep New Zealand free, but the cynicism which feeds from failed efforts and defeat did not allow the average individual to see much above the level of what was directly before him. At its worst the comment of Jack Melrose may well typify the soldier's cynicism of padres' efforts to cope with morale.

PASTORAL CARE COMPARED WITH MORALE

"Pastoral care is that aspect of the ministry of the Church which is concerned with the well-being of

individuals and of communities".³⁸

There are four main pastoral functions common to Christian ministry, *healing, guiding, sustaining and reconciling*.³⁹ These lie at the heart of the Christian pastoral ministry as identified by St. Paul.

For the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: Till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: (Ephesians 4: 12-13)

The evidence suggests that despite the vicissitudes of war the chaplains undertook their pastoral duties among their men "... for the edifying of the body of Christ ...", and this is distinctly visible through the performance of the chaplains' activities in battle. Considering the brutality and hostile nature of war it was possible to undertake a spiritual *healing* ministry among those who were wounded in body and soul or among men suffering from the consequences of being separated from home and family. Padre Watson had to deal with the latter.

One of the lads lost his mother recently, and when I went to see him, he expressed the desire to have his mother's favourite song, "The Stranger of Galilee" at the next service. Accordingly I arranged with a soloist from Field Park and a piano-accordion player from one of the Field Ambulances. The service was held out in the open on Sunday morning. I took as my text the words of Jacob: "*This is none other than the House of God, and this is the gate of Heaven*". I tried to show that even as Jacob found that deserted place in the wilderness on the way to Syria was the House of God, as the open spot upon which we were sitting could be for us too the House of God. The soloist rendered the song very well, and the message of the Stranger of Galilee came home to our hearts.⁴⁰

Not having the advantage of the power of command outside of their professional capacity as clergymen, any guidance chaplains were asked to offer was usually in the context of a moral or spiritual request. Chaplains not infrequently offered spiritual *guidance* from a Christian perspective. Guidance was usually in the areas of responding to domestic situations at home, or on marital matters. There were occasions when moral guidance was given directly through the confessional for Roman Catholics and private discussion with Protestant chaplains.

Yet there were limits to the chaplains' ability to exercise guidance through pastoral care. War qualifies a great deal of the outcome which such guidance might suggest. Campbell could not better describe the war-time chaplain's limits to pastoral care.

The hope for human well-being of pastoral action is qualified by an awareness of the "not yet", of the Kingdom yet to come, and the realization that the kingdoms of this world pay little heed to the vulnerable plea of love for all human kind. Often those offering pastoral care will feel wholly lacking in the knowledge, leadership and courage of the shepherd, knowing more of Good Friday than of Easter Day, feeling themselves to be wounded healers, more vulnerable than victorious, of no account in the company of the successful.⁴¹

Padre Bob McDowall as a prisoner of war in Italy has already been noted as a man who challenged German and Italian military authority. He was not beyond demanding that his men be *guided by his moral authority*. When word of the Italian capitulation of the 10th September 1943 reached the prisoners, McDowall was

at prayer, and on hearing the news went immediately to see the Colonel Commandant. Whilst in conversation in the Commandant's office McDowall noted hundreds of prisoners ransacking one of the store houses holding general equipment for the prison-camp. His reaction was instant.

I was overwhelmed with shame that such scene should be witnessed by the Italians and that our men should belittle themselves so. Could stand it no longer. I tackled one group of ten and by shouting and smiting dispersed them. Then another. By this time most of the stuff was gone and I was able to order every man out of the compound....A New Zealander was nasty and went but slowly....Our own men had looted their mates packs...or (were) selling their own mates articles.⁴²

McDowall's authority must have been considerable, single-handed he confined the looting and dispersed (according to his diary) the hundreds of rioters. It was guidance with an authority recognized by those who saw in the chaplain a moral authority which, perhaps, a combat officer would not have carried. Padre McDowall's Master's thesis had been on moral theology, and his background as a Southlander placed him as an inheritor of the right of a "minister of the kirk" to guide and, when necessary, correct and direct his flock. No doubt this is a clear example of the chaplain attempting, with some success, to guide pastorally in the time of the "'not yet' of the kingdom yet to come."⁴³

The pastoral necessity to *sustain* men and women in the extremities of life or death lay close to the spiritual heart

of the chaplain's pastoral skills. This role is perhaps one common to most chaplains' experience. The story is told that on the departure of the first Echelon from Wellington Harbour in January 1940 as the ship cast off from the wharf from a section of the ship came the singing of a Sunday School hymn taught by the Salvation Army, "*He Careth For You*".⁴⁴ There were many men without a religious affiliation aboard, but who in their younger years, most likely during the depression, had contact with the Salvation Army and had been recipients of ministry in those hard times. The words of the hymn returned to them as the ship began its journey. The seed sowed years previously now sustained them in time of need.

As Padre Thompson went about quietly in the period before the attack when men would take his arm and ask for prayer, it surprised him how many knew the words of that same hymn sung as the ship departed.

On Italy's eastern front one night, I was on duty at the Advanced Dressing Station....there was a hive of activity going on among the wounded, and on the operating table was a badly wounded soldier from my own Regiment....I went over to speak with him. Not until I had begun to speak was I aware that his eyes were closed.

"Hello, good friend, are you in much pain"? I asked.

To my surprise with his eyes still closed he said -"I know that voice! It's Padre Bill! Through sunshine and shadow, eh"

A minute or two later he died of his wounds, but I am grateful to have been at his side...

He had been a member of a gun team...I taught them a little refrain...

*"He careth for me, he careth for me,
Through sunshine and shadow,
He careth for me".*⁴⁵

Soldiers almost always approached their padre individually, and as a minister of the Gospel a wise chaplain understood the tentative words which signaled a soul was in need. Padre Baragwanath describes such an encounter following the brief service held in the Treasuries while the Island was still occupied by a sizable Japanese presence.

...I was going round the perimeter and a man stopped me and asked "Padre, what was that bit you read from the Bible this morning?" I read to him from Ps 91: *Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noonday*"(sic) After a moment he replied "Padre, do you think that David or whoever it was knew something about jungle fighting?"

It was not in a liturgical service but with a few scruffy-looking types still with camouflage paint that he had "heard the Word of God".⁴⁶

As a *reconciler* the chaplain was always limited in this function by the constraints of the military position over which he generally had no control. There are rare instances when he was able to reconcile individuals and situations when a military solution had failed. Father Ted Forsman on being captured with the Field Hospitals in November 1941, because he was a fluent German speaker, was "pushed forward"⁴⁷ (to use his own words) to undertake translation of the conversation. General Rommel with some of his staff was passing though the area and was talking to the prisoners. Rommel and Padre Forsman discussed the merits and weakness of the New Zealand and German soldiers' physical attributes. Padre Forsman told the German victor that the kiwi soldiers were better physically

because they lived outdoors and had eaten better than Germans during the depression years. The gulf between German General and an enemy chaplain changed when General Rommel learned from Father Forsman how well German prisoners had been treated at the NZ General Hospital. As a direct result of their discussion dialogue continued regarding medical and physical needs of patients. There was a spirit of goodwill, even reconciliation, to the mutual benefit of all the wounded, both German and New Zealanders.⁴⁸

Padre Forsman's knowledge of German enabled communication and discussion between enemies, with the result that tensions were eased and the wounded became the priority, while trust, grounded in the human care which the wounded required, was established. The Germans were short of water themselves but nevertheless provided it daily during the period of captivity. Nonetheless, the Desert Fox General Rommel himself recognized Padre Forsman had a number of roles as a chaplain, one of which was the effecting, where possible, reconciliation.

On the defeat of Rommel's Africa Corps on 12 May 1943 Padre Thompson was driving toward Tunis. "I stopped briefly to speak to a German Padre who was burying some of his brave men by the roadside".⁴⁹ He elaborated this contact on later enquiry.

The padre was being assisted by a small squad of men and they sang the German comrades song before the committal and offered prayers for the deceased family, home and children. German military cemeteries were elaborate places

with their great crosses and sometimes ornamental structures over the graves. We shook hands, and I stayed long enough to share the prayers. As I indicated I had to leave and that he did not require my assistance he proffered his hand and said, "We are all one in Christ Jesus." I knew then the depth of human sin.⁵⁰

John McLeod is one of the few historians of WW2 who has examined the morale of New Zealand servicemen. He includes a single chapter on the subject in his book *Myth And Reality*.⁵¹ He finds little material upon which to expand his single paragraph on the effects of religion and morale. He makes three observations.

1. Of all the factors which sustained men in battle religion is the least discussed.
2. It is a cultural norm among New Zealanders of the WW2 generation that they did not freely discuss religion. It was a private matter.
3. A surprising number of men not normally religious found they were strengthened and aided by religion during their war experience.⁵²

As an example of the latter the following extract from a letter speaks for itself. "We were very lucky; the good God looked after us, and I did some hard praying, and your New Testament helped a lot. I found my belief in God a great strength and comfort and it increased my faith in him."⁵³

The study upon which this thesis is based reveals McLeod's

observations to be correct. Men attended services of worship, took the sacraments, and were part of the song services and religious events which chaplains regularly conducted. Privately they took their personal feelings to their chaplains who referred them in a Christian context to a source of strength and spiritual support. The words of Padre Walker at the 1942 Chaplains' Training School were confirmed by experience, "It is at the front line where the chaplain does his best work for Jesus Christ."⁵⁴ Men without religious background did pause to consider their mortality, and, as has been previously shown, there were few atheists in a fox hole.

*A Dictionary Of Pastoral Care*⁵⁵ suggests the Christian goals of good morale are fostered through a *shared sense of purpose*, and a *shared sense of security* which;

...is satisfied if all component parts of an organization are moving toward the same objective. This is only true if good lateral communication exists between the components; otherwise they will be as likely to compete destructively in their progress as to co-operate.⁵⁶

Chaplains contributed to that spiritual dimension which Montgomery recognized as part of morale, "those many other intangible spiritual qualities"⁵⁷ essential to the soldiers' well-being for battle. Clearly, chaplains' pastoral skills contributed to a spiritual morale; particularly a sense of *purpose* and *security*. When General Freyberg asked Padre McKenzie to pray for him before the battle he was really asking

his chaplain for prayers that would sustain him for the *purpose* of the battle, and obtain *Divine security* for those who took part, for Freyberg knew only too well that every battle cost lives. His request was no different from that of a private soldier before battle. Chaplains responded spiritually to a spiritual need.

In the wider sphere soldiers' and the chaplains' morale was supported by prayers for victory led by King George VI who, as previously noted, frequently called the Empire to prayer. Clearly the example of support following D Day in June 1944 was certainly seeking God's aid by granting *security and purpose* to the sacrifice of war. The Presbyterian newspaper, *The Outlook* mirrored these sentiments following D Day of June 1944.

The great adventure has begun. Across the Channel British and American troops have been launched in that dangerous enterprise which is to free Europe from its chains and the world from disaster. At this critical hour in history the King has called for prayer- sustained prayer- to the King of Kings for aid and strength. We dare to believe that in this dreadful struggle, with freedom and happiness at stake, we are on the side of right, we fight against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places. In that belief, we go boldly to the throne of Almighty God, beseeching His forgiveness for our own sins and His aid in this hour of crisis. LET ALL THE PEOPLE PRAY.⁵⁸

In furtherance to this end the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand in 1942 adopted an annual Sunday known as *Armed Forces Sunday* when special prayers, sermons and thoughts were directed to the *purpose* of the war effort, and which sought the

protection of Almighty God for those engaged in the struggle for the restoration of peace.⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

The personal religious affiliation to a Christian denomination of at least one in five New Zealanders in 2 NZEF can fairly be considered to have underwritten a particular outlook on their lives while they served as soldiers. Their background contributed to a collective sense of *purpose* and *security*, the leaven in the lump. The possibility of their death in battle would be tempered by the hopes of their faith, "*In my Father's house there are many mansions...*". Soldiers bound by such a belief shared a spiritual common denominator. And when their faith was bonded by military training, and supported by their churches conviction in the righteousness of the cause, they were equipped with a security which undergirded their whole purpose as soldiers.⁶⁰ There was no escaping the strong ecclesial bond between Church and State or the spiritual impact such a relationship had in creating a sense of purpose towards the defeat of the enemies of WW2.

New Zealanders were realists, and numbers of men recognized that their own survival was the more questionable as their exposure to battle increased. Many wrote letters which they left for chaplains and friends to pass on to their next-of-kin in the event of their death. Chaplains were vital to that

continuing sense of *security* because men recognized they could be trusted even though they themselves might have been killed.⁶¹ The majority of chaplains followed the injunction of their Lord "*I am among you as he that serveth.*" (Luke 22.27.) The servant understanding of their battlefield office gave to them the key to their pastoral skills. The chaplain performed his task not because he held the King's Commission as an officer, nor solely by his strength of character. He held the function through his training and Ordination as a minister or Priest of the Church of Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE CHARACTER OF BATTLE FIELD-SKILLS

An exploration into the character of the chaplain's pastoral skills within the context of battle confirms that the chaplains were men of resource and determination. Not only did they understand the importance of spiritual morale, but as clerics in uniform they recognized that their personal behaviour on the field of battle had an influence on their soldiers. One of the innumerable examples of the impact of the chaplains' presence on the battle-field occurred at the end of April 1945 in Italy.

From the commencement of the campaign from the River Senio until he was wounded by enemy shellfire at Padua Padre Warren set a continuously fine example of cheerfulness under fire and devotion of duty....Padre Warren organised a column of RAP carriers and moved forward under fire to the forward defended localities where he proceeded on foot to visit personnel in the forward posts and set about organising the immediate evacuation of the wounded. His cheerful demeanour and personal disregard for his own safety had an immediate effect on the morale of the battle-weary troops. His initiative and prompt action on this as on many subsequent occasions were instrumental in saving the lives of numerous casualties and his coolness and personal self-denial during periods of action became a byword with those amongst whom he served.¹

The actions of chaplains on the battlefield can be identified as Biblical characteristics and these can usefully help in defining the character of their battlefield pastoral ministry.

THE CHAPLAIN AS SHEPHERD

Throughout the war from Greece to Cassino, including the brief

fighting in the Pacific, the single and most dominant image of the chaplain is that of the biblical shepherd. The term shepherd as used in the 23rd Psalm to describe *Yahweh's Lordship*, was frequently used devotionally by groups of men with their chaplain, or privately among soldiers before and after battle.

Of course almost all of the men knew the Lord's Prayer and the 23rd Psalm. Sometimes it was all that was needed with a wounded man in acknowledging God was with him by simply sitting with him and offering the 23rd Psalm instead of a prayer.²

The 23rd Psalm was recited in the moments before death, for it was known to Jew, Protestant and Roman Catholic alike, and it contained words of spiritual encouragement for all situations.

A non-Catholic chaplain noted:

You could always tell if you were attending a Roman Catholic, he would call you Father and if he could, make the sign of the cross. One was always on safe ground when ministering to Catholics in saying the Lord's Prayer or the 23rd Psalm. For many of these brave fellows it was the last words they heard before they departed this life.³

The chaplain has been identified as a shepherd in many wars over the centuries: the one who sought the wounded and the dying. There was ample precedent within the New Zealand Army chaplains' tradition. Rev'd Ronald S Watson is an example of the shepherd who, while organizing the withdrawal of wounded from the front line in October 1918 was himself wounded. Despite his injuries he persisted in working for others less fortunate than himself.⁴ Death for the shepherd, wounding at

the least, were the risks all chaplains experienced when they sought to recover the wounded and dying.

Isaiah says of the shepherd, "He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm, and carry *them* in his bosom" (Isaiah 40: 11). This image particularly applied to the function of four chaplains captured in Crete in May 1941.⁵ Padres Hiddlestone, Hurst, Griffiths and Hopkins remained behind to assist the medical orderlies with the wounded. Padre Ivor Hopkins insists there was no element of bravery about the decision. The unit medical officer could see defeat was imminent and asked Hopkins to stay and help. "What else could you do for goodness' sake, the need was there, the men were wounded, you couldn't leave them, it was my duty as a priest to stay, there was no alternative."⁶ Such duty cost them five years in exile and hardship as prisoners of war.

The biblical concept of the *Good Shepherd* emphasizes that the interests of the flock are the principle object. Ezekiel 34:16 suggests the shepherd will "...bind up *that which* was broken, and will strengthen that which was sick..." . A chaplain was required to have more than *just* a sense of duty and a warm heart. Ezekiel believed that for the shepherd of God to be an adequate provider of spiritual food he needed a boldness of character and judgement which God could use as a vehicle to demonstrate His righteousness in times of confusion. Within

the perilous constraints and terrors of war, and the seeming impossibility of the expression of loving kindness, the shepherd could only do his best. "How excellent *is* thy loving kindness, O God! therefore the children of men put their trust under the shadow of thy wings". (Psalm 36: 7). God's loving kindness was in the midst of their suffering and ultimately the enemy "...are cast down, and shall not be able to rise". (Psalm 36: 12). It was essential that the shepherd possess a considerable degree of faith from which he could draw strength to achieve the seemingly impossible.

After the first few days of captivity, and while still in the field Hospital Padre McDowall experienced a severe and vicious artillery barrage after which he found a "young boy" without a leg and ministered to him until he died; "Didn't think he had much of a chance...".⁷ He became the parent and shepherd to the boy in his last hours.

In an effort to be effective in his ministry to the scattered Engineer Regiment, Padre John Watson adopted his regiment's lifestyle and became a working sapper. He had discovered from experience that unless he was part of the team he was never able to spend time with his parishioners. He was in every respect the shepherd living with his flock and sharing their joys, sorrows, and fears. Padre Watson recounts in a matter of fact style going under enemy fire to recover wounded men who

had earlier been in a patrol of which he had been part. His concern as a shepherd for his men earned him a Military Cross for that evening's work.⁸ On a subsequent occasion rather than shelter in a place of safety he shared their danger by working with them under fire. On that pitch black night while building a bailey bridge he lost a finger, those close to him were amazed: he just said, "CRUMS(sic)".⁹

Padre Harry "Kaitaia" Taylor,¹⁰ was a friendly but pugnacious boxer who shadow boxed with his parishioners. He always insisted travelling in the leading Bren gun carrier so that he could be close to any who might be wounded. In December 1942 two carriers were damaged and the wounded were unable to be retrieved. The medical officer had also been wounded and was unable to help. Padre Taylor was heard to mutter, "They are my boys," and told the Commanding Officer he would go forward and bring the wounded back. The Commanding Officer forbade him but Padre Taylor would brook no argument: "Sir, I feel it is my duty, I must go, those men need help, and with respect, I am responsible to a higher authority".¹¹ His C.O. wilted in the face of his chaplain's comment, Taylor then sprinted off over 400 meters of exposed desert under enemy fire to recover the wounded. He was awarded an immediate Distinguished Service Order.¹²

Rev'd Bill Francis,¹³ who reportedly wore a side arm throughout

the Cassino Campaign, was reputed to have fought his way back to his HQ after being separated while visiting his men in a forward area. He was undaunted in his shepherding task as he struggled through the broken Cassino Monastery to his own lines. Rev'd Wi Huata¹⁴, of 28 (Maori) Battalion, seemingly unaware of the bullets which killed others, followed in the steps of the biblical shepherd and sought the wounded and dying in the midst of broken masonry and bloody battle.¹⁵

Padre Norman Bicknell followed the shepherd's model as he went with his unit into the attack, and after a full night of ministry to the dying and wounded, at dawn he found the body of a sergeant he knew. As he went through the personal effects he found a New Testament in the sergeants' kit. Beside him, lay the body of a youthful German medical orderly. Obviously he had attempted to bring the sergeant relief but had been shot in the process. The German was barely nineteen years old, and he too owned a well-thumbed New Testament and the *German Army Field Hymnal*. Bicknell was deeply affected. Here was an example of Christ above war, above all the carnage and terror; the universality of Christ in the lives of enemy and friend. Bicknell was profoundly moved by this experience and felt keenly his role as a shepherd of all Christ's flock, be they friend or foe.¹⁶

John 10:11 clearly indicates "...the good shepherd giveth his

life for the sheep", words which have over time become a reality for some spiritual shepherds. The West Coast of the South Island in the 1930s required fit single minded clergy to cope with the climate and isolation. Rev'd Keith Harper¹⁷ was one such individual and he enlisted into the 2NZEF with a background of outdoor life and roughing it. Keith Harper frequently risked his life, and the life of his batman, to recover wounded men from gun emplacements hit or damaged by enemy artillery fire. He had worked out a formula determining the time it took to reload and fire the enemy guns. This pause gave him a brief period in which to run and recover the wounded, then fall back before the next incoming round. It was finally an artillery burst which took his life, with others, waiting in line for a meal, and not whilst risking his life recovering wounded.¹⁸

Padre Bill Thompson speculated on the conversation he had shared with Keith Harper earlier in the day when both chaplains met to locate graves. Harper had insisted that he could not stay all morning for he had to get back to the rear area to see members of his regiment whom he had not visited for some days. His task as the spiritual shepherd did not leave him immune from the ultimate sacrifice. His friend, Rev'd David Thorpe¹⁹ considered Harper's death from the perspective that he was the only 2 NZEF chaplain asked by God to make the supreme sacrifice.

Rev'd Keith Watson²⁰ went back into enemy territory to rescue Captain Kim Morrison²¹ from a makeshift hospital minutes before the Germans captured the building. Morrison was profoundly affected by Padre Watson's action, which was literally that of a shepherd seeking out the lost injured, and taking Morrison to safety and freedom.²²

Another example of the shepherd role occurred during the retreat in Greece in April 1941 when Bishop G. V. Gerard²³ was visiting wounded in a makeshift hospital. They knew they were to be left as prisoners of war and the Bishop was celebrating communion and taking notes so he could send messages home to their families. The men told Padre Gerard that there were unburied bodies of several New Zealand soldiers outside the hospital. Padre Gerard arranged their burial and as he commenced the service an artillery barrage began to fall on the position. The Bishop remained steady reading the entire burial service, and at its conclusion he filled the graves with soil, marked the position and then sought protection for his own safety.²⁴ This example of single-mindedness did not fail to move his wounded onlookers: they understood how he earned a Military Cross in WW1. The Bishop's action got a swift response from the wounded, a shepherds' staff was quickly fashioned and presented to him before he departed.²⁵

The son of a WW1 VC winner, Rev'd R. F. Judson²⁶ had enlisted

in the first instance as a medical orderly and later, at the request of the Presbyterian Church, was transferred to the chaplaincy. Judson was in a forward battle position during the early weeks of the 1943 Italian campaign where he busied himself in the recovery, under fire, of many wounded. He had established an aid post close to the fighting and personally attended to the wounded himself. His foresight and practical application of medical assistance saved many lives.²⁷

As the Cassino battle drew to a close in May 1944 there was a persistent story circulating about the most fortunate wounded German paratrooper of the battle. The story recounts that there was a New Zealand chaplain who threw himself across the body of a wounded German paratrooper during a New Zealand advance thereby protecting him from the bayonet and certain death by the advancing New Zealanders. He stayed with the soldier until that particular encounter ceased and then carried him to safety and medical treatment. As an example of the biblical shepherd being prepared to lay down his life for his charges it must remain significant.²⁸ All these are examples demonstrating the way of the biblical shepherd "...because I lay down my life, that I might take it again." (John 10:17). Chaplains were motivated to save life, and in that mode were prepared to venture out as the shepherd, frequently at great personal risk. The chaplain was an "inner-directed" man of faith, Christ's man in crisis, and His servant to those facing

death.

