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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
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by
FRANK GRENFELL GLEN

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CORRIGENDA

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

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- | | |
|------------------|---|
| p. 430 n. 16 | seperate <i>s/b</i> 'separate' |
| p. 462 Underhill | <i>add</i> 'Died 1997' |
| p. 468 line 37 | <i>to read</i> '...YMCA and American Christian...' |
| p. 494 n. 8 | Antient <i>s/b</i> 'Ancient' |
| p. 509 n. 56 | Lorriane <i>s/b</i> 'Lorraine' |
| p. 602 n. (vi) | Liturgical <i>s/b</i> 'Liturgical' |
| p. 630 | Liosy <i>s/b</i> 'Loisy' |
| p. 641 Somers | <i>Kai s/b 'Kia''</i> |
| p. 642 3rd entry | <i>to read</i> Evangelischen Kirchenamt für die Bundeswehr. <i>Bilder und Texte aus der Soldatenseelsorge</i> |

APPENDIX A
THE ANALYSIS

ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO 2 NZEF CHAPLAINS. YMCA FIELD SECRETARIES, CHURCH ARMY OFFICERS AND THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

CHAPLAINS: Pages 404.....433.

YMCA Secretaries.

Church Army Officers.

Theological Students. Pages 433.....450.

The questions are numbered from 6 to 22, the first five being deleted because of confidentially. The numbers refer to the respondents original questionnaire. Thirty respondents took part. The originals from which this is compiled are available for examination through the Religious Studies Department of the University of Waikato.

=====

6. Previous Military Service.

1. None. 2. None. 3. School Cadet Officer Training Corps (UK)
4. School Cadets\Territorial Soldier
5. School Cadets. Wellington College. 1932-35.
6. School Cadets. Ashburton High School. 1926-29.
7. School Cadets.
8. Territorial Soldier as a University student. Chaplain to Canterbury Yeomanry 1935-39. Own horse.
9. Minimal.
10. School Cadets (5.Years.) Auckland Grammar. NZA. Auckland Troop. 18th Battery. Territorial Volunteer.
11. None.
12. No.
13. Territorial Service.
14. Nil reply
15. School Cadets.
16. No.
17. Very little.
18. National Military Service. 1918-1922. (14 yrs to 18 yrs of age.)
19. School Cadets.

7. Married or Single.

1. Single.
2. Married.
3. Single.
4. Single.
5. Single.
6. Single.
7. Married.

8. Married.
9. Single.
10. Married.
11. Married.
12. Married.
13. Married.
14. Married. (1 Year)
15. Married.
16. Married.
17. Married.
18. Married.
19. Married.

8. Diary. Available?

1. No
2. Partly. Not available.
3. Yes.
4. No.
5. Yes. Not Available.
6. No.
7. Yes. Not Available.
8. Yes. Doubt if it would help.
9. No.
10. No.
11. No.
12. Yes. Not Available
13. No.
14. No.
15. No. Though letters do exist.
16. No.
17. No.
18. Yes. Available through Salvation Army HQ. Archives.
19. Yes. Not available - in 1989.

9. Would you be available for personal interview.

1. No.
2. No reply
3. Yes.
4. Memory has failed.
5. No reply
6. Yes.
7. Yes. But my service was very limited.
8. Yes.
9. Yes.
10. Yes.
11. Yes.
12. Yes.
13. Doubt if memory would justify.
14. No reply

- 15.
16. Not available for interview. (Deceased 1993.)
17. Yes (in 1989) (*Memory failed by 1993. FG.*)
18. No. *Considered himself too old in 1989, then 86 years of age.*
19. Yes.