In the final weeks of the war, in April 1945, Padre Hopkins literally undertook the role of a shepherd during the long march with several thousand fellow prisoners away from the advancing Russians. He followed directly in the rear pushing a cart in which exhausted men found some measure of relief from their ordeal. The German captors would shoot stragglers and those who fell by the roadside. Hopkins efforts saved their lives enabling them to return rested somewhat, to the column.²⁹

Few chaplains would admit to owning love in the special *agape* sense, but enough of them wept such as to demonstrate that as shepherds they empathised with parents when sons were killed, injured, or went missing. The source of spiritual strength which enabled them to be shepherds still penetrates through the words of the late Canon David Thorpe:

When our whole country became involved I was very much aware I believe in loving concern (a) for our people of N.Z. (b) for the men and women with whom I went. I think also, the life of togetherness-in-Christ of the parish communities (However limited!)...all this deep awareness of togetherness, and caring and praying, helped me in the strong community life of the Services....To Be a man of God! Caring, encouraging sharing the truth of God and the life-giving love of God-in-Christ. How much was I able to do this?! I did care very much. I did keep on trying! But! I feel I fell far short.³⁰

THE CHAPLAIN AS SERVANT

Being a servant of God in the midst of battle, when the

decencies of human dignity are abandoned even by your own people, compounds doubly upon the moral responsibility of a chaplain. St Paul calls himself a bondservant (Gk. *doulos*) of Jesus Christ (Romans 1:1, Phil.1.1.) and as a result he endured a considerable degree of suffering. Paul knew that Jesus had been among men as one "...of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant: and was made in the likeness of men... and became obedient unto death..." (Phil 2:7-8). Paul writes of the responsibility of a Christian to the Corinthians when he uses the the word *doulos* "*indicating subjection without the idea of bondage*".³¹ "For he that is called in the Lord, *being* a servant, is the Lord's freeman: likewise also he that is called, *being* free, is Christ's servant" (1 Cor 7:22). The servant role is further touched upon in Galatians 6:2-3 when Paul required that Christians carry each others' burdens. By doing this with humility, Christians would fulfil the Law of Christ.

Chaplains served in the 2NZEF of their own free-will and had they chosen otherwise they could have remained secure and comfortable in their parishes. They were free in law to chose, but as a servant of Christ, and by virtue of their ordination, their vocation took them onto the battlefield, not as a soldiers, but as volunteers and servants of Christ for all men. Thus the servant role required that the chaplain carry also others' burdens, one of which was the recognition that as non-

combatants they were powerless to defend themselves or to influence directly the morality of war in the midst of fighting. Nowhere was this requirement of servanthood, coupled with the responsibility of burden carrying, more apparant than in the decisions chaplains' had to make regarding the care of the wounded. Chaplains faced a burden in the dilemma of having to discriminate on the basis of who among them had the greatest need, regardless of whether they were friend or foe.

There was a burden of the priority of ministry. Who would live and who would die? You were one individual, there was need. Was it to the living or was it to the dying who were brought to the dressing stations? The chaplain had to make a decision regardless of friend or enemy. Sometimes the medical officers could not be there, you were on your own, you did the bandageing, the nurses work. You were the only friend the poor bloke had, friend or enemy and could you let him down?³²

As the servants of Christ, quite apart from their status under the Geneva Convention, chaplains' took their non violence into the arena of war. The chaplains' non violence as servants of God did not mean neutrality but rather it was a creative support for those who suffered as a result of evil, military power, and political oppression. The servant offering of aid and succour to the wounded was an act of mercy and passive moral opposition to the violence which caused it. In the same way the prayers offered to God in recognition of the dead who gave their lives was also a prayer which sought Divine aid against the powers of evil. This response on the battle-field typified the Eusebian model of the clergy in war, they prayed

as God's servants for victory; took no part in the killing; but their prayers asked Divine approval for the arms of the Allies.

The chaplains' servant battle-field pastoral skills gave assurance to many, as the citation for Rev'd F. O. Dawson³³ indicates.

This officer...came forward to the most dangerous areas of shell and mortar fire to assist in the care of wounded. He moved about the troops freely at all times and inspired them by his own courage. In addition, on two occasions he acted as anaesthetist for the medical officer...To every man of his battalion his gallantry has given new inspiration and appreciation of what can be done by a padre under fire. ³⁴

Soldiers were armed, the chaplain seldom, and his presence gave a sense of security and reminded others of the purpose for which they fought. One infantry soldier's memory is very clear.

Through the bloody smoke and shit flying about I saw this padre, *our bloody padre*, a quiet man with a smile picking his way through the battle field. He spotted us in the pause, and waved. He came up and offered us smokes and chocolate all round and asked if we were okay, and then in a different tone asked were all the section okay. Then the stonking began again, and we dived for cover, but that bloody padre took off to the next section to see how they were and it was then it came to me, the bugger never carried a weapon. Germans were still around and they would not stop to ask, "excuse me mate, but are you a bloody chaplain," before they shot him. Nobody ever missed his church parades, he was a bloody bottler.³⁵

Rev'd R. G. McDowall, himself a prisoner of war, ran across a cricket field under the guns of his captors to kneel at the

side of a soldier who was drunk and had failed to comply with the orders of a guard who then shot him. McDowall went with the dying man to the hospital and looked after him until the arrival of the Prison Camp Italian Catholic chaplain: here we see chaplains of opposing armies working together in a servant role.³⁶ An observer commented of McDowall's action. "The guard could have shot the padre if he wanted to, the Aussie was drunk without a friend in the world, it would have been a darn shame if the padre had bought it for a drunk like that and he wasn't a Protestant either!"³⁷

Padres McDowall and Sheely took on the servant role when they voluntarily went into prisoner of war camp with 200 New Zealand walking wounded. McDowall was powerfully phlegmatic about the decision. He was called to the decisive group meeting by Rev'd Frank Green³⁸ where McDowall noted a decided lack of enthusiasm by six of the eight chaplains to go into captivity with the walking wounded. "Green and others did not want to go, we decided two should go, so Sheely and I went."³⁹ Padre Bicknell believed God did not want him to go⁴⁰ and Underhill was quite sure he was not expected to go.⁴¹ The remaining chaplains were recaptured by British forces only a day after McDowall and Sheely had left with the wounded. Both men had responded in the servant role, a decision which cost them five years in captivity.

The four chaplains captured in Crete were flown to Greece where they were actively involved in ministry with the captured New Zealand wounded and dying. Padre Griffiths wrote to a number of families reporting on the state of their next-of-kin's health in captivity.⁴² The chaplains were then sent by cattle truck to Europe to POW camp.

After several months in the 5AG Hospital Kokinia near Athens recovering and with unceasing appetite we were shocked to receive our rations for the journey by train from Salonika to somewhere in Germany - from memory just bread and a small portion of meat. Mine was consumed after several days and with increasing hunger and most uncomfortable conditions, sleep was most difficult it was in the middle of the night when the guy next to me noting my rather delirious state quietened me down and then opened up a tin of bully beef and shared it with me - a wonderful act of sacrifice as it was his only food reserve. The good Samaritan was Padre H. I Hopkins (Later Canon Hopkins OBE).⁴³

In common with many others Hopkins fulfilled the Christian servants injunction, "Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ." (Galations 6.2)

Padre George Falloon was a farm worker before Ordination, a man of considerable physical ability. He rose early in the September 1943 Pacific darkness and swam across an island lagoon to recover six bodies. He did so not knowing whether the Japanese would or could fire on him, nor being sure the bodies could be recovered. The dead men were soldiers of his battalion killed by the Japanese in an ambush the previous day. Not until he had gathered the bodies and laid them out for burial

did he seek the help of others.⁴⁴ Falloon's concern for Christian burial for his soldiers motivated his most dangerous enterprise which won him an immediate Military Cross. His example in the Pacific theatre was not an isolated one for Padre Wally Harford, in the midst of jungle fighting also recovered the bodies of his men killed during battle. He passionately believed they ought have Christian burial for the jungle, coupled with the turmoil of battle, soon swallowed up its dead.⁴⁵ The demands on a servant of Christ were spiritual, physical, and mental, requiring the resources of the whole person.

When Jesus discovered his friend Lazarus had died, he wept (John 11.35). Following the El Alamein battle a group of men were walking back to share a meal together. Amid the wreckage of a burnt out vehicle on which their Battalion tactical signs remain they saw their padre had dug four graves beside which he had laid out four bodies. The soldiers went to his assistance, but the weeping padre raised his hand and said quietly "Just leave me..." and he was left, a servant who accepted his burden for Christ, to bury the bodies alone as requested.

I have seen some awful things in war, and many wonderful things and this was one of them. We knew the blokes who had died, hard shots all of them. One bloke was always having our padre on about being the mother and father of our bad guys. He used to tell him they were all old enough to look after themselves so it was a waste of time molly coddling them. Padre was burying him and his mates, pity of it is the rowdy bloke never knew he had a friend in our padre...or did he?⁴⁶

OTHER PASTORAL CHARACTERISTICS

The shepherd and servant roles constitute the main Biblical images whereby we may interpret and understand the manner in which chaplains and their associated welfare workers responded to the demands of battle-field pastoral ministry. Yet there are a raft of concepts within a biblical framework from which chaplains found inspiration to under-take their battle field skills. I shall examine a selection of them.

A Fool for Christ's Sake

"We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ;" (1 Cor 4:10) echoes down from St Paul's time. Some called the chaplain a fool. Had he not left home and safety, family and parish and voluntarily taken the function of a priest in the midst of an environment which was hostile and alien to his belief? Most chaplains in the battlefield situation believed they were where they were because their vows of Ordination bade them relieve suffering.⁴⁷ Such a basis of thinking was reasonable within the context of a peaceful and believing community. Yet, reason seldom controlled their faith on the killing ground of the battlefield.

Before he himself was killed, Padre Harper's entry into a minefield as a short-cut back to his unit to conduct the bible study and prayer group could hardly be called thoughtful or wise. "...so we went across; but a terribly risky business"⁴⁸

was the verdict of his batman, who, by virtue of his job, had to accompany him wherever he went. They separated after few months as the batman found Harper's rashness difficult to live with. Padre Harper had been foolish when he endangered his own and his batman's life simply to begin bible class on time. Padres sometimes did stupid things when they were tired and under the pressure. Some simply survived difficult situations more by good luck than careful management of circumstances. Yet they were men of faith, and as such they were open to the impulses of their spiritual awareness.

During a hurried retreat in August 1942 east of El Alamein Jack Melrose caught a glimpse of his unit chaplain.

We were all running, and I spotted this stupid padre, kneeling and crossing the chest of a dying man. The poor bastard might have been dead anyway. It bloody near broke me up, but we all kept on running for the jerry (sic) tank was only a few yards behind. I saw the padre a day or so afterwards, pale, thin, and not looking especially brave. I always wanted to know what church he came from, nobody could tell me. Christ must have looked after him. It made me think of the Sunday School things I'd not believed as true."⁴⁹

Padre Pat Gourdie had an outgoing personality and was well known to all in the tank regiment where he was the Unit chaplain. In July 1944 in Northern Italy he struggled to get through a hedge and saw a burning tank fifty meters away in a paddock. He recognized it as "one of ours". He knew the crew and from experience shuddered to think that some of the wounded would be burnt to death. Whilst yet conscious of bullets

passing within inches of his body, Gourdie ran towards the burning vehicle with the sole purpose in mind of recovering the wounded. From the ditch which boarded the hedge where seconds before he had pushed his way through someone shouted "*Padre you get to bloody hell out of this.*"⁵⁰ From their positions of safety other Kiwi voices shouted to him to take cover. Gourdie then realized he was running into a fire fight across no-mans land. With the assistance of an uninjured spare driver he recovered the wounded from the tank and gave them medical assistance until they were taken to the Field aid post and then he resumed walking around the battle area.

He was awarded a Distinguished Service Order⁵¹ for an action which he believed to be a simple response to the needs of severely wounded men. The general assessment in that situation was that anybody who went to assist would be killed. The "foolish bloody padre" against all odds survived. Few chaplains, if they thought about it, viewed their life threatening exposure to enemy fire in the cause of rescuing their parishioners as having any similarity to the example of Jesus in crisis. "But he passing through the midst of them went his way" (Luke 4:30) was more their own unobtrusive self identity.

The Prophetic Role

Jesus expressed anger in a hostile environment when he threw the money changers out of the temple: "...My house shall be

called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." (Matthew 21:13). When the New Zealand Field Hospitals were captured in November 1941 they were regarded by the Geneva Convention as free from all forms of offensive weaponry which might offer the victors a tactical advantage at the possible expense the suffering and wounded.⁵² Padre McDowall, a day or so before his voluntary departure with the walking wounded into POW camp observed two German signallers running their telephone wires through the Field Hospital compound. He asked them to remove them as their actions breached the Geneva Convention. They refused. He took his penknife and slashed through the wires leaving the Germans speechless and with a two hour repair task.⁵³ Had McDowall been a mere soldier he would most certainly have been shot on the spot. He had earlier noted three Italian field guns dug-in about the hospital compound and protested to the Italian battery commander. The officer bluntly refused to move his battery. McDowall took his protest to the Germans who ordered the Italians to shift the battery.⁵⁴ His insistence upon the observance of the rules of war forced him to become the servant of those rules, and on departing with the 200 walking wounded the Italian commander informed him over tea and bread with jam that all of the conditions pursuant to the *Geneva Convention* in this instance would be carried out.⁵⁵

The Reconciler

A chaplain working in a casualty clearing station admitted to a hatred of Germans. A big ugly dying German was carried into the aid post and left beside him in his last few moments of life. The anonymous chaplain ignored the dying man. It is difficult to imagine his emotions when in the normal course of events, he emptied the dead German's pockets and found a well marked and obviously read New Testament.⁵⁶ In the midst of his self condemnation over his action of ignoring the man the padre recognized the profound impact of the incarnation of Christ in a world needy for reconciliation. He glimpsed the shadow of the ideal in the significance of the *logos* "That which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us: and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." (1 John 1:3). A new understanding dawned on him of the way in which Christ was Lord, the war seemed so little compared to the universality of Christ's work through the incarnation. He had never understood Christ in this way before. He saw his own role quite differently from that time onward and he vowed never again to avoid ministry with the enemy. Indeed he began to ask, who was the enemy?⁵⁷

Weary of war in late March 1945 Padre Gourdie reflected on his pacifist belief prior to the war as he buried the two broken body parts an 18 year old German soldier. Gourdie experienced

a personal sense of responsibility for the youth's death. He, with thousands of other well meaning citizens, had adhered to the belief during those years over the rise of Hitler, that if war was not participated in it would go away. It was during the period when pacifism was dominant that Germany had rearmed and begun its programme of expansion and genocide. While burying the youth Gourdie believed history might have been changed and the youth still alive had appeasement been abandoned for a stronger and earlier opposition to Hitler.⁵⁸

CONCLUSION

Front-line chaplains were closer to battle and involved in the events of war marginally more than Field Secretaries or Church Army Officers who were considered non combatants and more often than not forbidden to enter a fighting area. Nevertheless all were volunteers and they inherited a tradition which deterred most military commanders from directly ordering them out of the battle. One chaplain or field secretary served among the 1000 men. Thus their opportunity for involvement in action was limited by their usual role of assisting the doctor and medical orderlies. Commanders, almost without exception, permitted their chaplains a freedom of action not sanctioned for others, including the Medical Officers.⁵⁹

Chaplains' acts of mercy in the midst of life threatening events, being present with their parishioners in the experience

of the carnage of war, was not unlike St Francis when he stooped to kiss the leper. "He had in his moment of self conquest, 'Known himself', and known all other men in their weakness."⁶⁰ Their acts of bravery contributed to the largest number of awards per capita given to any Regiment or Corps of the 2NZEF.⁶¹ A total of over 5900⁶² British and Commonwealth chaplains were engaged on active service during WW2. At any one time less than 100 New Zealanders were part of this number. Of the total of **eight** *Distinguished Service Orders* awarded to chaplains of the Commonwealth, **three** went to the tiny New Zealand Army Chaplains Department.⁶³

There is no better testimony to the battle-field skills exercised in the crucible of combat than those of the New Zealand chaplains who ministered to friend and foe co-equally in the name of Christ. A soldier who received an award for bravery was inspired by loyalty to his mates, responsibility of leadership, the stimulation and opportunity of battle, plain patriotism, even a belief in the justice of the cause, not to mention sheer opportunism, revenge and tenacity. Chaplains were not always aware that their battle-field skills were the stuff of bravery. On learning of his MC award. J. K. Watson wrote in his diary "I could not figure it out."⁶⁴

It is not too much to presume the chaplain's motivation for bravery may well have had much the same ingredient as any other

soldiers, except their conviction of vocation placed a value upon the saving of human life, not its destruction. They were, in the vast majority of instances, unarmed and as they saw need and an opportunity to relieve human suffering they reacted accordingly as a shepherd or servant; indeed simply as one human being to another.

PART FIVE

28 (MAORI) BATTALION

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE MAORI CHAPLAINCY

Christian military chaplaincy has, as we have seen, a veritable tradition since its origins in the early fourth century. Maori military tradition has always had a place for the religious man of war, the *tohunga*.¹ Through the inspiration of the English Evangelical Movement the gospel was brought to Maori by the Christian missionaries in the nineteenth century. Subsequent to the conversion of the greater part of the Maori race the role of the *tohunga* in war might well have fallen into complete disuse and passed entirely into history. However, the emergence of the Land Wars of 1844-45, followed by the Second Land Wars 1860-72, assured a place for the Maori religious warrior and leader. Maori adapted their new-found Christian faith into their warfare by way of a chaplaincy style recognizable as derived from both the Christian chaplaincy tradition and the traditional Maori fighting *tohunga*.

This enquiry makes no claim that the opinions herein regarding the Maori chaplaincy are considered through Maori eyes or viewed as a definitive Maori interpretation. The methodology is that which was early adopted by Lieut. General Howard Kippenberger as he watched the Maori Battalion go into action

against the German Africa Korps in 1942. His observations gained him insights into the Maori way of doing battle and from those observations he drew his own conclusions.² Nor is the aim to be exhaustive in defining all of the issues which, because of their importance, deserve much more consideration. The task in this chapter is simply to introduce the issues, to contextualise some of the more obvious outcomes, and so outline a task for a future researcher.

Within hours of the outbreak of war on 3rd September 1939 Sir Apirana Ngata and his Maori MP colleagues pressed the Government for the raising of a volunteer Maori Regiment.³ Within a few weeks a rifle battalion was in training in Palmerston North.⁴ Sir Apirana gained the reputation as the Father of the Maori Battalion and was instrumental in recommending that the four rifle companies be representative of the various main tribes while the platoons represented the hapu (families) within those tribes.⁵ The 28 (Maori) Battalion 2NZEF took the past traditions associated with the Pioneer Maori Unit from the First World War⁶ and early in the war established itself as a separate Maori identity.⁷

Consonant with the Battalion's identity, Maori chaplains were appointed, all of them Anglicans, while the non-Maori Roman Catholic chaplain posted to the Brigade ministered to Maori RCs of the unit.⁸ The representation of Maori religious allegiances



(Turnbull Library)

The Maori and the bayonet



(Turnbull Library)

The New Zealand citizen soldier Italy 1944

was somewhat different in character and numbers from that of the European census proportions. Fifty six percent of all Maori enlisted were representative of the former missionary Churches' and 23% constituted the Maori religious groups of Ringatu, Ratana etc, with the Mormons at seven percent.⁹ The decision to appoint only Anglican chaplains to the Battalion did not please the Methodist Church which believed that at least one appointment ought to have been given to it.¹⁰ The mix of religious affiliations¹¹ coupled with distinctive Maori traditions, made for a distinctly Maori cultural approach to spiritual matters and the chaplains appointed showed competency in this. They followed in a spiritual tradition associated with Maoridom which went far beyond the era of the Christian Church.

Maori history amply illustrates that they are a warrior race¹² which contains within its culture a strong emphasis of religion and military tradition.¹³ Maori were found in the many Units of all three services during the Second World War. Thus the creation of the 28 (Maori) Battalion as a separate New Zealand military identity, at the commencement of WW2, brought together not only the traditional fighting qualities inherent in the Maori race, but also a continuous Anglican Maori chaplaincy to the members of that Battalion.¹⁴ No other 2NZEF Unit was so served by a single denomination during the period of WW2.

FROM TOHUNGA TO CHRISTIAN CHAPLAIN

The *tohunga* had in Maori history occupied an important spiritual position in every tribe. The *tohungas* had established roles in Maori warfare, hunting, agriculture, birth, peacemaking, betrothal and death.¹⁵ Their personal knowledge of ritual and *karakia*¹⁶ essential for their position, coupled with their special knowledge of the *atua*¹⁷, distinguished them as persons apart who could influence the divine forces in favour of their tribe.¹⁸ Elsdon Best uses the term "chaplain" to describe the function of the pre-Christian *tohunga* who was often in command of a war party,¹⁹ a situation not dissimilar from the bishop-commanders of armies in the European Middle ages.²⁰ Maori lore abounds with accounts of the ceremonial functions of "war-priests", or *tohunga*, lifting the tapu following battle which permitted the warriors to once again mingle with their family and friends.²¹ Ceremonial and war customs associated with spiritual values were practised and believed by Maori as an essential part of the waging of war in pre-Christian times.

On the adoption of Christianity by Maoridom the position of the *tohunga* waned, as it was displaced by a Christian priest, or the Christian Maori catechists. After the passing of the *Tohunga Suppression Act* of 1907 the office was, by law, discouraged from continuing within Maori life. Yet there remained in Maori society the requirement for a spiritual understanding

of war. This need was met from a Christian perspective, in part, during the nineteenth century land wars in a style of Christian military chaplaincy. Maori clergy and catechists coupled their responsibility as fighting warriors with those of reading prayers and taking the Sunday observances from the *Book of Common Prayer*.²² It was not uncommon in the early stages of the 1860 First Taranaki War for warriors to go into battle with their New Testaments and Prayer Books which they consistently used in their daily devotions.²³ The later development of the *Hau Hau* Movement,²⁴ as a Maori reactionary religious body with Christian associations, matured as the war delivered defeat to Maori. It was not difficult for Maori to make a shift from the role of the tohunga of pre-Christian times to that of a Christian clergyman utilising prayers etc learned from the missionaries.

THE MAORI CHAPLAIN'S INHERITANCE

The importance of the chaplain within the life of the Maori Battalion was almost certainly inherited from a long history of pre-Christian and Colonial Land War traditions. Chief among these former pagan conventions inherently acknowledged as functions of the tohunga, were three battlefield skills and a tradition which had a political dimension regarding the community interests of the Iwi (nation) which was engaged in war. Maori chaplains accepted these as part of their Christian ministry and axiomatic to their function.