11. Can you briefly outline what Motivated you to offer/enlist as a chaplain for the 2NZEF.

1. Worked with men - younger brother enlisted. Son of clergyman, and later - younger brother was killed.
2. It seemed to me that the Christian Churches had equal responsibility in the Armed Forces, as in civilian life. So through my denomination I offered myself as a chaplain. How could I do otherwise?
3. At the beginning of the war, all clergy were asked if they were willing to be chaplains. I said Yes.
4. Always interested in the Army. Invited by the Chaplains Dept. First posted to 1 Bn Taranaki Regt, my old Bn. After Territorial experience drafted to the Tongan Defence Force.
5. I was called up December 1943 and left a curacy in Petone with 2 days notice.
6. The lesser motives of adventure, travel, "the Empire calls" cut little ice with me. I was a convinced Christian at 13 yrs of age. In my late teens I could see no way of reconciling Christianity and War, (and still can't) by my mid 20s was taken in that pacifism was the way to prevent war!!

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, and made the allies comparatively unprepared.

I had not sat my final theological exams when war was declared...chaplains were chosen with several years experience...I had no chance, assuming I wanted to go overseas as a chaplain. Clergy were serving in Territorial Camps, so I approached my Bishop. Early 1941 I was posted to a Territorial camp and 14 months later, being put high on the list sailed for Egypt.

As regards reconciliation of war and Christianity, I came to the conclusion that there are worse evils than taking part in war and have had no change of heart on

that ever since. Christians will always have trouble over what must be done when evil that will stop at nothing starts to take over.

7. Because at the time I thought there might be such a thing as a just war; and as a priest, I thought, and my Bishop thought, I would be useful as a padre.
8. Joined the Canterbury Yeomanry Cavalry: To be alongside of, and part of family unit and men, caring for, and believing in men and sharing our faith as I was able. Enlisted: WW2. 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 and of ours to care for men-encourage them- share their burdens and hopes.
9. I was single and free to serve. Saw possibilities of being with men and women who needed such service as a chaplain could give. See my book p77 "Jack in the pulpit."
10. Tens of thousands of young NZ men would be leaving our shores and going into situations where there would be a great need of Christian ministry: the splendid ministry of our chaplains in WW1 indicated that there would be opportunity for young fit ministers to serve in a unique sphere of Christian influence: I was 25 and still playing Rugby and believed my work was with my contemporaries in a way which would never occur again: never had reason to doubt my decision.
11. ...in my first parish. Such men were not encouraged to be chaplains until they had had some parish experience. At the end of my fourth year most of the young men of the district were either in reserve occupations or overseas. I talked to the Rev Thomas Macky (Convener Chaplains Committee for NZ) (and) in a month I was in the army.
12. Though a pacifist by conviction I believed that men on active service should be served by the ministry of the Church.
13. The gentle persuasion of the convener of the Presbyterian Chaplains' Committee.
14. Duty.
15. Encouraged and appointed by the Senior Methodist Chaplain. President of the Church gave approval.

16. The general sense of the right values a contest against the detestation(sic) of the Germans in enveloping Europe and the conquered peoples. In the emotional climate of society as the war developed the difference between uniformed and civilian people led one to wish the status of a uniformed person with a clear idea of what to do.
17. I was phoned in Christchurch (Sydenham Circuit) by Rev'd W. A. Burley and told to report for a commission. I readily agreed being 33 years of age. All I did was to take Sunday Parades at Wigram and Burnham, but in 1941 - "Pearl Harbour" - I was summoned into Burnham (no option) I was injured - football on Addington Race - course, went into hospital, up to Hanmer for some weeks for recovery and was dismissed as unfit. Appointed to ----- Circuit. I was there only 5 months. Told my wife I was going for a medical. Passed instantly as totally fit. She cried for a week lost a stone and I went into Camp, who should serve overseas if not I?
18. Requested by Salvation Army HQ to accept chaplaincy in NZ in early 1939 and following outbreak of WW2 to go overseas with 1st Echelon. All requests were accepted by me as an opportunity for wider ministry and a conviction that there was a leading of the Spirit.
19. When war came...I had a strong sense of call to service amongst the men who had to face the action. Several of my brothers and friends were Overseas. Fellowship amongst men in sport, Rugby and Cricket meant a lot to me. It always seemed to me that Christ would take his ministry to places of greatest danger and need. Love of country was very real to me. My Mother came from Yorkshire in England so one's loyalty and clear understanding that Hitler's aims were evil and wrong was very real.