(a) Prayers before and after Battle

In pre-christian times the tohunga conducted appropriate karakia rituals in the context of warfare.²⁵ In the Maori Battalion it was a responsibility of the chaplain to lead in prayers before and after the battle. However, in the absence of a chaplain it was a requirement of the regimental officers and NCOs, in descending order of rank or seniority, to conduct such prayers. Not infrequently, because of the tactical position of the Battalion, prayers were quietly conducted by officers prior to the attack, or briefly at the start-line.²⁶

At the outset of the Libyan campaign of August 1942 Brigadier Kippenberger was present as the Maori Battalion assembled for an attack. He noted the multiplicity of arms with which Maori soldiers were festooned, the majority of which were captured German weapons while each soldier was eager to get at his enemy "few had rifle and bayonet only."²⁷ He shared in the prayer offered by the Maori padre "...very moving in the utter silence."²⁸ The attack was successful though described as "a gory business...".²⁹

The description by Kippenberger of the prayers before the attack and the pre-battle preparations, and appearance of Maori soldiers, bears a striking resemblance to Best's description of tribal fighting conditions before the influence of the missionaries. The first was acceptance by Maori of death in battle.

It was "better to die weapon in hand than by lingering sickness or old age."³⁰ And the second was their use of captured enemy weapons. The use of these against Germans and Italians has a ring of the past tradition as noted by Best. In former times the bones of fallen enemy were fashioned into weapons and used against them. Kippenberger's description of the event touches an earlier preparation for battle which Best had described almost fifty years previously.

The Maori mind is nothing if not metaphysical, and so he had evolved a mode of protecting his courage and ability in war from all evil influences that might weaken it. He would take the *ahua* or immaterial semblance of the desirable qualities of the men of a group, and convey it for safe keeping to some *tapu* or secret place. By means of a certain rite an expert would cause those qualities to be protected so that the owners would not be affected by the evils of *hauhauaitu*, *pahunu*, *hinapo*, *tumatarehurehu*, etc., all of which are extremely pernicious and dangerous to human life.³¹

Maori chaplains, and those who lead in the prayers before battle, continued the tradition, but it was a tradition which had been thoroughly influenced by Christian belief and practice. These were the similar spiritual qualities to their forefathers who had, in times past, sought the support of their gods in the forthcoming battle. Maori were firmly committed to the concept that the God of their ancestors would strengthen them during WW2 in their task of battle and grimly establish victory through their arms, for had not General Montgomery reminded the 8th Army, "Let us all pray that "the Lord mighty in battle" will give us the victory".³²

Pre-battle prayers within the customs of the Maori Battalion were participated in voluntarily to a much greater degree than in similar Pakeha battalions. The only soldiers of the 8th Army known to have asked for, and to have been granted, regular *Family Prayers* according to the rites of the Church of England, were those of the Maori Battalion.³³

The cumulative effects of the Greece and Crete campaigns had wrought death and havoc among Maori, and the survivors gathered with Rev'd K. Harawira on Sunday 15th June 1941 to remember their dead. Two hundred and thirty two Maori had lost their lives, virtually a quarter of the entire battalion. Padre Harawira selected as his text Paul's exaltation "O death, where is thy sting?" (1 Cor.15:55)³⁴. This occasion of remembrance prayers was but the beginning of many more such observances. An ever-mounting list of dead resulted from the Battalion being continuously thrown into battle. So consistent was the death rate in action within the 28 (Maori) Battalion that it had, after El Alamein, been reduced by fifty percent of its numbers.³⁵ Brigadier Kippenberger describes this period of the war:

"Summer was at its height and the flies at their worst. Strengths were so low that there was little rest for anyone. We were depressed and cynical. The men's faces were gaunter and more strained each week and there were many cases of jaundice".³⁶

In later battles one padre felt so overwhelmed for the need of

battle-field prayers that he called upon all lay persons within the Unit to act as men of prayer as together they walked about the battle field retrieving their dead, weeping with their people, and sharing the burden of grief. This sense of prayerful responsibility was underwritten by the not uncommon claim of some close members of the whanau, back in New Zealand, who were visited with appearances of their deceased prior to the official notification of death.³⁷ These events were entirely consistent with the past history of the Maori when involved in warfare.

(b) The Battlefield Expectation of the Tohunga

The expectation by Maori that their chaplain should be forward in the battle area had its origins in Maori fighting history. As Best notes "...the *tohunga* was deemed highly necessary"³⁸ in the fighting front-line. Maori were firmly convinced their chaplain's place was where the fighting was the thickest. Padre W. Rangi's example recalled that of the pre-Christian tohunga.³⁹ He was described as a man of great spiritual force⁴⁰ who at the age of 52 served with his three sons in the Maori Battalion. He showed the face of a New Testament Saint and the fiery temperament of an Old Testament prophet, and while serving in the front-line at El Alamein an exploding shell destroyed both of his ear drums.⁴¹ Equally as forward in battle was the youthful Rev'd Wi Huata who was appointed chaplain in 1943 and prepared over 100 men of the battalion for

confirmation.⁴² This record was scarcely equalled by any chaplain of a front-line battalion in the 2NZEF. His recovery of the bodies of killed, and his retrieval of the wounded, earned Padre Huata a Military Cross.⁴³

All five Maori chaplains have left a record of outstanding front-line pastoral work. All were examples of that tradition from the tohunga period where it was deemed necessary for the spiritual leader to be facing the enemy.

(c) The battle dead and sacred places.

Part of the function of the tohunga has been to engage in rituals associated with reverence for the dead and sacred places.⁴⁴ In common with Maori tradition, chaplains and YMCA Field Secretaries also went to extraordinary lengths to recover the bodies of their parishioners.⁴⁵

The recovery of Maori dead six weeks after the attack on the railway at Cassino was undertaken by Norman Perry⁴⁶ the YMCA Field Secretary, Padre Huata, and the Colonel of the Battalion with as many men as could be spared in April 1944. As they moved among the shattered remnants of the station recovering the shreds of bodies they were accosted by British Military Police, who, according to Sir Norman made the mistake of considering Maori as "Native troops". The interference of the Military Police was checked by an order issued by the Colonel

who instructed his Maori soldiers to be ready to open fire; to shoot to kill the British on his direct command. The MPs quickly drove away.⁴⁷ Such extraordinary lengths in the recovery of their comrades' remains were totally consistent with pre-Christian Maori customs and tradition.

The concept of a sacred place being immune from the effects of battle was nowhere better exemplified than by that of the Monastery of Monte Cassino, the bombing of which was a source of argument and perplexity among some Maori. Wira Gardiner described the heated discussion among members of the Battalion as the first bombs fell on to the Cassino Monastery in February 1944. Roman Catholics of B Company were incensed that such a sacred building, with both history and the presumed contents of centuries, could be so callously destroyed without negotiation for the removal of the valuables.⁴⁸ They sought a response to their questioning from Padre Huata. The padre considered the matter, and although lacking mature years he responded with an example from his own home of Wairoa. He told of a treasured meeting house named *Takitimu* that was part of his tribal possession. He told the members of B Company that if his two brothers, both of whom were serving in the Maori Battalion, happened to be standing beside the meeting house, and a bomb were to fall, he would pray with might and fervour that the bomb would fall on the meeting house, not his whanau members. There does not appear to have been further questioning as the

answer sped around the Battalion.⁴⁹

AN IWI ISSUE.

The Battalion had lost its first Maori commanding officer, Lt.Col. E.Te.W.Love⁵⁰ whose memory was recalled in New Zealand at a special church service in July 1942 during which a letter to his Mother was read. War brings men close to Almighty God, a factor which the late Colonel Love fully recognized.

"God give me strength to carry on, wisdom to make good judgements, courage to have my own convictions and justice in all my undertakings. I thank God that he has brought me to this great day for our Maori people, a great day for Atiawa and Taranaki, a great day for the name of Love, a great day for our family and a great day for your son who is so proud of a most wonderful mother."⁵¹

Colonel Love clearly linked his task and responsibility as a soldier with that of his membership of the Atiawa tribe and Taranaki. His traditional Iwi⁵² responsibility found expression in loyalty and the pride of military service to his nation.⁵³

Rev'd W. Rangi keenly felt the deaths of so many of his men, more especially the Ngati Porou of C. Company. He wrote to his wife on 5th August 1942⁵⁴ expressing his deep pastoral concern for the future of the Unit, of the terrible deaths, and the persistent manner in which the Unit was used by the Divisional Staff to support the more difficult actions. Moreover, he believed that Ngati Porou would be irrevocably

affected in their future as a tribe as a consequence of the deaths of their best and finest men. The Iwi in the last analysis would be the loser; New Zealand as a nation would also suffer their loss. He asked his wife to forward his letter to the Father of the Battalion, Sir Apirana Ngata⁵⁵ who was himself of the Ngati Porou. Rangi suggested that "...all was not well and that the men (of Ngati Porou) would not be averse to going home."⁵⁶

Padre Rangi's pastoral heart was profoundly touched as he wrote, "Our hearts were with you at home. The longing of these men to come home...This is the spirit that pervades them all. ...It is not that they fear the enemy or have lost confidence in themselves."⁵⁷ His parishioners, he believed, felt they had been "left orphaned" through the loss of those comrades killed, wounded or returned home.⁵⁸ It was not difficult for them to believe that as a Battalion they were being asked by their Iwi to accept fighting responsibility for all Maori, all tribes, even those individuals who did not have a sense of Iwi or tribal responsibility to enlist. "At the time we were very down hearted. When some of our people went home on furlough they did not come back because so many of the loafers back home would not take their responsibilities."⁵⁹ Private Charlie echoes the responsibility⁶⁰ a traditional warrior accepted towards the defence of his Iwi and was concerned that the loafers would not accept theirs. He implied that the burden

for the defence of the Iwi accepted by so few was a heavy one compared with the number of Maori left in New Zealand who had not volunteered. He did not seem aware of the dire consequences to the future of his race had Maori been conscripted.

Sir Apirana responded to the chaplain's letter by asking further questions by which time Rev'd N. T. Wanoa had been appointed to replace Padre Rangi. Padre Wanoa had earlier enlisted as an infantryman in the Battalion although he was an ordained priest of the Anglican Church. Wounded in Crete and recovered sufficiently to return to active service, he was commissioned a chaplain in late 1942 and posted back to his Battalion. None was better placed than he to agree with Padre Rangi's original opinion on the costliness of the war to Maori.

Major R. Keiha, the Battalion second in command,⁶¹ and the senior Ngati Porou officer also shared that concern. Nor did Padre Wanoa withhold his support from Major Keiha and the several platoon commanders who put their signatures to the letter of reply to Sir Apirana informing him that the high casualty rate had deeply affected the morale of the Bn.⁶² The letter indicated that Maori had little control over where they fought, or in determining the odds which had cost Maori huge casualties, more especially from one single tribe. The 7th Reinforcements had been committed to El Alamein, and losses among them had been catastrophic. Over 100 Ngati Porou of C

Company had been lost, and after December 1941 members of the Battalion were aware that "The tramp of Japanese feet is resounding on Hawaiki".⁶³ Maori felt a responsibility directly for the defence of their own Iwi, their responsibility as soldiers was being used in the wrong part of the world. They ought to be home fighting the Japanese.

Both Maori chaplains had expressed their deep pastoral concern over the heavy losses in dead and wounded. They had shared the battlefield pain of their warriors, and the trials of the persistent commitment to battle by a Battalion which had won for itself a reputation gained at a cost in lives with dire consequences for Ngati Porou in particular. Padre Wanoa questioned the policy of replacements to C Company, who were drawn from among the sick in Maadi Base, questioning how much longer could one tribe continue to provide men for, and accept responsibility for, such a costly war and its future effect upon the Iwi. Padre Wanoa and his associates indicated that they had asked the Battalion commander to send the brothers of men already killed in action back to New Zealand, but at the time he wrote still nothing had been done.⁶⁴ The tone of the letter indicated that Maori had finished their task in the Middle East and that with the approach of the Japanese it was time to go home: "this sentiment is expressed to Ngata in the form of a Maori proverb: *"The strands of the old net are sagging with use. It is for the young ones, who are straining*

to lift the weapons of the god of war, that we are pleading."⁶⁵ The chaplains were suggesting the warriors' responsibilities to the Iwi ought to be recognized by those at home in New Zealand, and so return them home where the real fight might yet develop with the Japanese.

Sir Apirana appears to have considered the letter and all of the facts which, when added to the event of Lt. Moanaanui-a-Kiwa Ngarimu winning of the first Maori VC in March 1943, resulted in his writing and publishing his book *The Price of Citizenship*.⁶⁶ This seemed to him the appropriate time to draw the attention of the New Zealand people to the terrible price Maori had paid for their citizenship. He included as part of his book the name of every Maori soldier enlisted into the 28 Bn, their wounds, death, capture, and their fighting role for the Iwi to read. Sir Apirana asked why so much Maori sacrifice was required and gave the traditional rhetorical reply; as a citizen of the Iwi it was required that the warrior defend it when under threat.⁶⁷ He hoped that Pakeha soldiers would realize the costly price of patriotism undertaken by Maori volunteers,⁶⁸ and suggested that this sacrifice reinforced Maori claim to equal citizenship with Pakeha.⁶⁹ He hoped Pakeha would realize and understand this. In pre-Christian times no higher responsibility could be offered than that of being a warrior in defence of the hapu, tribe or iwi. Sir Apirana concluded his lament with a poem of praise for the

dead.

Aotea and Waipounamu!
 Here are the honours they earned,
 Risking their lives regardless,
 Striving with might and main.
 Moana, son! Manahi, too,
 And Te Tuhau! Ha!
 Heroes who have by doughy deeds
 Lifted my fame on high!
 (Ngata)⁷⁰

CONCLUSION

Maori chaplains were certainly close to the seats of political power and like their predecessor the tohunga, were responsible to provide advice in the midst of battle to their chiefs, in this instance the Father of the Maori Battalion. Thus Maori chaplains displayed the traditional political role of the tohunga given to those in authority in times of success, times of uncertainty, and even of defeat. Ministry to Maori on the battle field made them particularly conscious of the vulnerability their race faced through the human cost of war. The very best of their race volunteered to fight and the very best were in the vanguard determined to defeat the enemy. To have exercised a ministry on the battle-field and watched the decimation of their people, was both alarming and bitter, for the war not only cost Maori their best men, but lessened their chances in gaining an equality of citizenship with Pakeha in the future.

There were times when Maori chaplains had some difficulty among

non New Zealanders, within the context of a European war, to sustain their cultural traditions. Yet the experience of war, and being so far from home, forced some Maori to rediscover their roots.⁷¹ The Maori, even among his own Pakeha comrades, was a minority, and an even more significant minority within the 8th Army. This no doubt reinforced and kept a tight bond of whanau within the Battalion while their military leadership, as the war progressed, was increasingly drawn from among their own people. This leadership was bound, with significant exceptions, by a common education and tribal heritage. It was a matter of pride.⁷²

Not all Maori were volunteers imbued with a sense of the traditional warrior, but that made little difference to the significance of their deaths on the battle-field. There was a diminished contribution to their whanau in the years that were to follow. Their deaths, indeed every Maori death, detracted from the post-war contribution of Maori citizenry as a whole. Ngata may well have deplored this appalling sacrifice⁷³, which might have been greater than he expected or was willing personally to accept. Yet as the Father of the Battalion he tried as early as 1943 through the publication and wide circulation of his book to appeal to New Zealand society to recognize the great cost of Maori Citizenship for their Iwi.

In this war he (the Maori) asked to take his full share in the front line, and in this he has been fully indulged. Has he proved a claim to be an asset to his country? If so, he asks to be dealt with as such. An asset discovered

in the crucible of war should have a value in the coming peace. The men of the New Zealand Division have seen it below the brown skins of their Maori comrades. Have the civilians of New Zealand, men and women, fully realised the implications of the joint participation of Pakeha and Maori in this last and greatest demonstration of the highest citizenship?⁷⁴

In this opinion Ngata was aided by five Maori chaplains of a very particular quality.⁷⁵ It is questionable if the full cost of the sacrifice that the Maori people made was ever, or can ever, be fully understood or recognized by their Pakeha partner.

The impact and importance of a younger and educated leadership which began to emerge out of a tentative Maori nationalism during the 1930s can only be speculated upon.⁷⁶ The contribution of those individuals who lost their lives, had they lived, may well have made a significant difference to history and the Maori desire for wider recognition of citizenship in their own land. Proof of the recognition and the acceptance of their citizenship may well be marked by the progressive desire of Maori in this present day, as they pursue their sovereignty.⁷⁷

PART SIX
 THE 2NZEF CHAPLAINCY
 CHAPTER SIXTEEN
 THE 2NZEF CONTEXT

This chapter explores the nature of the religious culture which was part of the social and corporate life of the 2NZEF. The main contributors are chaplains and welfare workers who gave data in response to the question; *In your experience is there a definable "ANZAC soldiers religion?"*¹ and it is herein considered.

In view of six years of war and the tens of thousands of men and women who served in the 2NZEF it seemed appropriate to ask chaplains for an opinion on religious phenomena which they may have experienced as particular or unique to the 2NZEF. All but one of the respondents believed that there was NOT a definable ANZAC religion *per se*, nor did any believe there was a military religion² tailored especially to meet the peculiar needs of an army at war. Only one respondent was positively convinced that there was a recognizable ANZAC expression of religion. He was incisive enough to read the cultural norms of how this "religion" found expression among its 2NZEF followers.

Oh yes, I think there was. I was advised to keep preaching and teaching to a "Confirmation class level." - and that was right. There was a great deal of spiritual illiteracy which³ was an opportunity to proclaim the gospel and teach.³

The vast majority of respondents suggested that Christian attitudes, ideas, and values were recognizable as a part of the over-all social culture within the 2NZEF. They were able to identify three areas which they believed reflected the nominal Christian background of late 1930s New Zealand society. These were:

- (a) A Christian understanding of Kiwi mateship.
- (b) God's Providential care sought in battle.
- (c) Do unto others - A social conscience.

When these are surveyed they reveal an underlying spiritual ethos within the social culture of the 2NZEF which the chaplains were able to tap into. We catch a glimpse of areas where chaplains and large numbers of men not directly in association with Christianity were able to meet on common ground. Some chaplains found themselves challenged by the expression of implicit Christian values, and, on occasions, were forced to acknowledge that Christianity could be practised and lived outside the bounds of an organized Christian fellowship.⁴

Byron Farwell, writing of the British Army during the Victorian and Edwardian periods suggests:

No one can say for certain just how important religion was in the lives of the officers and men, for there are few statistics; but it is possible to make some educated guesses. Among the officers, many of whom had spent at least five hours every week in church during their boyhood, there was, in general, an unthinking acceptance. If

there were atheists, they kept their mouths shut. Most officers considered themselves good Christians, but they did not think too deeply or too often about their religion, and when they did, their thoughts were not likely to be profound.⁵

This may be a fair assumption written of a different time and a different army from that of the 2NZEF. However, it contrasts sharply with the characteristics of the religious culture suggested by the chaplains of the 2NZEF. Nevertheless Farwell's opinion provides a guide-line for comparisons to be considered at the conclusion of this chapter.

MARKS OF A RELIGIO-SOCIAL CULTURE

(a) KIWI MATESHIP

In a word, I would define it (ANZAC religion) as, "Comradeship". It is something born out of sharing the common existence which at times was tested and cemented in the tests of war. In the hard realities of war's demands, there were moments when I was convinced that there were few atheists.⁶

When comrades reverently and respectfully laid their mate's body to rest in a shallow temporary military grave it was at this point chaplains were aware of "...a basic sense of values, shorn of pretence and humbug, which made for a basic honesty and a willingness to acknowledge that none of us were really self sufficient."⁷ Sharing in the hardships of war, its shortages, the sense of struggling through, and encouraging one another, placed Christianity in its institutional expression very secondary to the fellowship among soldiers.⁸ The shared

fellowship of soldiers and chaplain was generated through the crises of war. For instance the closeness of the Pacific chaplains living in the jungle within meters of the battles being fought by their parishioners demonstrated that they in fact "*...had all things in common.*" (Acts 2:44.)

Yet not all was sweetness and light, not all the members of the 2NZEF could accept the formality of compulsory Church parades. Peter Stead was a private soldier, a church member, and an active youth leader in his church, but he could not accept compulsory church parades as part of his activity as a Christian. He deliberately absented himself at the risk of being formally charged for breach of a military order.⁹ Also, disruptions were not infrequent at voluntary services of worship, for example, those which Padre Bob McDowall conducted in Prisoner of War Camp. His formal approach to good churchmanship was tested when men who had nowhere else to go, but who did not want to attend worship, remained in the hut where the service was being held and played cards, wrote letters or chatted among themselves. Padre McDowall found his charity, patience and churchmanship tested, especially when up 500 men had voluntarily come for worship yet a dozen or so individuals carried on with their activities as though a Church service was not being held.¹⁰ It cannot be denied that tensions, which were expressions of religious intolerance or ignorance, were present among a very small minority of those who served. But intoler-

ance generally was not a feature of the Kiwi soldiers' life-style, nor endemic within the culture of the 2NZEF.

In the culture of the 2NZEF, everyone, by virtue of their uniform, was committed to the cause whether they were religious or not: all shared in common a determination to destroy the Nazi system despite the cost. An *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* editorial observed that "Outwardly, soldiers may appear to be very worldly people" but the truth was that every soldier attending a Church parade knew very well that "Flesh and blood had to be sacrificed if the things in which we believe were to survive and flourish."¹¹ There was obviously a shared experience of comradeship in worship during the voluntary or compulsory church parade and regimental memorial service. Such occasions were for all present a persistent reminder that each faced death and risk of wounding or capture in the crusade upon which everyone in the Unit was engaged. Worship, albeit compulsory, was for a good many part of sharing a common lot and when added to the community life-style within an army, was just another of the many factors which bonded men and women in military comradeship. The military team functioned more adequately when trust and comradeship was foremost.

And that tactical danger...gave a great impetus to Comradeship, already strong through the months or years of living together. There was...no greater apostle of brotherhood or more uniting influence... (which) established a bond above creed, ideas or ideals.¹²

what really matter."¹⁵

Chaplains recognized an area of human commonality with the gospel. "Be a good mate. Don't let your cobber down. Any thought of the living God of whom the prophets were aware and who was revealed in Jesus has been watered down to a vague humanism."¹⁶

Regarding the question of an ANZAC religion, theological students and YMCA respondents were little different in circumstance from that of the chaplains. The military deacon or theological student did not have the advantage or protection of officer rank and as such lived closer to the grass roots of the 2NZEF. Generally they observed among soldiers a bond of caring "...sometimes akin to "religion".¹⁷ Such a sentiment would confirm the suggestion that the Christian ethic, especially that of "being a brother's keeper", was more observed and part of the WW2 soldier's personal behaviour than was conscientiously practised by New Zealand society at large.

At the conclusion of an engagement with the enemy chaplains observed a close bonding among their men. First time battle experience survivors had been initiated into the brotherhood of the blooded. After battle they shared their experiences of danger, their flirt with death; but they were yet alive to celebrate another day and mourn their cobbers. "Well there is

an "initiation" before you "belong" you are definitely accepted as one who "belongs" especially if as one who has served in a major conflict."¹⁸

Although former chaplains are, in the majority, dismissive of the idea that the 2NZEF overtly had its own "religion" as such, all tend to acknowledge that the Christian spirit was evident within its ethos. "Old diggers do some amazing acts of 'caring' and ...in mellowing hardened old sinners like me!!!!"¹⁹ the words of a long serving and experienced YMCA Field Secretary. A Church Army officer noted, "NZ men had a wider experience of life to draw from than some other men. N.Zers are more resourceful".²⁰ Religious workers noted that in the context of war some specifically Christian actions gave evidence of the cultural background of New Zealanders;

...after a while in Italy much of the christian concept of compassion was much to the fore. There are still many places in Italy where a NZ-er would be given a royal welcome, because of the "caring" so many showed to the Italians when they were very very hungry and our men shared what they had with them...The comradeship between men in the same tank crew, gun crew, section etc was out of this world.²¹

The New Testament term *koinonia*²² might well sum up the New Zealanders' understanding of comradeship born and cemented in the tests of war. The relationship might also be described among the group as a band of brothers in the way of *philadelphos*²³. One chaplain summarized the Christian characteristics which he believed were useful within the

context of his pastoral ministry as:

- (1) (There was) A respect for integrity of faith.
- (2) (There was present) A sort of fatalism.
- (3) (The hope of) A practical ideal - learned of experience.²⁴

Soft living never made for a virile religion. Padre Harold Scott discovered from his experience in a front-line infantry battalion that if a soldier had a working faith, war strengthened it. He believed there were few to whom the war had given a religious faith which had not been present in their lives before the war. On the other hand he considered that most men had faith in something although it was often inarticulate, incoherent and undefined. It was, he was positively sure, nevertheless a faith. When the tensions of life were present, that was the time when men in the infantry line demonstrated that faith which expressed itself in cheerfulnesses, kindness, unselfishness, and a patient long-suffering in times of life-threatening danger. "He (the New Zealand soldier) manifests, in fact, the Christian virtues as enumerated by the Apostle Paul."²⁵

The measure of responsibility of mateship was being your brother's keeper. It might even require, for the sake of fulfilling ones responsibility as the keeper of a brother in the battlefield context, that one's own life could be forfeited. The editorial of an *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* drew attention to the ultimate responsibility of mateship.

A wise man once wrote: "A true friend is distinguished in the crisis of hazard and necessity; when the gallantry of his aid may show the worth of his soul and the loyalty of his heart." A Wiser One spoke these memorable words: "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends:

Friendship and comradeship in the army is built on trust, on learning that the man near you is dependable in the direst emergency.²⁶

(b) PROVIDENTIAL CARE

A chaplain noted that in the midst of battle, when fears and hopes were mixed with the desire for survival, some soldiers' understanding of religion was that someone or something may be 'on my side'.²⁷ This hope may well have arisen from the conviction that God would support them in the just cause of their battle. They believed they would be "providentially cared for," and, as most chaplains and soldiers agree, there are few in the midst of battle who were convinced atheists.²⁸ One private soldier understood this with clarity.

We were not so fortunate on our next move back into the line. The noise of the trucks carrying two battalions as close to the front as the ASC drivers dared brought heavy mortar fire on our four companies. I scrambled for the nearest shelter, telling God not to let one drop into the ditch beside me, telling God I would be a better man in future, I was sorry I had double-crossed Him before, this time I really meant it. Everybody said there were no atheists under a mortar stonk.²⁹

During battle, if there were moments for reflection, there was a quickening of hope for the survival of life, and when such hope proved fragile it was transferred to the hope of a safety within the realm of the unknown.³⁰ Another private soldier,

Pat Kane, who fought at the Italian Sangro River in 1944, reported: "It was a touching example of faith to see the Padre strolling quietly back and forth along the railway line giving spiritual comfort to one of the soldiers, while a small group sat huddled by the railway...each waiting his turn to make peace with his God, whom he might meet face to face within the next few hours."³¹.

The public acknowledgement of a dependence upon spiritual resources by a senior commander was an indication to the men and women under his command that he had submitted to a higher power his hopes for a favourable outcome of an impending battle. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison recalls on the eve of the battle of El Alamein in October 1942 being called to General Sir Bernard Montgomery's HQ where he was insistent that each subordinate commander outline to him their duties in the coming battle. On asking the Senior British 8th Army Chaplain (a Deputy Chaplain General) his duties, the chaplain replied, "I shall pray sir." To which Montgomery vehemently replied, "*Very well padre, you will be on your knees in prayer in your tent praying that the Lord God Mighty in battle will grant us the Victory.*"³² Later, in his 1944 D. Day speech to his soldiers Montgomery assured them that "...in this righteous cause, the Lord Mighty in Battle will grant His Providence to be with us."³³ There is an inescapable similarity of the dynamic of hope and faith which rings through the centuries, a



"One of the most requested Old Testament lessons asked for by the troops was to story of David and Goliath". (Padre Underhill)
(Minhinnick, NZ Herald 4 May 1945)



"...killing Japanese, although it is probably stretching one's imagination to regard a Jap as a fellow man...The approach to killing Japs was in a wave of hate." (McLeod *Myth and Reality* p83)

providential faith which may well have been shared by Montgomery and Constantine. It is not difficult to surmise the latter may well have used a similar expression to Montgomery with his bishops as they worshipped in a tent chapel enroute to do battle with the Persians. In another context, chaplains were from time to time requested by their unit commanders to read Old Testament lessons which illustrated the might and power of God in battle. Padre Underhill noted that a favourite reading was that of the contest between David and Goliath.³⁴

(c) DO UNTO OTHERS

In September 1942 the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* noted the first of several progress reports concerning the **National Campaign for Christian Order** in New Zealand. It is significant that an army newspaper reported these events over a twelve month period, for there is little doubt the statements expressed by the New Zealand Church leaders was clearly identified with an element of the collective "do unto others" culture within the 2NZEF. The soldiers' culture of caring for each other, depending upon each other in life and death situations, the egalitarian nature of the Kiwi ethos, and strengthened by their sense of nation-hood, all contributed to a distinctive Kiwi sense of identity. Most soldiers had experienced difficult times through the years of the great depression and had no desire to return to a New Zealand which offered little social opportunity and hope for their future. In 1942 they were able to read of a movement at

home led by the churches. There was activity afoot which captured something of their own culture, which aimed for a better social structure of "doing unto others". Venerable Archdeacon W. Bullock, a former WW1 chaplain, expressed the essence of the social changes anticipated by the new Christian Order.

Equality and consideration should be the Golden Rule by which men are valued as human beings, and not as economic machines....No reward should interfere with the basic needs of others. Labour should be given its proper share in the management of industry.³⁵

If deeds needed words to make these hopes effective, the 2NZEF ethos had at that time all the necessary ingredients. A chaplain briefly caught the spirit.

Most (men) were not "religious" in the churchy or devotional sense. Still more than today's equivalent age group. (1989) Their religion was of the "do unto others" variety. Strong sense of fair-play and brotherhood. Regarded almost as a religious article.³⁶

Principles of social justice were the corner-stone upon which some men had founded their ideology and personal commitment to fight the Axis powers. The Axis powers stood opposed to all of the principles of individual freedom, justice and social equity which New Zealand in its emerging nationhood was then experiencing. The Axis, through rampant militant behaviour and by destroying the peace of the world, had threatened these principles which were highly valued by New Zealanders. Chaplains performed their pastoral and battlefield skills

within the context of this religio-cultural milieu.

MINISTRY AND RELIGIO-SOCIAL CULTURE

Soldiers expected high standards from their chaplains for they were the link in so many ways between themselves, family and home.³⁷ The culture required they behave with the same circumspection as expected of Caesar's wife, and that they remain living examples of the Christian life. They were usually a decade older, and in most cases wiser and more mature than the average soldier.³⁸ Soldiers perceived in the values that chaplains represented that these were the best of Christian virtues which were worth fighting for. In the very midst of the hard years of 1942-43 it was observed of Father Forsman;

He viewed the war as only a part of the greater task of restoring all things in Christ. While regretting the havoc and wanton destruction caused by war, he wanted nothing short of a just peace based on sound Christian principles. If men had to fight, Ted certainly wanted them to know what they were fighting for. He had no brief for pacifism and less for morbid sentimentality. As a Christian gentleman he was certain that soldiers had to be as humane as war would permit, even if their adversaries proved otherwise. Ted saw war as a virile struggle for a new Christian order.³⁹

Some men were under the impression, rightly or wrongly, that they could not attain to the standards of a chaplain yet they honoured their chaplains for maintaining their standards in the rough and tumble of war. The chaplain was God's man in their world no matter how terrible that world.

Yet not all shared these opinions, and were privately, at least, critical of some chaplains. When Private Peter Stead became a YMCA Field Secretary he believed that chaplains were a mixed bag, and in particular his unit chaplain was considered lazy and was criticized for going too frequently to chaplains' conferences and retreats. This chaplain complained freely that few attended his voluntary services, to which the Battalion Second-in-Command responded with the reprimand, "...that if he took a leaf out of the YMCA Sec's book and got around amongst the men and did something for them he'd see more at his Services".⁴⁰ It would seem true, from the experience of scores of chaplains, that getting "around amongst the men" was the key to being known, communicating, and sharing in Unit activities, and knowing what was going on from day to day. Movement about his parish and a constant encounter with his parishioners was the accepted understanding of the chaplains' function by soldiers. It was more important for the chaplain to be known among his men than to be heard preaching. Both were required, but as Stead was told by his experienced and wise Major, a chaplain that identified with his men got the response. Chaplains were constantly aware that they were being looked to for example, and were frequently on trial, "I would go again tomorrow (sic) the challenge is tremendous. Would that I had done it all better".⁴¹

For this social culture of the 2NZEF the churches provided

chaplains for ministry. A military diaconate, consisting of the YMCA and Church Army, supported financially by the National Patriotic Board, together provided the soldier with creature comforts and the facilities for chaplains to conduct their ministry. The YMCA red triangle symbolized the Christian ideal of complete manhood -body, mind and spirit -the whole person centred on following Jesus Christ and service to His Kingdom. The symbol of the YMCA and its religious significance was not unknown to many thousands of young men before they were enlisted into the 2NZEF. As the war progressed the YMCA premises, whether a tent in the desert, a bamboo hut in the jungle, the Lawry Hut in Maadi Base, or a simple gathering around the Field Secretary's half-ton truck, were the places where the seeds of ecumenism were sown. The implicit 2NZEF religious culture had little place for denominationalism, for if men fought and died together surely they could worship together. The YMCA provided the wherewithal for the latter.

The YMCA Field Secretary undertook a practical style of evangelism which had all the marks of an ecumenical ministry.

The activity and persistence with which it (YMCA) supplied the men with material comforts largely broke down the feeling of suspicion, and even of antagonism, to religious organisations which undoubtedly existed before the war, thus opening the way for a more direct religious message.⁴²

The Church Army, on the other hand, as specifically an Anglican organization, was the smaller partner of the Welfare agencies.

As a denominational group its aims were for the conversion, consecration and development of Anglican Churchmanship among men and women.⁴³ The Church Army was closely woven into the Anglican military parochial programme and it enjoyed a considerable advantage over the YMCA in that Anglicans represented the largest nominal religious group in the 2NZEF. The Church Army officers tended to be evangelical in their outlook and strongly committed to the Anglican denomination, a situation which in the early stages of the war could not help but be other than sectarian. Hints of this sectarianism remain to this day and it taxes the faith still of one YMCA Field Secretary.

The few differences in denominations endeavouring to "grasp opportunities" - to advantage themselves, irrespective - some actions were just not ecumenical. I still distrust former adversaries....The ever present parochialism and self interest doesn't help to keep faith absolutely "undented".⁴⁴

The staff of the Anglican Church Army serving with the 2NZEF never exceeded more than twenty three officers throughout the period of WW2.⁴⁵ The Church Army never gave the impression, to the majority of soldiers, of fitting easily into the spiritual culture of the 2NZEF. It was viewed as an Anglican group for Anglicans.

CONCLUSION

The evidence points to a strong compassion and brotherhood that front-line soldiers accepted and shared with each other. This

spirit was fostered, and arose from, the awareness of dependence and reliance each gave to the other through daily dangers against a common foe. Not only was this true of individuals within a unit, it was also recognized as occurring between Maori and Pakeha. According to Sir Charles Bennett, a former Maori Battalion commander, the spirit of brotherhood and unity between both races was unique. Sir Charles believed this sentiment, established at the cost of so many lives, regrettably failed to take root in the post-war New Zealand society.⁴⁶

The soldiers' belief and concern for the equality of humankind and the entitlement to all for a "fair go" in the new world of opportunity was the thinking of the 1939-45 generation. Many, if not the majority, had voted for the 1936 first Labour Government, and it is not unreasonable to assume that the majority supported the social changes which that government, up until the outbreak of war, was in the process of implementing. They were of the generation who supported the social changes in pensions, housing and full employment opportunities which followed in the wake of the depression.⁴⁷ A form of the social gospel expressed in the *National Campaign for Christian Order* was articulated by the New Zealand Churches in 1942 which incorporated the Golden Rule, fair play, and common humanity or in the soldiers language, their "do unto others".

In seeking to answer the question *was there a definable ANZAC soldier's religion*, the evidence suggests that chaplains recognized that a soldiers' home background and nominal Christianity contributed to a form of religious *culture* but *not a religion* per se, certainly not a particular style of military religion. The 2NZEF religious culture called upon Almighty God to exercise His Providence in the care and protection of all those involved in fighting for the restoration of peace. It also included a not unnatural sense of "fair play", for many believed they were acting out God's will by opposing the Axis powers. As previously noted, implicit in this belief is the idea that in fighting to re-establish the peace and freedoms of the occupied nations God would somehow honour these efforts. Their actions can be interpreted through the legal term "*colour of right*."⁴⁸ When a person or persons act believing they have the *colour of right* they are convinced, on the face of it, their cause is disposed to justice. Such an attitude lay behind the drive of the Allies to halt an aggressor and despoiler of the occupied peoples and their nations.

One of the chief beliefs of the Nazis was that there was no real morality, only the rule of might and that if you were strong enough there was nothing wrong with taking what you wanted. So underlying World War 2 there was an element of St. Paul's statement in Ephesians Chapter 6 verse 12. "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."⁴⁹

The observations of the theological student are clear, "Most

men had a feeling deep down that there was a God who should be believed in and who would protect and they expected the same to be the experience of others."⁵⁰ A general statement, but one which carries with it a conviction that if God was with them, then who could prevail against them? The *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* editorial of Easter 1942 expressed the underlying spirituality in the culture of the 2NZEF.

The tremendous crowds of men and women in uniform attending Church Services...at Easter, serve to remind us that in these days, when we are literally fighting for our lives - fighting so that human freedom shall not be blotted out from the earth - that a greater power than ours is needed to sustain us in more difficult momentsThe great uniformed congregations are evidence that within the (New Zealand) soldier there is a deeply seated craving for other than material things.⁵¹

Chaplains did not work in a spiritual vacuum but exercised their corporate and individual Christian ministries within a culture which nominally at least held to the principles of Christianity. If there had been no spirituality in the culture of the 2NZEF it is doubtful whether chaplains would have been as well accepted or tolerated. In recognition of this fact, after 1943, the 2NZEF administration requested five additional chaplains, over and above the establishment, to be posted to the Middle East Forces.⁵² This was a positive request based on the spiritual needs which were by then clearly perceived. The good-will inherent in the spiritual culture of the men of the 2NZEF was ignored at a chaplain's peril.

While the average soldier was a man of the world he was not without his scale of values. The moral tone of

society of that generation showed forth at times....Some hundreds of Kiwi lads attending a...Kiwi Concert Party began to boo when one item was considered indecent.⁵³

Farwell's comment that earlier this century Imperial soldiers were not likely to have a high regard for Christian values would not seem to apply on the whole to the citizen soldiers of the 2NZEF half a century later. Farwell was not writing of a time when the whole of Christian civilization was under threat and most of Western Europe under German occupation, nor when the Pacific was either occupied or threatened by Japanese expansionism. The evidence has demonstrated that the lives given (not lost) in the greatest war in history were viewed in the framework of a biblical understanding which was virtually the spiritual motto of the 2NZEF, viz:.

"Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends".⁵⁴

This culture recognized the necessity of sacrifice; the death of ones mates were unavoidable if the goals of the war were to be achieved. Nor could the possibility of one's own death be discounted. Sacrifice of life was, without doubt, the cost of peace. In so far as the sacrifice of life was necessary to achieve the defeat of the Axis it was a central understanding to the religious culture of the 2NZEF.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE 2NZEF CHAPLAIN

Chaplains were few in number and were appointed to the 2NZEF on the ratio of one chaplain to 900-1000 men. They were non-combatants with officer status, without military authority, and wore a distinctive purple cloth band on their battle dress shoulder strap which marked them out as chaplains. They shared a common courtesy title and were addressed as *Padre*, or among Roman Catholics, as *Father*. Chaplains represented all that was opposed to violence and evil and those positive elements of the gospel which bade Christians to love their enemies as well as their neighbours. As previously noted, they represented for many soldiers the values of home and community and were characteristically marked as men of God. YMCA and Church Army Officers shared a similar distinction, for welfare and spiritual ministry were closely related.

None were trained specifically in any of the characteristics essential for the style of ministry which war presented. They were thrown into the peculiarities of the military system which demanded of them elements of ministry other than those for which they had been trained.¹ As often as not they were strangers within the sometimes confusing customs and traditions of the service which emanated from the sergeants' or officers' mess.²

Military chaplains were in an alien environment which threw up issues such as prostitution, abuse of alcohol, black marketeering: problems and dilemmas they would not normally face in the relative seclusion of their parishes. Throughout the period of the war they faced a consistent set of socio-military and ethical conflicts which were quite foreign to parish life.

PREPARATION

The majority of chaplains had experienced professional theological training, about one in five had an academic degree.³ Theological training varied according to the denomination, but it averaged four years full-time theological study for Protestants and up to eight or more for Catholic priests. The handful of clergy ordained without formal theological training were difficult to distinguish from among chaplains as a group.⁴ Success did not depend upon academic ability, and when called upon to perform their basic professional skills such as preaching, celebrating the sacraments, or pastoral work, chaplains were able adequately to do so among those 2NZEF members who were practising Churchmen and women. However, they were called upon to relate and work among all within the 2NZEF, not just the converted.

Chaplains were required to develop, within the context of war, a wider inventory of skills which enabled them to represent the gospel in a more relevant manner. For many this required that

they put to one side their hobby horses of opposition to drink, gambling, and other activities, which the churches of the time considered prime social evils.⁵ It was required of them to be a minister of the gospel first, putting to one side the particular emphases of their denomination to serve the soldiers' needs. Perhaps Roman Catholic priests did not face this challenge for they served their own religious community, but a Salvation Army infantry chaplain would hardly have lasted long if he had insisted upon an alcohol-free unit.⁶

There were few among them who did not own misgivings about their ability to perform as chaplains, or who were confident that parish experience and theological training would stand them in good stead. Most believed they had acquired life skills which, when coupled with theological training, contributed to their mastering the wider military aspects of their ministry.⁷ One YMCA Field secretary had a broad experience of working in the harsh real world, and it seems he alone felt any real degree of confidence for his task. "Twenty years of YMCA service; need I say more!"⁸

From the early part of the 20th century until the mid-1960s, the Secondary School Cadet Corps gave a military presence in all New Zealand secondary schools. The chaplains, when they had been secondary school pupils, would all have experienced a programme of ongoing military training from the age of twelve,

at least one week in cadet camp annually and two hours weekly.⁹ Of those who responded to the questionnaire, 75% received basic military training as school cadets and 30% had been Territorial Army soldiers. One was a former Officer Training candidate on the point of being commissioned in an Oxford University Unit in England. It is a reasonable assumption that, on the basis of these and other replies, at least 75% of those who undertook chaplaincy duties did so with a very slender basic working background of the military system.¹⁰ By the end of 1943, fifty percent of all chaplains had received basic training at one of the four chaplains' schools.¹¹ Despite this provision the remaining eighty chaplains received little or no preparation for their chaplaincy duties.¹² A very small number, no more than a dozen, had experience as peace-time Territorial chaplains and three only were former WW1 chaplains.¹³ During the first three years of the war there was little accumulated experience which could be drawn upon for the benefit of all. Chaplains were thrown upon their own resources, and frequently they drew upon the advice of those officers and men in the Unit who were active Churchmen. They guided and directed their chaplains with understanding until the chaplain's own experience enabled him to avoid most of the pitfalls.¹⁴

A social characteristic of the times was the number of former servicemen and women who made up the everyday community in the early 1940s. I would suggest that the martial spirit of the

times directly influenced clergy to enlist, because among their parishioners there were many who had formerly served, or were already serving, in the Empire's cause. Between 1920 and 1939, at least until the outbreak of WW2, a considerable proportion of the middle aged and older male population were survivors or veterans of the Land Wars, Boer War and WW1. Some also had high civic profiles. A cursory perusal of the *Who's Who In New Zealand* publications over that period reveals that at least 25% of the biographical listings note some form of military background.¹⁵ The community was aware of its civilian soldiers and the high profile many took in community life. Entry into the 2NZEF for a clergyman in such a social climate would not be considered abnormal, because as an individual and a representative of his Church, he was doing no more than his duty. It might well have been considered by some as "uncharacteristic" for a clergyman with the right experience, physical fitness and age not to have volunteered for the chaplaincy.¹⁶ The preparation given by the army for a chaplain after enlistment consisted less of "why" he ought to exercise ministry within a military environment, but rather "how" to understand and recognize what was going on in military life.¹⁷

TRAVELLING THE ECUMENICAL JOURNEY

The common theological background of most chaplains was set in the socio-academic climate of the early to late 1930s. Many clergy had been active members of the Student Christian

Movement (SCM) and had experienced inter-church activities and observed the breaking down of denominational barriers. The SCM was one organization which introduced the word "ecumenical",¹⁸ a word that was beginning to influence the ideal of the working unity among denominations:

...transcending differences of creed, ritual, and polity. It endeavours to give expression to that unity by closer relations in conference, both for co-operation in common Christian tasks and with a view to the ultimate reunion of the Churches."¹⁹

However, theological students of the period noted "We had not even heard the word."²⁰ On the other hand they understood its practice:

In the Western Desert at an isolated place called Jerawla, a number of chaps, Presbyterian, Salvation Army, Anglican, & Methodist, used to meet in an enlarged dugout to share our food parcels, cook toast and then have a prayer meeting at night. We did this because we felt the need of fellowship and support. It was a memorable time.²¹

There was also a minority of chaplains who had never heard of the word "ecumenical"²² nor of the goal of church re-union which it foreshadowed. Nonetheless the concept was promoted by General Freyberg's suggestion that chaplains lay aside their sectarian perspectives as they "Endeavoured to minister to all on the same footing...Consciously put aside denomination feelings and little...to be reminded of it."²³ After May 1940 the characteristics of Unit chaplaincy were well established.

Officially we went overseas representing our own church and to serve its members, but with Gen. Freyberg's wish and blessing line units of the 2nd Div. had unit padres

who ministered to the men of their Bn or Regt. as well as they could. RC padres looked after their own from the religious point of view, and for the most part did not make good Unit padres. By 1942 they were usually attached to Brigade HQ.²⁴

Previously New Zealand chaplains had followed the British chaplaincy model where chaplains were posted to district locations in the hope that they could minister to their own. Compared to the British system, the New Zealanders believed their ecumenically structured model was by far the better.²⁵

There were some noticeable but rare exceptions to the acceptance of an ecumenical ministry. These were among Anglicans of "High" persuasion. One Presbyterian chaplain noted that a number of "High" Anglican soldiers failed to attend his communion services.²⁶ Brethren were marked out by chaplains as un-cooperative, preferring to worship on their own and in their own way.²⁷ Baptists escaped direct criticism, but the single 2NZEF Baptist chaplain spent a considerable amount of time over and above his Unit duties planning and organizing specifically Baptist Retreats and editing a publication for circulation among Baptists.²⁸ His evangelical theology separated him from many of his more theologically liberal colleagues, but his energy and dedication stands out as an exceptional commitment to the unit chaplaincy by one who strongly retained his denominational identity.

The impression is gained that as the war progressed the chaplains' denominational tag became less significant and it was the individual's quality, character, personality and performance which counted. One chaplain recalls being asked by a soldier who regularly attended divine worship: "Padre- me and the boys were wondering what church you belonged to, one thing we are sure of is that you're not a mickey doolan (RCs) because you've talked about your wife occasionally."²⁹ His impact, relevance, worth and character was not judged by the strength or size of his denomination, his theology or churchmanship; it had to do with how he identified, understood and related to those for whom he had pastoral and sacramental responsibility.³⁰ Doctrine was not of major importance, whereas his discussions with men on how to eliminate poverty in New Zealand following the war was a more accurate gauge by which his parishioners evaluated his sincerity and commitment.³¹ Chaplains attribute their development towards a practical ecumenical ministry as a direct result of their regular conferences, retreats and Schools of Theology. Such ongoing training did not emerge until after the defeats of Greece and Crete and the long Desert campaigns of 1942. The battle experience and the toll of chaplain casualties of those years, when tempered with the bitterness of defeat, had welded the Department together in a way that could not have been imagined in 1940.³²

The fellowship with chaplains of all denominations was very fine. It was good to have chaplains' courses in

Palestine. To kneel in Galilee with South African chaplains and men of all denominations was a blessing. A Church Army Sister read John 17. and to say the Lord's Prayer together was really something.³³

The senior denominational chaplains and the SCF 2NZEF worked for all practical purposes as an ecumenical body which planned and guided the Department in making or changing appointments and recommendations to the 2NZEF Administration or the Ch.DAC in Wellington. The regular Conferences were open forums where chaplains spoke their minds and aired difficult problems and sought to resolve them. They met as a group of Christian clergy, and although the Church of England dominated the group because of their greater numbers, the conferences were fully ecumenical. All were present as ministers of Christ's Church and all had the right to an opinion. In reality the Conferences became a military Ecumenical Synod with particular responsibility for overseeing Christian ministry in the 2NZEF. Among the YMCA field Secretaries there was a core of experienced workers who had managed YMCA canteens in the Public Works and forestry camps during the depression years, more commonly known as the "slump". From among this dedicated group of experienced welfare workers the YMCA was able to approach their ministry on an equal if not more united front.

So far as I was concerned the greatest opportunity ever to break down "hard dogma" "convictions, ceremony, custom, obstinacy (ecclesiastical) etc. "Emergency" brought togetherness and differences were out.³⁴

The ecumenical approach obviously worked, for within eighteen months of mobilization denominational distinctions were greatly reduced. "The only difference between serving the men was between RC and Protestant."³⁵

COMMON CHARACTERISTICS

Chaplains were virtually unanimous as to the characteristics they believed were required of them to achieve what might be termed 'acceptable ministry'.

Any chaplain who was friendly, and hard working was acceptable and accepted with no need for special talents. In a unit they got to know. In a transit camp it was different, I had spent a year - 1932 - working with Tubby Clayton famous chaplain of the first world war. One thing I remember him saying, was how important it was always to wear a dog collar - which I did.³⁶

The clerical collar was noted as a clergyman's badge of office, and when worn in a situation of crisis it aided the chaplain for it was plain for all to see who he was.³⁷ For those who wore the clerical garments on the appropriate occasions, and they were among the majority, this was a characteristic reminder of home to all present and of the role and place of Christianity in their society which many believed they were facing a life and death situation to retain.³⁸

Those interviewed indicate that the circumstances of the time forced them to mature quickly as most were in their mid 30s or a little younger. Few were of the age of the Senior Chaplain

Jim McKenzie who returned to New Zealand in 1944 aged 54 years. The younger chaplains' lack of maturity was compensated for by physical activity, for the majority of their parishioners were younger and ranged from eighteen years through to those in their early twenties. Senior ranks of NCOs and Officers were generally older, sometimes into the early forties. Physical prowess on the sports field was the characteristic means where the chaplain was able to find acceptance among the greatest number of soldiers.³⁹

The chaplain's ability as a sportsman, referee, and as an organizer for sport, was a means of communicating and identifying with almost everyone in the Battalion. Physical fitness coupled with a cheerfulness, a wicked sense of humour and a quick wit with a respect for senior officers, broke down a great number of barriers. Soldiers admired the chaplain who was able to address the senior officers in their own language but get across to those officers the needs and requests of the men. Sport cannot be underestimated as the single touchstone which gave chaplains life-time opportunities to express privately and publicly matters of the faith to a wide section of men that normally would never have been privy to the ministry of the Christian church.⁴⁰ "In one particular aspect I was fortunate, in that through youth I was athletically active. That I was able to succeed in some Service sports to international standard did help in my standing in my Regt.⁴¹ As

one padre put it "...I was 25 and still playing Rugby and believed my work was with my contemporaries in a way which would never occur again...".⁴² Sporting attributes were of the manly Christian variety which demanded less of their intellectual or ministry skills, but required the chaplain to identify with and accept men in the events of life on their parishioners' grounds, not a church building and away from a chaplain's religious agenda. These characteristics had the effect of chaplains under thirty years of age readily identifying and finding their place with young soldiers because "...most of us were not old enough to have had much practical parish experience."⁴³

The years of the Great economic Depression had been a time of levelling of the social and financial barriers between students. Theological students such as Titchener and MacLaren, perhaps more than others, felt the pinch of the hard economic years. Many chaplains believed the work they undertook during university and theological college vacations gave them a characteristic understanding of human nature and allowed them insights into the way in which working people coped with life. They were grateful for their experience as labourers, farm workers and foresters in the hard times.

From such contacts came genuine insights which might have been rather rare under civilian conditions. Professionally the ability to mix, the capacity for non-judgement approach and the readiness to serve whatever the demand were the general preparation for service conditions.⁴⁴

RESPONDING TO MORAL DILEMMAS

In all armies incidents of prostitution, rape, looting, shooting of prisoners,⁴⁵ and other criminal behaviour, stand out. During WW1 this was forcefully demonstrated when a New Zealand Baptist chaplain in Egypt stood between the brothel keeper's door and the New Zealand would-be clients in an effort to stop them from entering. He later wrote a book in which he outlined the dangers of prostitution and venereal disease and attempted to rally the conscience of the nation in support of his crusade to force the army to outlaw such practices. His book was censored by the military authorities when published in England and it received little, if any, real publicity in New Zealand.⁴⁶ Nothing comparable to this incident was to arise from the chaplains of the 2NZEF.

Clergy attending the Trentham Chaplains' School during 1942\43 appear to have been given very little information on the morality of soldiers' behaviour. Mention of prostitution and venereal disease is recorded by one lecturer, Rev'd Willie Walker. In his address to the newly commissioned chaplains he made his point.

It is quite true that you will come into contact with much which will distress you. There are many spiritual as well as physical casualties fellows giving way to "liquor," "gambling," and "immorality." Some of the saddest sights I saw were not the mangled bodies of men on the battlefield - they died honourably in defence of Home, King, and Country and as such will be remembered and honoured. It was men from good homes in V.D. Hospitals. There are still men in the Mental Hospitals of New Zealand who contracted Syphilis in the last war. God

knows how much damage they have done. Don't hesitate faithfully to warn the men. It is a very unsavoury subject and most of us would be glad to leave it alone but it is our business to see that even if men will go into this evil they at least do go to it with their eyes open to the danger.⁴⁷

Yet, Padre Walker pleaded with his pupils not to be judgemental of the those men who fell morally.

The majority of diaries and written accounts made available for this study share a silence on moral judgment regarding prostitution, looting, or any other questionable behaviour by soldiers. Although a few chaplains make reference to looting and criminal behaviour,⁴⁸ all with the exception of Padre McDowall lack a direct moral censure.⁴⁹ Chaplains whose entire ministry was associated with General Hospitals have written little concerning their contact with those who contracted VD.⁵⁰ At their Conference in Tripoli in late 1942 chaplains' discussed what they termed "organised vice"(sic).⁵¹

Essentially they believed it ought to be the responsibility of the doctors to warn soldiers of the risks of prostitution to their health, but they had been alarmed that some doctors had spoken crudely to the troops on the matter. General Freyberg discussed the problem of moral health with Padre Buck, suggesting that the chaplains give this subject their special attention.⁵²

Chaplains rejected outright that prostitution should become the

subject of sermons, rather concluding that soldiers had the right to know the Christian attitude toward sex but without lengthy moralizing. The Administration agreed that the chaplains be given time in their unit training programme to discuss the problem with soldiers so that the Christian point of view could be expressed. So began what later developed into "padres' hours."⁵³

The chaplains decided not to make the problem a public issue, but as opportunity was presented to them they would emphasize the sanctity of sex in marriage and positively support married men and others who shared Christian and various other reasons to remain celibate. They hoped that through the adoption of a non-judgemental position it would give strength to the Christian view and that troops would maintain respect for their bodies, themselves, and their families at home. They were convinced that their approach to the issue was positive and superior to that of moralizing on the matter.⁵⁴

In accepting a non-judgemental policy there is no reason to believe that they did other than Padre Walker advised. Characteristically, they once more acted as a group being seen to make a statement without fuss or argument, and maintained the policy until the end of the war. Within the privacy of the confessional it would be unusual if some soldiers did not unburden and relieve their souls of a moral burden, but details

of this we shall never know.

The following table gives some indication of the numbers of soldiers treated for venereal disease in the Middle East Forces, an indication that the policy may well have been successful in Italy at least until the last several months of the war.

Average Monthly incidence per 1000 troops in the 2NZEF

1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	Jan-Jun 1945	Jul-Dec 1945
4.2	3.6	1.8	1.0	3.5	6.7	15.4 ⁵⁵

The alarming growth of VD in the concluding months of the war in Italy elicited from the Senior Medical Officer a direct condemnation of those involved. He "...considered there was inadequate discipline and moral laxity of the troops in an area so beset with sexual opportunities."⁵⁶

The chaplains' lack of condemnation cannot be accepted as a measure of compliance, but rather an acceptance of the realities that war and prostitution had been bedfellows since time immemorial. It was a pragmatic recognition by the chaplains that not all men would maintain celibacy, nor were all men willing to live by the Christian ethic. Opportunity and peer group pressures were also part of the social mix which drew men into promiscuous behaviour. The overturning of normal moral values, killing, together with the will for survival in

the midst of life-threatening war, challenged mens' understanding of sexual values. Padre McDowall believed that men had to be superhuman and very mature to maintain their sexual integrity in the topsy turvy world of war, attractive women, hunger, and deprivation.

Chaplains had little alternative but to accept that killing the enemy was part of the business of an army; a regrettable necessity in the recovery of peace. They never attempted to rationalize which was the worst of sins, sex or war, or preach a ladder of moral priorities from the Ten Commandments. One chaplain, almost as an aside, comments on his burial of a close parishioner in the closing months of the Italian campaign:

A grave digger showed me a tent on the edge of the ground. We drove over to it and the driver helped me to lift Hongi into the tent and then left me. I undid the wire twists that held the blanket together and from the torn ends of his neck undid the identity disks. Went through his pockets, breast and trouser. I then refastened the blanket and went and told the grave diggers that I was ready. They carried Hongi to the grave and I took the burial service. I waked(sic) away from the grave, opened the wallet and took out the condoms. The wallet was snt(sic) home to his wife by the army. I wrote to her. He really was a fine fellow Hongi.⁵⁷

If the above is typical of the actions and opinion of chaplains generally, they evidently did not regard infidelity in the circumstances of war to be a significant human failing. Life, comradeship and sacrifice, were more important and in this belief they maintained and shared a characteristic position of not judging.⁵⁸

A DISCIPLINE FOR MINISTRY

The maintenance of a personal spiritual life was a central dimension of discipline for a clergyman in the pre-war years. Devotional periods set apart from the busy working day were considered necessary for the sustenance of the individual's spirituality. It was essential the chaplain maintain this discipline for it kept him in touch with his God, it was his source of strength for the challenging physical and spiritual daily task. This characteristic, so readily adopted in the civilian context as part of his calling, was now vital in the stresses of war.⁵⁹

Chaplains fell into two categories in the way they maintained their spiritual life. The first group made time, no matter where they were, to fulfil their daily devotional office. Padre Bicknell was engaged in prayer during the hours of darkness before the early morning attack which freed him and his five brother chaplains from captivity.⁶⁰ Padre McDowall was at prayer in his prison camp when the riot broke out marking the capitulation of the Italians in 1943.⁶¹ Roman Catholic and Anglican chaplains were required through their spiritual vows to read their Office daily.

Beside my daily devotions of prayer and Bible reading (for which on occasions the opportunity did not present itself), I found encouragement in the company of committed Christians among the men, and their conversation of Christian things. If there were times when I helped and strengthened the men in my unit, there were also times when some of them were able to strengthen me (but probably were quite ignorant of that fact.)⁶²

Others shared this characteristic: "Travelled with bible and prayer book. Tried to read morning and evening every day. I found the Litany a most useful prayer."⁶³ Another noted "I had much time for quiet reflection."⁶⁴ Some experienced the "...aleness of prayer...before "the day" began."⁶⁵ The driver-batman who helped a chaplain with his domestic daily chores and drove his vehicle, enabled the chaplain to have a little more time for his daily devotionals. Books were a luxury.

At one stage my library consisted of...*Bible: Pilgrims Progress...The life and Teaching of Jesus Christ* by my old minister and life-time friend, James Stewart: there was little time in the jungle for the company of other Chaplains...I never had an elder in my unit.⁶⁶

The second group were equally as determined to fulfil the requirement of the devotional office, but they found themselves thwarted by circumstances.

...perhaps the hardest task of all...I didn't do well at it. All...padres called upon our "spiritual capital"...being on our own we did not have the back-up...a parish gives. Some were able to sustain their bible reading and prayer life...I think that all found...that active service was not conducive to the more spiritual side."⁶⁷

All chaplains acknowledged the spiritual "watering hole" of their regular retreats, conferences, and infrequent visits to Churches close by their training or operational areas. The single characteristic which unites those who were able to maintain their regular devotional life is the recognition that without a devotional life a chaplain did not last. "In the line

or under battle conditions one was often dependant only on ones(sic) inner experience of response to the demands of often stressful situations."⁶⁸

One YMCA Field Secretary reflected the busy demands of his life by acknowledging the brevity of his daily devotions.

My formal personal devotions were brief but fairly regular....On the first day of every month we had a tryst (he and his family) They together at home, and I, some-time on that day would read John 14. As you can guess, that chapter remains something extra-special for me still.⁶⁹

Chaplains drew from the spiritual well of their faith, the source of their inner-directed strength. They were expected to carry the burdens of others, to be men of "faith and courage"⁷⁰ and as has been amply demonstrated though the use of their battlefield skills, to be strong when others were weak. All these demands had an eroding effect upon their spiritual life and their capacity to perform their duties. Padre Jim McKenzie was four years Senior Chaplain to the 2NZEF and Padre Watson recalls a comment made by him a few weeks before his return to New Zealand. "Padre McKenzie...tells us that he is finished with the army, but that some of us younger men ought to consider continuing in the work even when the war is over".⁷¹ Underhill believed that chaplains ought not spend more than twelve months in the forward fighting zone⁷² and where possible Roman Catholic priests were appointed on this basis, though there were always exceptions. Padre Gourdie believed:

...the effective life of a padre was 2 to 3 years, but this was unworkable from the supply position and we wouldn't have gone willingly in that time. At the end of 4 and a half years overseas service I felt like an orange that had all the juice sucked out of it!!⁷³

CONCLUSION

The single characteristic which united chaplains in their task was pastoral sympathy and commitment to their men who were prepared to give their lives in a war which most chaplains and soldiers believed had a colour of right in Allied favour. Their chaplaincy was a worthy ministry, and one which they believed was contributing to the overthrow of an enemy, who, if left unchecked would eventually destroy all that Christianity had been able to contribute to an imperfect world.⁷⁴ They faced the moral dilemmas of their pastoral duties without strong moral judgement of individual soldiers, but with a determination to place Christian ethical standards before their men. They used the characteristic skills of civilian ministry to cope with a situation in an army of largely nominal young Christian men who knew perfectly well why they were fighting and the importance of their cause.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE 2NZEF CHAPLAINCY: A COMPOSITE MODEL

Throughout this study illuminating comparisons and insights have been drawn from the classical Eusebian model, the Crusading model, and the diaconal contribution to military chaplaincy. Chaplaincy characteristics indigenous to the New Zealand context, culture and military experience have also been identified. It is essential now to use all these considerations to form an interpretation of the 2NZEF chaplaincy. We begin firstly with the four basic characteristics¹ of the Eusebian model.

INFLUENCES OF THE EUSEBIAN MODEL

The New Zealand military and churches in the 1930s were unlike their larger Empire or Commonwealth partners in that there was no administrative infrastructure linking them directly to the State. In 1939 New Zealand did not have a Chaplain General nor a Staff Chaplain. On the outbreak of war it was the civilian Church which maintained the Territorial Army chaplaincy. It was to the individual senior chaplains or heads of churches, and later the Advisory Council, with whom the Adjutant General, representing the State, consulted regarding chaplaincy policy through the war years.²

The Churches' March with the 2NZEF.

There was never any question on the part of the Adjutant-General that the churches would not respond to the needs of the army, even though he made a chaplaincy appointment in the early weeks of the war without their approval.³ The churches needed time to organize themselves before they were ready to accompany the men and women of their parishes who would be mobilized.

New Zealand, in common with the other units of the Empire, is loyally preparing to do her part and the Government is to be commended for the measures it is taking, galling though some of them may be. We must all brace ourselves to do our duty and to render whatever national service lies in our power. We honestly believe that all that Jesus Christ our Lord lived and died to secure for us is at stake in this conflict and the triumph of Hitlerism would mean the triumph of the forces of evil.⁴

The New Zealand military issued the call and the churches responded with the provision of chaplains: so we identify the first element of the Eusebian model in place.

Chaplains remained non-combatants

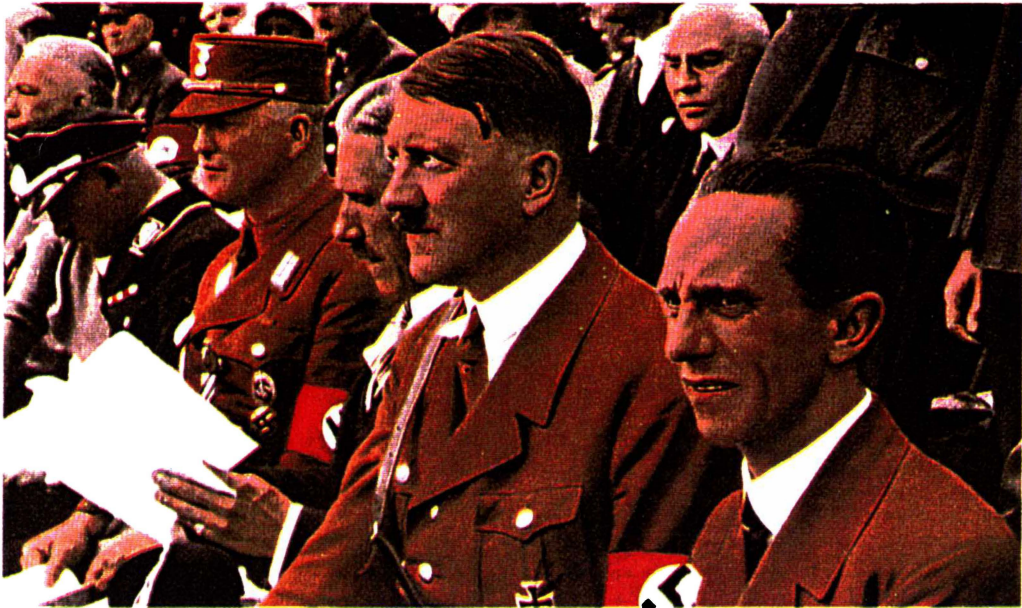
The provision of the 1929 Geneva Convention, accepted and signed by a representative of the New Zealand Government⁵, clearly recognized that New Zealand chaplains would be non-combatant and undertake strictly religious and welfare duties.⁶ Such was the basis of the agreement between the Church and State in the time of Constantine. The British Army *Kings Regulations*⁷, which outlined the work of chaplains, were hard won and tested through the experiences of WW1 and these became

once more the guide-lines for the non-combatant welfare and religious duties of chaplains. Thus, in the context of the 2NZE, the second Eusebian element - non combatancy - is in place.

The Churches believed in Victory

The cause, it was believed, was just and the British Empire being the embodiment of justice and freedom was the political and spiritual alternative of Hitler's Germany. Karl Barth asked was not Hitler's Germany like "...its demonic counterpart, the Kingdom of a false "Man-God," under the lordship of a false Messiah?"⁸ He then went on to suggest that the Church could not ignore the challenge of such a situation which threatened humankind. "It is impossible to conceive any way in which the Church can withdraw from this question."⁹ Goebbels had written as early as 1936 of Adolf Hitler "It is only on one or two points that Christ and Hitler stand comparison, for Hitler is too big a man to compare with one so petty."¹⁰ It was obvious that the German Church was the first to fall victim to the Nazi propaganda.

Within Germany those circles which had been repelled by Nazi rhetoric and practice found themselves diminished and isolated: reactionary irreconcilables, or so it seemed, churlishly incapable of recognizing genius and success. Some among those irreconcilables were men and women with judgements based on absolutes of right and wrong, uninfluenced by the tides of victory. Dietrich Bonhoeffer actually described Hitler as Anti-Christ in 1940, at the moment of his highest triumph, and Helmuth von Moltke wrote to Peter Yorck von Wartenburg on 17 June: (1940) "We must today reckon with having to live through a triumph of evil." All three were later to die horribly but



"Its only one or two points that Christ and Hitler stand comparison, for Hitler is too big a man to compare with one so petty. (Dr Goebbels, *Adolf Hitler* 1936)

Goebbels and Hitler at the Stuttgart Rally 1933.



The Way Americans were shown the New Zealand Soldier
1942.

heroically by the executioner's hand.¹¹

In New Zealand the Anglican Church in particular had always made provision for prayers in time of war and most church-going Anglicans were familiar with those prayers.

THOU, O Lord, art just and powerful: O defend our cause
against the face of the enemy.
O God, thou art a strong tower of defence to all that
flee unto thee: O save us from the violence of the enemy.
O Lord of hosts, fight for us, that we may glorify thee.
O suffer us not to sink under the weight of our sins, or
the violence of the enemy.
O Lord, arise, help us, and deliver us for thy
Name's sake.¹²

When the war began it was assumed in the context of these prayers that God would use the strength of the Empire for the recovery of the "cause", that is for the defence and freedom of the Empire. By the second year of the war the Presbyterian *Outlook* echoed the idea which Eusebius had raised some seventeen centuries earlier: the implication that God favoured the arms of a nation whose leaders honoured the Gospel and acknowledged the sovereignty of Christ.

Both, therefore, the father and son, (Constantine and his son Crispus) having as it were God the universal King, and his Son our Saviour, as their leader and aid, drawing up the army on all sides against the enemies of God, bore away an easy victory; all things being prospered to them by God in the conflict according to their wishes.¹³

The Outlook suggested that it was through personal self-sacrifice that God's purposes in the *new world order*, for which the war was being fought, would become a reality.

Our Lord taught us to pray "Thy Kingdom come." It is in the answer to that prayer, that men will find the secret for that new world order, when peace, liberty and love will reign. May we with energy and self-sacrifice give ourselves freely in order that the accomplishment of that great ideal may be possible. In so doing we will transmute our sorrow (at the cost of lives in war) and be worthy not only of our beloved who have paid the great price, but of our Lord, Who Himself made the sacrifice for us all.¹⁴

Following the outbreak of hostilities the churches were not only constrained to pray for the King and Empire, but were encouraged to do so by the King himself who took a strong spiritual lead by fostering regular times of prayer and Thank-giving.¹⁵ Such a position echoes the past behaviour and actions of the Bishops when they accompanied Constantine to war against the Persians.¹⁶

In the changed religious and social climate created by the outbreak of WW2, a strong rejection of pacifism and the former high profile political appeasement policies developed.

We believe that our nation has never entered on a war with cleaner hands or a clearer conscience than she does to-day; and our surest guard against anxiety and fear is our faith that righteousness must triumph in a world for which Christ died....

The first and perhaps the best contribution we can make to our country and our fellowmen in these perilous days, is in the silence of the spirit to abdicate in favour of Christ, and to surrender our whole being to the service of His Kingdom. This is the highest form of national service, from which all other will naturally follow.¹⁷

The editor of the Anglican *Church News* made the strong assumption that God would most certainly bless the efforts of

his people as they struggled to oppose the forces of evil. The dedication of individuals to the service of Christ is closely identified with service to nation and Empire, thus prayers for King, Country, Empire and Freedom reflected the Christian ethos of that period. It was not difficult for New Zealand chaplains to offer prayers for the victory of the Allies and the defeat of their nation's enemies. Like their counterparts in the time of Eusebius, they believed that God was able to provide his people with the spiritual strength to wage war which would eventually lead to the overthrow of the enemy. During the 2NZEF Service of Memorial and Thanksgiving for the cessation of hostilities in Europe in May 1945¹⁸, chaplains recognized that over the six years of war God **had** responded to the physical and spiritual needs of the Allies. In acknowledgement chaplains gave thanks:

We desire to thank Him for deliverance from the hand of our enemies; for the devotion, even unto death, of those who for five years past have stood between us and slavery; and for the hopes of a better world for all His people. I bid you, therefore, lift up your hearts that you may tell the praises of our God, and pray that His wisdom may lead us, and His Spirit strengthen us in the days that are to come.¹⁹

Again we may detect the Eusebian understanding that chaplains were to pray for victory, the spiritual edification of the Empire, and that its citizens and the nation would continue as the vehicle of God's Will in the world.²⁰ The third Eusebian element is thus in place.

The Army provided the wherewithal

Constantine provided a large tent which could be erected at will as a place of worship.²¹ We do not know if the generosity of the Roman purse extended to cover the stipends of those clerics which accompanied the army. They would almost certainly be self supporting clergy,²² who earned their own livings while undertaking their role as a priest or deacon of the church. Nonetheless the Quartermaster General of Constantine's army would have had to consider provisions for the clergy, their celebration of religious services and necessities for their continued survival. Rome paid for the services of the church.

In the context of the 2NZEF the New Zealand Government accepted the full expense of the chaplaincy to the armed forces. This included the salaries of chaplains, the provision of rations, uniforms, transport, and medical necessities. Chaplains were not paid a salary or allowances equal to the rank which they wore. They were noncombatants and were generally paid 10% less than the salary of their combat rank equals. In an age of considerable distinction between the roles of male and female it was galling for some chaplains to read in the Orderly Room notices of a pay increase headed "Chaplains and Female Officers".²³

The 2NZEF Administration provided batmen, generally private

soldiers, for chaplains and to Welfare Officers' as assistants. The salaries of the Welfare Officers were subsidized by the addition of a private soldier's pay.²⁴ The Army also supported the Chaplains' Department with its various enterprises of in-service training for theological student retreats and the regular chaplains' conferences, which in times of lighter military activity were frequently organized for the spiritual and educational well-being of the chaplains.²⁵ The National Patriotic Trust Board provided the YMCA with funds necessary for the establishment of chapels and at centres where worship and welfare could be conducted. The total cost and the continued maintenance of the chaplaincy and its associated welfare agencies remained the full responsibility of the Government.²⁶ The fourth element of the Eusebian model was therefore clearly recognizable.

Thus we may say that, overall, the Eusebian model of chaplaincy was demonstrably fully present within the work and character of the New Zealand Army Chaplains' Department as it undertook its ministry during WW2. Chaplains were set apart specifically for the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments and as such were less regulated by military restrictions when compared with other welfare organizations.²⁷

ELEMENTS OF THE CRUSADING MODEL

While acknowledging the dominant Eusebian model in providing

chaplaincy with a contextual framework, clearly there were other factors which contributed to the theological structure and ideological underpinning of 2NZEF chaplaincy. The ideals associated with crusading, eg, the over-throw and conquering of the forces of evil with the forces of spiritual good, have their identifiable roots in the concept and execution of a crusade. Militarist passages which describe the life of a spiritual soldier such as St Paul in Ephesians Chapter 6 verses 10-17., provide a clue: "For we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places."²⁸ To what extent were the three elements of the Crusader model (see above p59) present in the 2NZEF?

(1) Inherent Rationalization Premise to execute Divine Righteousness

New Zealand went to war to support Great Britain, principally because Germany had ruthlessly and deliberately attacked the free Polish nation.²⁹ The European theologian Karl Barth³⁰ comes close to expressing a concept which may well have fitted comfortably as a theological framework for the declaration of war on Germany by Britain.

When the British Government declared war on Adolf Hitler's Germany in the autumn of 1939, it acted as the Government of a righteous State according to Christian standards. And I believe this was true also of Switzerland when she resolved, at the same time, on the armed defence of her neutrality, the maintenance of

which is her historic mission. Since this is so, there is but one decision left to the Christians of your country and of mine, and our Christian obedience compels us to make this decision. The cause which is at stake in this war is our own cause, and we Christians first and foremost must make our own the anxieties, the hardships and the hopes which this war demands of all men. The Christians who do not realize that they must take part unreservedly in this war must have slept over their Bibles as well as over their newspapers.³¹

Karl Barth wrote of Romans 13: 1-7 and 1 Peter 2: 13-17 the Just State was required by God to discriminate between right and wrong.³² The State was also responsible, as a just and freely elected body to be constantly on the alert to defend its citizens from oppression as well as maintaining the integrity of its national boundaries. Barth went a stage further "...if necessary, *against* anybody who may be so arrogant..."³³ and who denied the practical ethical righteousness of Christian conduct. "The State was instituted by God to do this, and, as it does this, it is the "Minister of God" in its own sphere and in its own way, just as much as the Church itself. The State bears the sword in order to fulfil this very function."³⁴ Barth saw clearly the Just State had a responsibility to maintain, by the sword if necessary, faith, love and hope, cornerstones of Christian motivation and spiritual strength. He acknowledged these essentials worthy of defence despite the limitations of the human condition in an unredeemed world.³⁵ Failure to respond against the physical powers of evil was to live with the possibility of an inhuman and pagan world,³⁶ a world which

in effect denied the initiative of God, the incarnation and its purpose.

In considering Barth's position, it was not difficult for politicians at least to view the recovery of the occupied nations and the overthrow of the Axis powers as a crusade. "We must be grateful to God that He has not simply given us up to disorder, but that He has given us this order, which is certainly stern but which has proved itself to be effective."³⁷ The sternness of which Barth writes has to do with the crusade spoken of by Field Marshal Jan Smuts the then South African Prime Minister. "This war is now a crusade....A new fight to the death for man's rights and liberties, for the personal ideals of man's ethical and spiritual rights."³⁸

Padre Witheford had already by 1943 effectively adopted the Barthian position when he made a decision that should it become necessary, he would personally fight as part of the crusade to stop Japanese violence against the innocent.³⁹ Prime Minister Peter Fraser's rapturous response from the Canadian Parliament in 1943 when he stated that New Zealand and Canada were engaged in a "...crusade to build a new Jerusalem a New world of righteousness,"⁴⁰ gives evidence of a strong crusading spirit abroad, Padre Finlay wrote to his soldiers a few days after the cessation of hostilities in Italy:

Five years ago we had virtually lost the war....One factor alone emerged to save us, and it most certainly was

not the power of our weapons. It was simply, faith. That is, an indomitable belief that right being on our side, God would deliver us. Through reverse after reverse, defeat after defeat, our faith and not our reason kept us going until at last the tide turned and victory came. This is so strikingly true that merely from a human angle the Scripture word gathers, for us now, new and deep meaning. "This, indeed, is the victory which overcame the world, - our faith."⁴¹

Communicant members of the Presbyterian Church were given on their departure for active service a prayer card with the words *"THE NEED OF THE NATIONS IS FOR TRUE PATRIOTS with personal experience of Jesus Christ. Who will bring about the GREATEST REVOLUTION OF ALL TIME whereby the CROSS OF CHRIST WILL TRANSFORM THE WORLD"*.⁴² Here is an example of the combination of the military crusading spirit coupled with the hope that the spiritual crusade following the war would herald the social and national revolution which would be required to establish a Christian world. It is evidence of the inherent rationalizing premise to execute divine righteousness, the first element of the Crusading model which is clearly found within the general ethos of the 2NZEF, as well as in the churches.

The perceived spiritual justice of any crusade has an inherent appeal, for it contributes to the secular domain a religious dimension, and it gives a transcendental purpose for the conduct of the war.

At the time of the Crusades the prevailing idea was that "the Christian calling is that of a soldier, and the exigencies of the times made it honourable to fight not only against spiritual but human foes...and the nursing

brother and the hospitable monk became an armed and fighting soldier."⁴³

It was certainly unjust that the Axis powers raced through Europe and Asia killing tens of thousands of men women and children without provocation.

(2) Active clergy Participation in the prosecution of war

A not insignificant number of clergy enlisted as soldiers in much the same way as those before them in the crusades of the middle ages. Among them were clergy who were noted by their peers as "manly Christians"⁴⁴ and who were profoundly influenced by the sense of justice which they personally felt in their prosecution of the war.

Rev'd Bert Whitten made a clear personal commitment when he chose the medical orderly status, one which could in extremity require him to act in a combat role. His choice was based upon the idea that there were enough clergy to fill the ranks of the chaplaincy and he believed Hitler and Nazism ought to be destroyed. He was prepared personally, like Witheford, to adopt a Barthian perspective and to act in a warlike manner against the Nazi injustice. Rev'd Archibald Penhall paid with his life for this conviction, following his resignation as a chaplain in New Zealand and re-enlistment as a private soldier for service in the 2NZEF. Fergus McLaren and Percy Titchener are each in their own way examples of a clergyman and

theological student who died convinced their best contribution was that of being a fighting soldier. One single individual who stands out among the theological students of WW2 is Bishop Edward Norman who by early 1945 had been promoted from a private soldier to the rank of Lt.Colonel. Norman won a Military Cross and was awarded a DSO. He commanded an infantry Battalion in the closing months of the war.

Rev'd Wattie Silvester cannot escape the title of a crusading cleric any more than the mace wielding bishop of the twelfth century. As a Solomon Island coast watcher he radioed instructions to aircraft and submarines and watched or heard the results of his work knowing that hundreds of Japanese deaths were the outcome. His was no firing of an odd shot at random or in anger but a calculating, deliberate action of war under-written by his clear conviction that he could do no other than fight the Japanese war machine to the death.

As a further particular example of the crusading spirit there is the action of the Rev'd Ian Ryburn who willingly accepted the clandestine function of an double agent on the pretext of co-operation with the German authorities. His task was to support them in the raising of the *British Free Corps*⁴⁵ from among disgruntled Commonwealth prisoners of war. In effect he alienated himself from many hundreds of his fellow countrymen who considered him a traitor.⁴⁶ So effective was his work as a

double agent that from the possible hundreds of Commonwealth soldiers who might have been persuaded to enlist into the *Waffen SS British Free Corps* Ryburn knew of only 33 who actually joined. His dangerous game, that of the two edged weapon of espionage, he considered absolutely justified under the circumstances of WW2. He did not believe for one moment that his role as a double agent compromised in any way his position as an Ordained minister of Christ's Church. He believed *implicitly and emphatically*⁴⁷ his actions were in support of a just cause against an evil enemy the like of which the world had not seen for centuries.

The Editor of the Anglican *Church News* clearly enunciates the place of crusading justice in the cause of WW2 from a Christian perspective.

But there is no warrant in the teaching of Jesus for the assertion that war is the worst of all evils, and in particular there is no warrant for the assertion that injustice unchecked and triumphant is better than war. The fact that Christianity as a whole and all Christians have accepted civilization and chosen to play a part in it, carries with it obligations which cannot be refused without shame. Socrates, when he was in prison waiting for his execution, was tempted to take an opportunity of escaping. He had, we are told, a vision in which the laws of Athens appeared to him and upbraided him for having accepted all the benefits which they had given him, and now at the end of his life to be contemplating a violation of their authority....One who has taken the gifts of civilization cannot honourably refuse to defend it.⁴⁸

This statement expresses the position which Padre Gourdie had found himself in as he struggled with his conscience and made

the pilgrimage from pacifist to that of military chaplain in 1940.

The message as to what the Nazis were up to, got through to most folk by the time of the fall of France in 1940, and we knew that if we wanted international justice, our way of life, material possessions, etc., then we had to fight for them, and that there was no other way.⁴⁹

From the above we may reasonably conclude that the second element of the crusading model - that of a fighting cleric, was actively present in the 2NZEF as a part of its ethos, if not actually part of chaplaincy per se.

(3) An Eschatological-personal Teleology

The crusades of the middle ages, it has been recalled, offered the reward of immortality to those who died fighting for the recovery of the Holy Lands, regardless of their spiritual state.⁵⁰ Therein lies a similarity of sorts in attitude to those New Zealanders who died fighting in WW2. The tradition of "immortalizing" the war dead of New Zealand is first detectable in the attitude of the nation following WW1. It has been noted that community and parish war memorials reinforced the sense of immortalizing the memory of those who died in the crusade of WW1 which restored the peace in 1918. ANZAC DAY⁵¹ became the focus for remembering first the sacrifice of the dead, and secondly to immortalize their actions in securing the peace. It was on this day each year that Australians and New Zealanders remembered their dead and it was not difficult to locate the expression of an appropriate sentiment for those who



THEIR NAME LIVETH FOR EVERMORE

died in WW2 upon that of an already established tradition. Germany was again the major enemy as it had been in WW1. The mix of factors underlining the second world war, namely crusading, restoration of justice, and release of nations from occupation, were little different from the circumstances of WW1.

There is the "holy day" (ANZAC) widely regarded, I would say, with greater respect and observance than Good Friday. There is the "ritual" - the old hymns L. Bunyons(sic) words. Also a mystique which can be felt in the silence of the Dawn parade before the light breaks. There is a "communion of saints" as the long dead pals are remembered.⁵²

Thus New Zealand has since remembered the dead of WW2 with a hallowed immortalization by reinforcing the already established ANZAC DAY and through that memorial rendered thanksgiving, remembrance, and elevating the war dead to a permanent place within the historical memory of the nation. Those who had died paid with their lives for a peace they would not enjoy.

When you saw your mates all laid out there dead, that was it. they were no saints, they were your regular boozers and occasional womanizers. These bodies were the once full of life 21 and 22 year old New Zealand boys. They had given all they could, the only thing they had to call their own - their lives. No matter what sort of a bloke you were, good or bad, the padre said the funeral service exactly the same. These blokes had given everything that was the sadness of it all, because there were times when I wondered if the people at home really understood.⁵³

The memory of their sacrifice was held in special veneration, they could be forgiven for the mortal sins they may have committed here on earth. Were not the dead the real heroes?

Padre Finlay wrote of these sentiments to his soldiers as the war drew to a close.

What about the future of our world? Will the sacrifice of so many of our "cobbers" bear fruit and lead to a peace that endures? That we cannot know, but for their sake and for Christ's sake we who are alive, surely will be glad to share in a Thanksgiving gift as a token of our thankfulness to God, and as a pledge fo(sic) our devotion to the cause for which our brothers died.⁵⁴

Within weeks of the cessation of hostilities this immortalization was reinforced through special services for the dead of Greece and Crete. General Freyberg directed that the 13th of May 1945 be marked by the 2NZEF as *Thanksgiving Day* when thousands of soldiers attended services remembering the sacrifices of the dead.⁵⁵ This was followed some weeks later in The Basilica of St Anthony in Trieste by a Solemn High Mass of Thanksgiving conducted by Fathers Fletcher and Walsh in special memory of those Roman Catholics who would not return to their homeland.⁵⁶

Later in the year, the 19th August, following the surrender of Japan further memorial services to the dead were held. There were Memorial services accompanied by large contingents of men who travelled to Suda Bay in Crete where over 10,000 Cretans shared in these services with the New Zealanders.⁵⁷ Other memorial services were held in Sangro, Cassino and Alamein. It was not until May 1956 that a pilgrimage to New Caledonia was undertaken to the *Cross of Sacrifice* which had been built in

memory of the 500 New Zealanders killed in the Pacific war.⁵⁸ The successful ending of the war required a costly sacrifice which resulted in a casualty rate of 24 per 1000 of New Zealand's population compared with Australian 13 per thousand and Canada's 9 per thousand.⁵⁹ The cemeteries and the war memorials left as a reminder of that time recall something of the enormity of the sacrifice which was made by a small South Pacific nation. The poet reminded those of the generations who survived in the words the dead would have all remember of them.

When you go home
Tell them of us, and say
For your tomorrow
We gave our today.⁶⁰

Although in its original context the eschatological teleology of the Crusade was that of a guarantee of personal immortality, the contemporary immortalizing in historical memory is a modern parallel and, to that extent gives evidence of the third component of the Crusader model present to the context of 2NZEF chaplaincy.

THE MILITARY DIACONATE

Ian Ryburn recalls the strong participation of the laity in the spiritual life of the 2NZEF. In his experience there was a sufficient sprinkling of churchmen and experienced youth leaders who took the prayers, burials, devotional periods and bible studies quite apart from the work of YMCA field secretaries or chaplains.⁶¹ The contribution of the laity is



(Weekly News)

HOME THANK GOD!



(Weekly News 28 August 1945)

The generation that was fought for. Boys of the Christchurch East School salute the flag on the defeat of Japan

When you go home
Tell them of us, and say
For your tomorrow
We gave out today

acknowledged, but it must remain for another researcher to study further. For the purpose of this study the area of ministry within the 2NZEF we now examine is that of the military deacon. This role has already been identified as belonging to the YMCA Field Secretary and the Church Army Officer.

These military "deacons" provided the secure base for the work of the unit chaplains, and in many cases they worked hand in glove in dangerous circumstances, especially in the Pacific. They shared accommodation, and where it was possible, vehicles. Their task complemented the whole ministry of the church in the army. This was clearly understood by the YMCA, but not always appreciated by a small number of the chaplains. Chaplains were free to exercise a pastoral and sacramental ministry while the military deacons provided more directly for the human welfare and comfort of the soldiers. Yet there were times when the roles became indistinguishable: the YMCA secretary performed the chaplain's role, and the chaplain the role of the military deacon. The comradeship and sense of Christian unity which could exist between a Unit chaplain and the Field Secretary was sometimes at a very deep level. They were able to share spiritually together, and sustain one another in the hard times of battle and its tensions, essentially they were stronger and more effective when they worked as a team together.⁶²

Commissioner Potter warned his fellow YMCA workers that they could have an exaggerated understanding of their importance as welfare workers through their provision of a "cup of water in my name".⁶³ He believed they faced the risk through the sheer pressure of the welfare demand that it could swamp their spiritual responsibilities. At the end of the European war Commissioner Potter⁶⁴ summed up the activities which had demanded so much of the Secretaries' ministry. "The fact that the Church (and by the Church, I do not mean just the Chaplain's Dept., but all lay effort as well), is somewhat inarticulate and less effective in its preaching than it would wish to be, makes our Ministry of Service more important."⁶⁵ He believed an important task for the secretaries was that they should make every effort to dovetail all their welfare and spiritual efforts into the total work of the Church in the army, while at the same time encouraging soldiers to keep their home ties intact. This was to be the case for all soldiers regardless of whether or not they had an association with the Church. The task of the YMCA was to provide welfare comforts and a place for peaceful relaxation where every single soldier was a valued human being. Secretaries were totally ecumenical in their outlook and the real task of the Church was to offer in the name of Christ unconditional service, an entitlement to all.⁶⁶

The Commissioner urged all of his Secretaries not to neglect

their devotional life and to continue their spiritual self-examination so that they were men in the world, but not of it. They not only offered a cup of water, they offered Christ in all that they did, and in all that they could be. That offering was to be made without consideration of denomination or race: it was offered simply and in the name of Christ.⁶⁷ Church Army and YMCA Secretaries provided a diaconate which not only consisted of men who were convinced of their vocation, they became adept at performing their ministry to everyone within the restrictions of the military, notwithstanding even the residual sectarianism which remained among some chaplains. Their most valuable contribution was typical of the New Testament deacon: they responded to need within the community about them.⁶⁸ In so doing this set an ecumenical pattern within a military context which matched the already strong sense of military comradeship.⁶⁹

KIWI ATTRIBUTES

We now consider the contribution which emerges by way of the distinct attributes of New Zealanders themselves. General Freyberg made an incisive statement in his report to the Minister of Defence following the end of the war in Europe. "I attribute high morale of NZ Forces largely to the fact that we are a National army with great esprit-de-corps, and also to our early life and education in New Zealand."⁷⁰ General Bernard Freyberg⁷¹ the expatriate 'English New Zealander' had

experienced and well understood the New Zealand life style.

It has been said of New Zealanders' national attributes that their innovative skills were forged out of their colonial background, where Jack was as good as his master and authority was always under suspicion. There was a spirit of essentially "making do" and that equipped with a "piece of number eight fencing wire" and a pair of pliers they can construct any bridge, or erect any edifice no matter how demanding the situation. The truth of this statement is in the spirit it conveys. New Zealanders had made a reputation for themselves by 1939 as an innovative, tough, yet cheerful and fair-minded people.⁷² They proved to be tenacious soldiers, loyal to one another, with a deep sense of comradeship and less demonstrative and rowdy than their Australian cousins. General Erwin Rommel believed of the New Zealand Division "...we had already become acquainted back in 1941-42, (and it) was among the elite of the British Army, and I should have been very much happier if it had been safely tucked away in our prison camps instead of still facing us."⁷³ He knew better than to describe New Zealanders as Goebels had earlier in the war "...the poor farm boys from New Zealand."⁷⁴ From among the attributes that could be identified, the following seem particularly pertinent.

(1) Masculine Christianity

The chaplains served among thousands of New Zealanders as a

small group with their own personal attributes. They too, had the attributes and ethos of their land where their ability to mix among the average New Zealander was a feature of ministry. The clergyman of the 1930s was much more available to his community. He was generally closer to his parishioners because society was less sophisticated and more egalitarian. They possessed as well a personal and passionate conviction of vocation for Christian ministry.

The majority of clergy in the Chaplains' Department had matured to their adult years post 1918 and shared a deep and abiding conviction that the living spirit of Jesus Christ had called them into the vocation of sacred ministry.⁷⁵ These were the manly Christians, men who through the years of economic depression experienced a degree of poverty and, with limited opportunities, had answered the call to the priesthood and ministry. They were of a generation who believed there was no greater calling in this world than that which God offered to those whom He chose for the task as ministers of the Gospel.⁷⁶ It is impossible to read their war diaries and letters, or listen to their stories, without being profoundly influenced by the depth of their spiritual strength, inner directedness, and the awareness of spiritual vocation which undergirded their ministry. They were men for the most part chased by Thomson's *Hound of Heaven*.⁷⁷

(2) Non Sectarian Ministry

2NZEF chaplains were, in the majority, born in New Zealand, the product of the mainstream churches' post-colonial trappings and a fading evangelical past.⁷⁸ Some New Zealand padres make comment upon the pompous and remote demeanour of some English chaplains, and of the rather narrow theological views held by some of the South African Reformed Church chaplains.⁷⁹

By contrast where else in 1942, and in what other national armed forces, could a Catholic chaplain minister to a largely Protestant army? Father Jesse Kingan⁸⁰ is remembered for walking slowly along the start line where hundreds of soldiers of 26 Bn. silently waited for the order to attack El Alamein. Each soldier, there were no exceptions, felt the touch of Father Kingan on his shoulder and heard his word for each individual: "God Bless you my boy".⁸¹ His actions, in an almost sacramental way, commended each of them to the eternal pastoral care of Almighty God. He gave an assurance that none were excluded from God's care. For many dozens of men that evening it proved to be the last words of spiritual comfort before their death.

Father Kingan's action was as much a product of his New Zealand character as it was an expression of his vocation. His action was accepted and understood by all present. Perhaps General Freyberg knew of Father Kingan's action when he summed

up the work of his chaplains as the war ended: "Their work has been unwearying."⁸²

The New Zealand egalitarian society

Essentially the New Zealand chaplains brought to the 2NZEF an awareness of egalitarianism which had its origins through their own experience of the depression times of the 1930s. This background was aided by the fact that they were representative of the largest number of New Zealand born clergy, trained in New Zealand, and imbued with a New Zealand identity. The contribution of the English, Scot and Irish immigrant clergy had virtually come to an end.⁸³ There were exceptions: Buck was Canadian, Underhill an English immigrant, as was Day the Methodist, but they had spent time in the rural outback of New Zealand before enlisting. This gave them an ability to identify with the men they served. New Zealand was a small nation and the majority of chaplains could find without difficulty among their soldiers a few of their own civilian parishioners, or even among the older men and officers one or two who had trained them in Bible Class.⁸⁴ This sense of identity led to ease of communication and movement by chaplains both in action and out of the line.

The chaplain's egalitarian upbringing and experience, the post colonial attitude that Jack was as good as his master, and that there was no mystique associated with the "cloth", coupled with

their inclusive ecumenical ministry established a rare relationship of goodwill among soldiers.

They had no favourites, even among those of their own, they were all things to all men, by golly they were a great bunch. We did not see them as this church or that church. I actually attended a Mass once because I thought the padre was a Protestant. He did not even make a comment about me crossing the fence, he just grinned and bade me welcome.⁸⁵

These factors, their personal sense of vocation, and their ability to identify in the frontline actions gave rise to the chaplains' opportunity for acts of bravery. Their rank, whatever it may have been, was lightly held as in the case of Padre Taylor who chose to rescue his parishioners against the will of his commanding officer.⁸⁶

THEOLOGICAL PRAGMATISM: A COMPOSITE MODEL.

War came as no surprise to New Zealand, but it came as a shock to many clergy who thought of war or violence as contrary to the spirit of the Gospel.⁸⁷ Apart from one or two rare individuals among the chaplains the majority were motivated into chaplaincy less by theological conviction and rather more through a pragmatic response to counter suffering which war brought to those involved. When war eventuated theological barriers were laid to one side and those who became chaplains were faced with meeting pressing need more than merely preaching peace. It was within this environment that the explicitly pragmatic behaviour and the implied theological

beliefs we have examined may be seen to be related to an implicit framework for their ministry. A composite model of that chaplaincy as it developed throughout the years of war can now be adumbrated.

It was Eusebian

The chaplaincies of the Pacific and the Middle East contained the characteristics of the Eusebian model upon which was built a practical chaplaincy. It was simple, yet effective, for both the Church and the military clearly understood each other's function. The State sought the ministry of the Church for its soldiers, and it relieved the clergy of military duties as combatants. At the same time the church believed in the justice of the cause, and sought the support of Almighty God against its enemies. As in the time of Rome, the enemies of the State were also viewed as the enemies of God and of Christianity. Finally, the State provided the wherewithal for the cost of the chaplaincy. This Eusebian model thus provided a sound basic structure for the NZ Army Chaplains' Department where the work of pastor, priest and prophet was confidently undertaken.

There were elements of the Crusade

Those New Zealand clergy who elected to serve as soldiers surrendered their Geneva Convention privileges for their first loyalty - to their nation in the bearing of arms. Although

they may well have undertaken the duties of a chaplain while serving as soldiers, this was not their primary function. Throughout the 2NZEF and as part of the military-political thinking of the time, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that the Allies did in fact see themselves as engaged on a crusade, but they did not necessarily all concur that it was a holy or a Christian crusade. It was certainly a moral crusade sanctioned by theological values.

The discussion on the Crusading model of chaplaincy refers **only to those** who operated within the constraints of the Geneva Convention in the recognized Chaplaincy. The degree to which the crusading model was incorporated in their theological framework is evidenced by their attitudes as spiritual leaders. There is no doubt that the chaplains of the 2NZEF believed they were involved in a crusade against the Axis powers. Elements of a crusade mentality are clearly echoed in many of the prayers offered and the choices of scripture read, as well as some explicit behaviours of chaplains on the field of battle. The endorsement of a spiritual crusade waged against evil was without difficulty transferred into an idiom of prayer and words supportive of aggressive military action.

Regardless of how individual chaplains understood and functioned in their role, the churches of New Zealand, through their chaplains, were not fighting as crusaders, rather they

were there to offer support, spiritual strength, and Christian ministry within setting of war. That did not imply or require them to be involved in actual fighting, despite the fact that some New Zealand chaplains had watched their men die around them, eg. in Crete, and had even taken up arms in their defence.⁸⁸ Such a response in combat was discussed, but after much heart searching abandoned as an option for the future. The extent to which chaplains became combatants was rare, nonetheless some incidents that illustrate this have been herein recorded. The crusading model, even as a spiritual reference was subservient to that of the Eusebian model.

It Was Diaconal

There has been sufficient evidence to show clearly that the Church Army and the YMCA, as representatives of the Churches of New Zealand, provided a diaconal ministry to the 2NZEF. They did so in the way of the early Church in that they offered the ministry of service to all who would accept it. The Church Army, although strongly Anglican, was motivated by the highest principles to service for all. The YMCA, through its diaconal ministry uniquely brought RC and Protestants together in an ecumenical first for New Zealand through the use of the YMCA buildings.

CONCLUSION

The 2NZEF chaplaincy model was Eusebian in administrative and

theological framework but it included, at least in some measure, an element of the spiritual crusade which, on very rare occasions, had its expression in the taking up of arms. However, the Crusading model is subservient to that of the Eusebian model where the front-line chaplains' functions of pastoral care, preaching, celebration of the sacraments, prayer and compassion are to the fore. In its diaconal contribution, within the New Zealand military context, the chaplaincy was one of the more outstanding examples of military ministry within the allied armies of WW2.⁸⁹

PART SEVEN**CONCLUSION****CHAPTER NINETEEN****FROM WAR TO PEACE: ISSUES OF TRANSITION**

It is proposed in this chapter to consider some transitional issues which, as the war came to a close, chaplains and soldiers identified as important. These involved anticipated changes deemed necessary for the post-war Churches of New Zealand. Serious analysis of these issues has to be considered in the context of the two decades following the war. Such a consideration is beyond this study. Rather I propose to outline some selected issues, including those that were identified and discussed by chaplains and soldiers through the venue of the Chaplains' Department Leadership School. As the war drew to its close there were immediate human issues facing the chaplains which demanded their attention, issues which, if servicemen and women were to make the transition back to community, church and family, had to be dealt with.

REHABILITATION OF THE SOLDIER

Despite the awareness of post-war needs on the cessation of hostilities in Italy it was in the context of the battle-field that chaplains saw the greatest needs of men and women. There were thousands who needed to be encouraged and restored back to community and family life. Experienced chaplains knew that

post-war rehabilitation was not going to be easy. *The Army Education Welfare and Rehabilitation Service*, the only organization in the army which prepared men and women for rehabilitation to civilian life, dealt with occupational and professional preparedness, not the problems of home, community and family.¹ In the absence of an organization to meet personal needs chaplains became counsellors to many hundreds of servicemen still in Middle East and Italy, including those released from prison camps.² The role of a counsellor was put particularly to the test in the case of the 6600 New Zealand prisoners of war released from prison camps in Europe. Five chaplains were initially sent from the Middle East to the 2NZEF UK Reception Centre near Brighton to work in the area of rehabilitation among the released prisoners.³ Chaplains noted those who had been prisoners for three or four years were generally in better physical and mental condition than soldiers of the 2NZEF who had been constantly exposed to fighting over the same period of time.⁴

(1) Home and family

Among the few, if not the first, chaplains in the 2NZEF who recognized the issue of family rehabilitation, was the Baptist chaplain Rev'd A. H. Finlay. As early 1943 he wrote and printed at his own expense a small tract, *When your Man Gets Home- What?*⁵ This incisive document was specifically written for the Christian family and the civilian parish. Padre Finlay

considered the difficulties which faced the return of soldiers, who before enlistment had been part of a church family.

But these lads have had visions of what they'd like their Church to be and do on their return. The keynote of our main Christian work...has been "Fellowship". More than anything else men desire to return to a church fellowship where they will feel at home immediately. If this be lacking, expect to lose their interest, for you will.⁶

Recognizing that at least 20% of the 2NZEF were associated with parish life at the time of their enlistment, it was natural that chaplains should feel a sense of concern for those soldiers who were not only committed to the Christian life but who were the inheritors of an ongoing extended family relationship within their parish churches. Padre Finlay warned his New Zealand readers that men would be returning with a new maturity. "Has he not been battered on the callous anvil of army life?".⁷ Not only would son, husband or brother be different, but they would have experienced different crises in life: the death of friends, the wounding of comrades. Perhaps he may have failed to maintain his faith. Others would return to New Zealand with their convictions tested and tried, but not necessarily to re-adopt the politics of their fathers, or even retain the religious faith with which they went to war. Padre Finlay warned that new attitudes would challenge their loved ones regarding the use of alcohol, and among Baptist and Brethren lads those who "...have attended both concerts and pictures all the time they have been overseas. What have you

to say to that?".⁸ He advised that if their man wanted to go down the road and hear his former regimental Padre preaching in another Church, don't argue - let him go. He might not like to return to the closeted ways of his former Christian community.

Molly D. Whitelaw⁹ wrote a slender title, with the backing of the *Campaign For Christian Order* Committee, which appeared on the public book market early in 1943. Her title *When The Boys Come Home*¹⁰ dealt with marriage, reunion, and the readjustment required in family life after the war. She wrote mainly for women; sisters, mothers and those extended family associated with young men then fighting with the 2NZEF. She outlined in a similar way to Padre Finlay the changes their loved ones had faced, and suggested, as he did, that the solution to all of the problems lay in "taking them to Christ." She believed in seeking solutions through the caring and pastoral avenues of the Christian Church. Whitelaw wrote:

All right relationships with others depend, fundamentally, on our own relationship with God.

How often do we find that cantankerous or fault-finding people have some physical, mental or spiritual sickness that makes them cross, or difficult and disagreeable. They are not really so much annoyed with us as with themselves, though it works out in the reverse way, sometimes unfortunately for us!¹¹

Whitelaw believed implicitly that the solution for successful rehabilitation to home and family lay with Christ and His Church, and that only through individual commitment to the



Home family and community - and a future come hell or highwater.

Gospel of Christ would the successful path to rehabilitation be possible.¹²

(2) Parish and Community

Anglican chaplains believed a soldier's rehabilitation lay in part with his local congregation. Home and the parish community for Anglicans (and other churches) centred on worship and social activities within the parish. A list was maintained of those confirmed while on active service and chaplains informed the home parish of men whom they believed had strengthened their spiritual ties.¹³ Among Anglican chaplains there was a vague expectation that the insights gained by soldiers through battlefield Christianity might possibly invigorate the local parish. Among those who thought about it there was a hope that veterans might become a force for change. It was hardly viewed as a strong transitional influence for change, but it was vaguely considered that servicemen and women who could be involved in parish life might perhaps vitally contribute to the growth of the post-war Anglican Church.¹⁴ Anglican soldiers had barely been home a few months when they were challenged to take an active part in their parish life and translate their war-time spiritual experience into constructive avenues within their local parishes. Thus it was stated that:

...the Church of England would like the same support from you for the Church in Civvy Street as you gave to the padres in the war. You may have noticed that a civilian church service looks a bit different from a Church Parade. You may be pretty critical of the civilian Church, but hold your horses for a moment. The Church in New Zealand

had a pretty tough war.

1. Most of the young clergy went into camp.
2. Old men came out of retirement to take their place.
3. The Church OCTU shut down and we got practically no recruits for the Christian ministry.
4. Most of the best young men in Church life went into camp.
5. Most of the best church people threw themselves into Patriotic activity on weeks and Sundays.
6. In fact nearly every Church organisation was understaffed and interrupted.
7. Multiply all this by five years and ask yourself what the result is likely to be.

No wonder our Church needs a lot of spade work put into it today. But some of these things mentioned...are your business.¹⁵

A number of Presbyterian chaplains in the Middle East combined to write to the *Outlook* of 20 September 1944 to remind its readers of the necessity to consider a form of social and religious rehabilitation for soldiers on their return from active service. Local congregations were not unmindful of this need, for many parishes established Bible Class Youth Committees with a responsibility to maintain contact with former members on active service. This was a huge task, which was not entirely successful in achieving its aims, nor had it the support of all clergy.¹⁶

Less than a month before the end of the war in Europe the *Outlook* once more drew its readers' attention to the rehabilitation of service personnel.

Their rehabilitation is a charge not only upon the Government but upon every citizen, and Christian people must be to the forefront in action.

Plans for such action have been formulated and are available to all. There is no excuse for inaction. The immediate future of the men and women who return home from active service depends upon the way in which they are met and their needs understood by those who have waited anxiously for their return. The years spent in active service, in circumstances so different from the usual routine of civilian life, will make re-adjustments most difficult, and only sympathetic treatment and appropriate action can make the way plain....The years of war have brought tremendous changes, and civilization can never be quite the same again.¹⁷

Despite the fine words of the Presbyterian Church, and the hopes of the Anglican Middle East chaplains, neither Church put into place a system that had a chance of fulfilling the hopes of the chaplains for the transition of soldiers from the church in the army to the church in "civvy street".¹⁸

(3) Unfinished Grief

One outcome of the work of chaplains during WW2 can be easily overlooked. This was assisting families back in New Zealand to cope with their incomplete grief process caused through the loss of their loved ones killed in the course of the war.¹⁹ None knew this better than the chaplains. Their task was not over when they buried their parishioners, for on their return home, and generally before they undertook parish responsibilities dozens made personal visits to the still grieving families. Especially was this true of those chaplains who had ministered to soldiers who were former parishioners and whose parents or family were members of the padre's parish before he entered the chaplaincy. Only with a visit from the chaplain

who had buried their loved one, or who had been present at the time of his death, could fill the gap in the grieving process. Chaplains undertook this as an additional pastoral and personal ministry without any formal endorsement of the military authorities, and it was undertaken totally at their own expense.²⁰

THE CHALLENGE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Rev'd V. R. Jamieson returned from chaplaincy duties in the Middle East in late 1943. His remarks to the Methodist Synod on the manner his soldiers understood the Church and world events was perhaps not what his audience wanted to hear.

...in the main (these men were not) antagonistic to a belief in God, but they did not have much of an opinion of the Church, which they considered to be complacent regarding wrongs, social injustices and inequalities and particularly what they regarded as the inequitable and indefensible economic system of present day society. They considered that in the present crisis Russia was destined to save the world from its troubles and miseries and that organised Christianity had lamentably failed in its mission in this respect.²¹

Chaplains experienced a sense of judgement from many who believed the Church was too inward looking, too concerned for itself, and lacking a vision of how it ought to fulfil Christ's mission. Rev'd Ian Dixon²² wrote:

When you say "Church" to him (a soldier) he at once thinks of the local church building down the street at home. Its grubby exterior he is familiar with. He is not interested in the interior because his opinion of the local congregation is rather slim. A general opinion boils down to something like this: The people that go to that Church are uninteresting; everything about it looks dull; he

would not feel at home there; whenever he had gone there he has felt that the sports club or the lodge was better-had more in it; he found better friends in the Home Guard before he entered the Army than he ever expected to find in the Church....

It was sometimes almost a relief to encounter the Left Wing hostility which was small but aggressive. In the characteristic shibboleths of the Left Winger one felt that the Church had once been (and even was now) a force to fight.²³

This criticism may well have been the view of many soldiers but it was hardly to remain theirs alone. During 1942 the majority of the New Zealand Churches involved in providing military chaplaincy came together for the **National Campaign for Christian Order**.²⁴ The goals of this campaign were outlined by the Anglican Archbishop of New Zealand and bore a close resemblance to the social inventory of changes soldiers had been telling their chaplains would be required in the post-war world. As has already been noted, the New Zealand churches by 1942 realized that the post-war world had to be very different from that of pre-1939. Archbishop West-Watson had at that time outlined what the churches believed was necessary for the individual in that post-war world.

He is to be secured from fear of unjust political, social or economic discrimination; he is to be secured from fear of the lack of the basic material things which are necessary to the health and security of himself and his family; he is to be free to develop his religious and cultural life; he is to be free to hold and express his opinions.²⁵

The Archbishop continued:

The systems must be amended, but unless a moral regeneration goes on at the same time the best of systems

will be abused and distorted....We have been too ready to say that the pig makes the sty and not the sty the pig, and to excuse ourselves from social responsibility.²⁶

At the inauguration of the *Campaign For Christian Order* in New Zealand the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* reported that Archbishop West-Watson called for united action by all of the churches, and that they might share a common mind, plan and purpose for the nation not just a few "...stragglng offences but a spiritual blitz krieg"²⁷ for a changed nation. Roman Catholic Archbishop O'Shea, shared the aspirations of the campaign "...wholeheartedly with them in sentiment."²⁸ These statements of the goals and hopes for social justice for a better world from among the churches may have been slow to reach the soldier, but the church certainly did not lack interest in the challenge. The *Campaign* challenged the secular influences in New Zealand society to create a community of social equality worthy of the sacrifices and human suffering endured by the nation in gaining the peace. Archbishop West-Watson suggested to New Zealanders that the end of the war might herald a time of social transition.

As Christians, we believe that there is only one power of God unto salvation, whether of men or systems, from the domination of evil, and that power is Christ. Man's good intentions and belief in human capacity has proved unequal to the task, and, while we cordially welcome every effort made, we feel bound to bear witness that the only sound foundation for a New Order is a changed humanity....The systems must be amended, but unless a moral regeneration goes on at the same time the best of systems will be abused and distorted. The Church must endeavour to hold the balance between the two exaggerated and extreme views, namely, the belief that a good system will regenerate

society...that good individuals will regenerate the system. It is the latter which needs our attention most, as Christians.²⁹

Such thinking was among the several factors which were the basis of the influences considered important by both chaplains and soldiers, which, as the war came to an end, crystalized into convictions for the need to identify change in New Zealand's future society. All knew their world would be a different place after the war, and realized the Christian Church had a significant part to play in the new society.³⁰

LEADERSHIP FOR PEACE

It was obvious that by late 1944 the war would shortly end and chaplains were mindful of preparing soldiers for Christian leadership in the post-war New Zealand church and community. A school was established with the assistance of the YMCA in the weeks immediately following the cessation of hostilities in Italy. The chaplains involved considered that a programme of "Moral-Rearmament"³¹ was required to equip soldiers for the post-war world.

The purpose of the course is not so much to cater for ordinands and divinity students. Rather, it is to supply background and inspire Christian fellows who are potential leaders in the post war world. It is planned tentatively to set aside one or two Chaplains who are specially qualified for the work.³²

The title of *Leadership School* was selected because it described best the intent of the chaplains to specifically

train men in the basics of Christian leadership.³³ The School was ecumenical in character and organization, while its creation had the approval of General Freyberg and the financial support of the 2NZEF Administration. The number for each school was limited to sixty, which included fifteen NCOs and officers. Rank was abandoned by all who attended, for as Christian laymen they were expected to share their faith in common irrespective of their military status.³⁴ The criteria for selection sought the quality in each candidate for potential leadership. Unit Commanding Officers were to make the final choice of candidates with the assistance of the padre. During the months of June until November 1945 nine courses were held at the School with a total of 440 officers and men attending.³⁵

There survives from the sparse records of the School questions and findings from approximately a quarter of the total student body. These are a window through which we are able to observe the expectations, hopes and concerns of those attending the School regarding the post-war life of the Church in New Zealand.³⁶ Considering that almost all who attended were committed in some way to the Christian life, and were in most cases strongly associated with their local home parishes, their discussions reflect not only the experience of Christianity within the 2NZEF, but also a desire for a change in direction for the church in New Zealand.

The post-war development period was viewed by the students as an opportunity for the Churches to tackle transitional issues which their experience in the 2NZEF suggested to them could be introduced for the improvement of a Christian society. Their discussions indicate the thinking of men who anticipated the issues the Church would face post 1945, while at the same time there were questions which arose from their experience of war and its impact upon their individual lives. Among their diverse discussions there are clear indications of social, political, and moral challenges which students believed the Church had to face in immediate post-war years.

Anglicans and ecumenical relationships

There were three Anglican issues which persisted in the discussion at one of the Schools. The first dealt with the place of the holy Communion within the pre-war Anglican Church. It was obvious that some participants did not want the Anglican Church to return to its post-war position when non-Anglicans were refused the Holy Communion.³⁷ Those who raised the question considered that if the Anglican Church was to return to its pre-war sectarian position it would close the door on any form of ecumenical progress and understanding. The second issue canvassed the role of the bishop and sought to identify his similar function in a clergyman of a non Anglican church.³⁸ Students clearly foreshadowed the necessity for some agreement in church organization which would make it possible in the

post-war Christian community to build an ecumenical co-operative agreement so that strength, not division among the main-stream denominations might better face the post-war population challenges, especially in new housing areas.

The third issue was from among the ten percent of students who raised the concern on the matter of divorce and challenged the Anglican Church to underline its traditional position. This group criticized the so called "lax"³⁹ attitude on the matter of divorce. There was an implicit recognition that the laws of the church and the law were equally important but that in matters of the spirit, eg. in respect of Christians or confirmed Anglicans, the commandments of Christ had precedence. Associated with the discussions on family life were issues which endeavoured to open debate on homosexuality, birth control, artificial insemination and individual Christian responsibility for sexual chastity before marriage.⁴⁰

Behind these issues was the inference that possibly there were worse sins in the world than, eg, sexual relations outside marriage. The issue of marriage and fidelity obviously arose from the difficult experiences through years of long separation from wives. A number of marriages had been placed under strain through infidelity on the part of both partners. Further, ecumenical and social questions, while not dominating the discussions, were nonetheless emerging issues which needed to

be faced.

The issue of Atomic weapons within weeks, or even days, of being used against Japan raised questions among some Anglicans as to whether the choice of the lesser of two evils was still a valid argument in making a decision to go to war. One pupil seems to have overcome the fears of his fellows. "In the light of God ordering the Israelite to slay the inhabitants of their Promised Land and the killing that took place in God's name, I consider the use of the atomic bomb justified: do you?"⁴¹ We have no record of a reply by the presiding chaplains.

Church Extension: Denominational or Ecumenical?

Presbyterians attempted to find specific answers to the challenge of the new housing areas being built in New Zealand. They saw this in terms of responsible leadership in the Presbyterian Church in particular.⁴²

The expansive and growing state housing settlement areas throughout New Zealand from 1944 onward convinced the members of the School that there was a missionary challenge to all of the churches. These new suburban areas had no churches or halls and were in localities where large numbers of young children and newly married couples were settling, most of them former servicemen. Some of those present would have been aware that the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand had already

recognized the transition taking place through an expanding population of returned soldiers to new suburbs.⁴³ The efforts of the post-war church, the school members believed, was not to be seen in denominational terms, but as a national and ecumenical challenge.⁴⁴ Students suggested the National Council of Churches broker an agreement between denominations so that rivalry and wastage of financial resources could be avoided in creating **the church** in these new areas. It was suggested the Government be encouraged to make sites available for church halls, religious facilities, and youth centres in the new areas and each denomination be allocated sites at a good distance from each other and then left to get on with the job.⁴⁵

Students were positive that Church extension programmes had to begin immediately and Presbyterian Parish Sessions and congregations should not waste time in facing their share of the challenge. They expressed faith in the growing ecumenical movement and the hope, similar to those of the Anglican School, that it might be possible to share buildings jointly with other denominations and so demonstrate to the wider unchurched community the solidarity of the Christian faith.⁴⁶ A significant contribution of the Presbyterian school dealt with the structure of Sunday Schools, and Bible Class training for the future.⁴⁷

Marriage, Home and Family

The Other Denomination⁴⁸ members of the schools thought that a *School for Christian Marriage* under the direction of the National Council of Churches ought to be established. The emphasis in the training at the School should be on specific Christian aspects of marriage, home and family, for only through the Christian family could a nation remain morally stable.⁴⁹ The concept of marriage being at the centre of the Christian family life dominated the discussion, and the issues of birth control and family planning were considered by the OD students as essential practices assuring an ordered society which could harbour its resources to ensure a good standard of living for all.⁵⁰

All students believed that the *National Council of Churches* was, and ought to be, the body through which Religious Instruction in State Schools could be improved and supervised. In 1945 New Zealand society was less secular and it seemed natural to those at the Leadership School that the Government would want to support the churches in improving the nation's moral and spiritual standards through the medium of Christian Education in the secular schools. A soldier with an Open Brethren background commented:

This chaplains' course will be the re-starting and starting point for many Christians and they will base their work for Christ on a deeper understanding of the various points of view and teaching of other religious bodies whose aim it is the continuance of the Gospel.⁵¹

TOWARDS ECUMENICAL CHANGE

The picture which emerges from the Leadership Schools is one of hope, and of a determination to build a much better Christian future for New Zealand. Government and the Churches, and indeed society at large, were all concerned with a series of human issues. These were directly identified by some in the Churches with the social Gospel and resulted in a desire to create a post-war society which would encourage an enduring peace long into the future.⁵² The main outcome of the School's discussions clearly foreshadows that the post-war New Zealand Christian Church would face a period of transition. These discussions challenged the ecclesiastical sacred cows of denominationalism such as the style of worship, an open and inclusive celebration of Holy Communion, combined youth work, and encouraged Church Union and ecumenical cooperation.⁵³

Soldiers showed remarkable confidence in the National Council of Churches, (NCC), a body barely three years old and one which apart from occasional reports carried in the *N.Z.E.F. TIMES*⁵⁴ regarding the *Campaign for Christian Order*, little was known among even churchmen of the 2NZEF. Some information was provided to soldiers through their denominational newspapers or the *Army Education Welfare and Rehabilitation Service*. The ecumenical hopes which arose first-hand from the experience of the 2NZEF were transferred by soldiers to the NCC in the expectation that it would guide the Churches through the

transition which they believed necessary for the Church to face effectively the challenge in the post-war world.

As the 2NZEF passed into history, who could predict that from among its chaplains there would be several future Anglican and Roman Catholic bishops, Moderators of the Presbyterian General Assembly, and Presidents of the Methodist Conference as well as other ecumenical Church leaders? It would seem, by the number who took such positions of high leadership, that their 2NZEF service in effect assured them of elevation to leadership within their denomination. It may be that they gained the support of the "returned" laity who constituted a good body of the membership of the Assemblies and committees of the period. A number of key individuals within the leadership of the National Council of Churches and especially in the *New Life Movement*, an out-reach of the Presbyterian Church created in 1948, were drawn from former WW2 chaplains and Welfare officers of the 2NZEF.⁵⁵

There is no suggestion that the outcomes of some of the transitional issues which would be followed through in the two decades following WW2 arose directly through the efforts of the chaplains and welfare officers who served in the 2NZEF. Issues such as Church Union, and the spirit of ecumenical co-operation, existed well before the beginning of the WW2.⁵⁶ The evidence however does suggest that the experience of the lay

soldiery, chaplains, and the Churches during the years of WW2 fostered and encouraged some of these issues and hastened the transition which later made them firm policies.

The pragmatism and rationalization of ecumenical activities within the 2NZEF to achieve the greater good among the greatest number, and the close association of many clergy from 8 churches, could not but generate and stimulate encouragement for Church Union and ecumenical co-operation after the war.⁵⁷ The effect of the war upon the young men who served in the 2NZEF and who were raised in an isolated part of the world in a land with no natural boundaries with any other nation stimulated them to question New Zealand's social, educational, religious and political fabric.



'Here you are - don't lose it again'

CHAPTER TWENTY
A THEOLOGY FOR CHAPLAINCY

The following observation noted by Padre Somerville has been reserved for the final discussion, for it contains the essence of an identifiable theology that 2NZEF chaplains worked within during WW2. "My only theological insight on Chaplaincy would be an Incarnational one. Christ came into the world of need. The chaplain tries to do the same."¹

The doctrine of the Incarnation affirms the Christian understanding that the reality of the transcendent God is nonetheless made real and present within the human realm. As Cross notes "the historical Christ is at once fully God and fully man."² In the WW2 period the emphasis of the incarnation was upon the presence of God, and the involvement of God with the affairs of men.³ The more catastrophic those affairs, the more Christians identified the presence of Christ sharing with them in the midst of suffering. Moreover, the incarnation infers much more than just a presence of God with man, it is the word (*logos*) which became flesh and dwelt among us. (John 1.14). The incarnation cannot be understood outside the activity of God's love for his creatures, which includes His sharing of their suffering. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life." (John 3: 16.).

Padre Somerville's theological insight suggests that a chaplain's role is not only to identify with the suffering of men as Christ did, but also to behave in the manner which lay behind the incarnation, to demonstrate love and acceptance in the midst of a world which has largely rejected God's solutions to its problems. Thus the chaplain is God's man in the midst of the resulting conflict and war. It is therefore appropriate that we examine the marks of the incarnation and through these marks interpret the behaviour of 2NZEF chaplains at war.

MARKS OF THE INCARNATION

There are a number of theologies of the incarnation which could be considered for the purpose of a reflection on chaplaincy. However a selection of a number of elements that generally evince aspects of incarnation, in particular those which derive directly from the biblical narrative, are used to construct an appropriate model of chaplaincy that does justice to the work of chaplains which has been the focus of this study. Thus we begin with what is arguably at the very core of any understanding of incarnation, namely God's love for the world. Incarnation has also to do with the sense of unity and universality. And from out of the teaching and historical record of Christ, the value of non judgementalism; the acknowledgement of circumstances when it is appropriate to render to Caesar; moments when righteous anger is an appropriate response; and times to acquiesce to the Will of God, are included as marks of the incarnation.

(a) God so loved the World

The Son of God became man in order to find man and Jesus bade his followers love one another as he had.⁴ Padre Pat Gourdie experienced a deep sadness as he recovered the remains of an 18 years old German soldier whom he realized had known only Hitler's Germany. Sadly he reflected that the young man had lived through the deceit and lies of the Hitler years which had eventually claimed his life in a false cause. Padre Gourdie's sadness is tinged with love, for he considered in Hitler's Germany the young soldier knew not God's love.⁵

Padre Farr's experience at a front-line CCS is worth noting.

I was struck by the look of one German boy. He couldn't have been more than seventeen years, fair of hair and deathly pale....He asked for aqua and I gave him a drink of water and he sucked at it greedily. He needed more than water he needed blood. When he died I straightened him and closed his eyes. I felt that I should have kissed him for his mother's sake but I didn't. It was a lonely way for a boy to die.⁶

Chaplains voluntarily undertook life saving expeditions frequently against the wishes and orders of their superiors. Theirs was the action of masculine Christians, they were men of their time and it was in this manner that they expressed love for those whom they served. None of these was more so than the actions of Padre Harper as he skillfully timed his rescue of wounded gunners between the fall of shells during enemy artillery barrages.

Ian Ryburn's role as a double agent was grounded in his love not

only for his own men, but also for the Germans. The sole motivation for his undertaking ministry within the prisoner of war situation arose through a deeply personal and over-powering spiritual experience of love for his fellow men. He believed this experience to be a gift of the Holy Spirit, and without this experience he maintains he could not have been effective. Furthermore, he undertook his task as a double agent because he believed he had a responsibility to restrain Allied prisoners from volunteering for the Waffen SS. When he reported to the German authorities that some of the potential candidates for the Waffen SS were unreliable, they in turn believed "Herr Pastor Ryburn" and had the men imprisoned and eventually returned to their POW camps. Ryburn was motivated entirely by Christian love, for he believed he was protecting men from their own actions, and directly as a result of his reporting he saved dozens of men from being tried as traitors after the war. He believed he helped preserve their lives and return them to home and family. Love of mankind, including his German captors, was Ryburn's motivation. He makes the point he could not love the Nazi philosophy but was constrained by his actions to see Germans freed from the evil of Nazism.⁷

The action of Padre Underhill as he buried the youthful German officer surrounded by his grief-stricken men, his comforting words clearly spoken in German as he read the scriptures, overcame all boundaries. In the midst of war and death the "comfortable words" of eternal life and the confession of God's love for all of his

creatures prevailed.

The most significant example of human love remains forever in the memory of some New Zealand soldiers as they struggled under fire, through the broken masonry of Cassino. Through the noise and smell of battle a padre was seen to throw himself across the wounded body of a German paratrooper. He did so because the bayonet was being well used as the New Zealanders fought their way through the ruins. His action was silently respected, and the wounded German lived.

Although many would not describe these actions as examples of divine love, they are the actions of men motivated by an understanding of the universality of the incarnation of Divine Love nonetheless. They were motivated by a love expressed in Christ's work for all humankind and a love with which they themselves were familiar.

(b) "One in Christ": Global Transcendence

Evidence is found in the comment of the German army chaplain, who, when conducting the burial of his soldiers, responded to Padre Thompson's offer to help with the words "We are all one in Christ Jesus." In the midst of war Christ's incarnation was upheld as a global event transcending all boundaries of nation, race, and hatred. As the Rev'd Ian Ryburn's Service of Ordination was about to begin at the Genshagen POW Camp the village Catholic priest hurried to the prison camp gates and handed to the guard the parish's valued golden chalice. The priest had learned of the

Ordination and knew Ryburn would need a chalice for his first communion. In this act Christian discipleship transcended the circumstances of war, its intrigue and deceit, uniting in spirit a New Zealand Presbyterian and a German Roman Catholic.

The Italian Catholic army chaplain who celebrated Mass for New Zealand Catholic POWs, and the same Mass conducted by Father Forsman, transcended all of the events and circumstances which separated enemy co-religionists. Padre McDowall went on walks outside the POW camp and was frequently accompanied by a German officer who was an ordained minister of the Church.⁸ McDowall often spoke with the camp medical officer who had been a medical missionary in China⁹, a mission field shared by the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. In the midst of war mission was discussed and Christian mission shared.

When Padre Bicknell found the body of a sergeant whom he knew well he discovered also the body of a youthful German medical orderly lying alongside. In sorting through their belongings it was discovered both owned well used New Testaments. Padre Bicknell realized in spite of the war, Christ won men's souls and with bitterness he realized that it was the human condition, sin, that had caused their death.¹⁰ The comment of Dillenberger and Welch is no doubt true when applied to the work of the 2NZEF chaplains.

...Christians across the lines of the conflict, the problems of war-prisoners, of refugees...these served to elicit...concrete joint action for the alleviation of suffering...Indeed, it may fairly be said that the war revealed the Christian church to be

the only actual world community.¹¹

(c) Judge Not

At the core of the incarnation lay a condition best expressed by Paul, "...while we were yet sinners Christ died for us." (Rom.5:8) Jesus told the woman brought before him, deserving of death by stoning having been caught in the act of adultery: "Neither do I condemn thee: go and sin no more". (John 8.11.). Chaplains had faced moral predicaments within the context of war but few made moral judgments other than to point to the Christian understanding of individual sexual responsibility. Padre Thorpe reminded his soldiers, not infrequently, that if they loved God they could do what they liked, for if they loved Him there would be a whole raft of activities they would not wish to engage in.¹²

(d) Render to Caesar

This study has demonstrated that the ecclesial interests of the Church and the State required that each support the other. The Church would pray for victory and the State provide the means to achieve that victory. A Christian citizen was required at times to be loyal to the State in the same way as a non Christian for both received the State's benefits. Jesus foreshadowed this occasion as he advised, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's". (Matthew 22: 21.) The democratically elected state, argued Barth, had a responsibility to protect its citizens against the violent depredations of an

enemy. Chaplains shared with their men the dilemma described by Peter Stead "We did what we had to do..." for in failing so to do, the alternative was too dreadful to contemplate. In the midst of the human condition and the absence of a means which removed war from the world, chaplains shared with their men in rendering service to Caesar. In doing, as Stead says, "what had to be done," Father Jesse Kingan knew that men were about to die participating in what had to be done and this added deep a significance to his blessing of the soldiers of 26 Battalion before the battle of El Alamein. WW2 was a time in New Zealand's history when the Church, through its chaplains was called to render to Caesar.

(e) Righteous anger

Jesus knew anger, for anger was part of his incarnate journey as he lived out his humanity. In the Temple incident His anger sprang from the selfishness and perverse nature of those who used the Temple for commercial gain. (Matthew 21: 12-13.) Anger is part of the human character and Padre Mathews was angry when German shells fell close to where he was caring for wounded. He expressed that anger by firing back at the distant Germans, and it would seem he did so more from frustration than with a deliberate will to kill, thereby effecting a break with the Geneva Convention.

Padre McDowall, by cutting the telephone wire, expressed his indignation to the German signallers that they had broken the Geneva Convention and were using a hospital position to protect a military

installation. His anger was firm when he challenged the Italian battery commander to remove his guns from the precincts of the same hospital, and when he would not, McDowall complained to the German Commander who then had the guns removed. Jesus used his anger to confront injustice, and in like manner chaplains were able to maintain aspects of the Geneva Convention by direct confrontation with the enemy when they believed the Convention to be under threat.

Padre Hopkins argued with his captors who were about to shoot him and his party, as the Germans believed they had been fired at by them as they approached the field hospital. Hopkin's anger tempered the excitement of the youthful German paratroopers while at the same time drawing the attention of a German officer. The officer quietened his men and had Hopkins and the medical orderlies released to continue their duties. Anger in this instance saved lives and prevented a massacre.

Padre McDowall quelled a riot through a demonstration of anger as men sought to abandon all discipline and loot a store. Order had vanished with the Italian capitulation; central control was non-existent. McDowall's moral courage demonstrated a righteous anger which restored some semblance of order and which maintained the safety of the group.

(f) Thy will be done

In his Gethsemane experience Christ asked that the cup of suffering

might pass him by, but he was equally prepared, if that were not possible, to accept God's will for him (Matthew 26:39). Having to accept the Will of God for them was not an uncommon experience among chaplains. Padres McDowall and Sheely for instance voluntarily went into years of prisoner of war camp life, yet the day following their five brother chaplains were released by the advancing British. Four chaplains who survived the Crete battle not only remained with their wounded but worked incessantly among the hospitalized and captured New Zealanders in Greece following the defeat of the 2NZEF in the Crete campaign.

Had not this been the struggle of Padre Bicknell when challenged to accept the chaplaincy? His sermon for the day on which the Senior chaplain asked him to make himself available was no doubt a significant challenge. He had prepared the sermon not knowing the request would be made to him. "Have I not commanded thee? Be strong and of good courage; be not afraid, neither be thou dismayed: for the LORD thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest." (Joshua 1:9.).¹³ Nevertheless Bicknell accepted the challenge of enlistment because he believed he could not preach the morning sermon had he refused chaplaincy.

Chaplains had to be personally prepared and willing to accept suffering and the consequences of war in their own lives. Their choice to identify with suffering and death while not knowing their future required a commitment of faith few had been asked to make

before the war. German and Italian prisoners had to be cared for even under the bayonets and anger of the chaplain's own soldiers. Nevertheless there were frequent occasions when only the chaplain could communicate with the enemy as Padre Forsman did directly with General Rommel on behalf of all the captured sick and wounded. Soldiers surrendered and ceased to fight, but chaplains continued their spiritual vocation under totally changed conditions.

The 2NZEF chaplain became the Church in the sense that he represented its presence, and as such was a living testimony of the incarnation. He not only represented Christ, but was obedient to the commandments of Christ and in that context identified with Christ as a practical expression of the incarnation.

AN APPLIED INCARNATIONAL MODEL

We have canvassed the theological-functional models of chaplaincy through an examination of the Eusebian, Crusading, Diaconal and the British Empire examples. From these we have derived a 2NZEF composite model of chaplaincy. Further there has been revealed a Christology which is itself the undergirding theological model or rationale for military chaplaincy. Through an examination of the marks of the incarnation, exemplified by the actions and behaviour of 2NZEF chaplains, we have cast an interpretive rationale for a Christological understanding of the theological basis for chaplaincy within the 2NZEF. We have discovered that many chaplains were examples of Isaiah's "Suffering Servant" (Isaiah 53:4-12). One gave

his life in Italy as did two others serving with British Forces.¹⁴ Nine welfare officers and a total of sixteen chaplains were captured, none shirked the hard options of failing to be where the suffering was.¹⁵ Of his chaplain's General Freyberg said they had been unwearied in their consistent ministry of identification. Such behaviour was nothing short of a practical and human expression of the incarnation. Their willingness to put their lives alongside their preaching and by living the Gospel of Love amid danger and death resulted in the award of the three DSOs (out of a total of seven issued to all Commonwealth Chaplains' Departments) and twelve bravery awards, eighteen *mentioned in despatches*, and eleven other decorations and orders. Altogether, one chaplain in four who served in the 2NZEF received either a bravery award or some significant recognition.¹⁶

Chaplains were human examples of the Divine incarnation because they represented Christ in the midst suffering, violence and death. The chaplain and the religious workers who served in the Pacific and the Middle East are perhaps well described in the words of Isaiah. "*Thou* whom I have taken from the ends of the earth, and called thee from the chief men thereof, and said unto thee, Thou *art* my servant; I have chosen thee, and not cast thee away". (Isaiah 41:9.)

By responding to the call to chaplaincy in WW2, those who undertook the task demonstrated in all respects qualities of the incarnation. They would not necessarily admit to a conscious sense of *agape*, but

they nevertheless were called to live and behave in such a way that mirrored the heart of the Incarnation. In so doing they became the human bridges over which, and through which, Christ's universality transcended a world of conflict. They had opinions of morality and human behaviour which were based upon the Christian ethic. They did not force those judgements upon others, but quietly, like Jesus, wrote their message in the sand. They firmly believed that there were times to render to Caesar, and just as firmly believed there were times when they and their parishioners had a responsibility to God, notably in worship, thanksgiving and in compassion to the enemy and to one another. They were bold men in that when they saw behaviour which threatened others, or behaviour which was contrary to the Geneva Convention, they spoke up. This particular characteristic of righteous anger was perhaps more prevalent than has been recorded. They were men who accepted the Will of Almighty God. They were too well educated to blindly accept every action in itself as the Will of God. Nonetheless, they accepted that Will as they found it impacting upon them.

Having come to the end of this theological journey I am aware of standing at a crossroads. The study has revealed that there are directly ahead byways and highways leading to new discoveries and questions which have arisen over the post-war fifty years of New Zealand social and religious history. The examination of those topics requires a thesis for each and they have no place here. It does however remind us that the theological framework for chaplaincy

which was expressed and witnessed during WW2 within the 2NZEF is an event located in its time. The study makes no pretence or claims that the experience of New Zealand chaplains or the Churches of New Zealand is the experience of other nations or their Chaplains' Department. The study demonstrates that at a time and a place the Churches and the chaplains to the 2NZEF were able to meet and face the consequences of a war which has had a profound impact upon New Zealanders. The nature of humanity being as it is, war in the future is inevitable, and should New Zealand be involved in war again, chaplains would do well to understand and follow the marks of the theology of chaplaincy as exemplified by their WW2 forebears.