12. Whilst Serving did your original motivation maintain conviction?

1. "I believe so." Felt half-hearted at time, based on home-sickness. He was engaged to be married and postponed his wedding till after war. Felt intense home-sickness for future wife and close family,
2. Yes. Here am I, send me.
3. My faith immensely increased by war experience.
- 4.

5. Cannot remember any motivation - and took quite a while to find any.
6. Yes. And my determination to go on until Germany, Italy, and Japan were defeated hardened, like that of most members of line units in the 2 NZEF Division.
7. Yes. I certainly had ample opportunity to offer spiritual teaching, training, comfort to individuals, men and women and to offer the consolation of religion to many - in health and while in the hospital ship - to the wounded and dying.
8. Yes - The reality was now more "real". More than the originating thought and purpose.
9. It grew and developed. See also my book p77. *Jack in the Pulpit*. I never lost a sense of identity with fellow human beings - and the necessity to serve them - supremely and more and more in the area of their relationship with God.
10. Yes, especially when we got overseas and one could relate to a unit, (in my case an Infantry Battalion) where I experienced an increasing sense of "belonging" such as is not possible in a parish: we shared our communal life, food, accommodation, recreation, sport: apart from times of stress and danger when we became aware of our dependence on one another, there was an increasing realization of being in the same boat. I was with the 29Bn 2 NZEF (IP) for 2.25 years.
11. Yes I thought I was in the right place. But there were often times when I was bored, lonely, homesick, miserable, reading matter was so limited. My two small sons were growing I was missing so much.
12. Yes I think so. I hated life in the Army but felt it was my duty to continue as long as needed.
13. Definitely.
14. Yes.
15. Yes.
16. Involved in the conflict and sharing the grief of friends and associates wounded, killed or taken prisoner heightened the sense of purpose and the validity in a cause that claimed loyalty and

devotion.

17. Very much so. I would go again tomorrow the challenge is tremendous. Would that I had done it all better.
18. Yes. All through my war years I never lost the sense of Divine Leading and Presence manifest on numerous occasions with rather remarkable escapes from death as well as great opportunities for ministry.
19. Yes, indeed. It gave me opportunities in presenting the Gospel that one would not get at home. Both preaching and counselling men in great need, became a great privilege. Then I felt myself to be part of the whole Church of God in action for Christ and His people. At a Chaplains' Course in Jerusalem, while passing along the Via Dolorosa, a nun said to us Chaplains of many Churches; "You are the real fighters for God today."

13. Did your Parent Denomination demonstrate care and understanding of your role?

1. Received support from congregation no clear memory of wider support.
2. Not really. As I remember there was virtually no official contact once I left NZ.
3. Very good indeed. Frequent letters from my Bishop.
4. Yes.
5. Yes, keeping in touch and maintaining pension rights. But woefully lacking in preparing padres for their role before they were thrust into it.
6. Yes. I felt that Anglican clergy who went overseas went with the blessing of most of the Church. With hindsight more could have been done to tell us what our job was (we did have to feel our way a lot) but there was a degree of honour in going as representatives of our Church. Our absence overseas put a heavy load on our civilian clergy, and with so few being Ordained, it was a grim situation in 1942.

One of the most helpful preparations for overseas chaplains were the army courses at Trentham in 1941. First World War padres took part in the evening sessions.

7. Yes. It was the bishop who (unreadable) my appointment, and the home Based Military Affairs Secretary(?) supported me.
8. Yes. Certainly.
9. Yes.
10. More particularly through my own old ministers, Bower Black of St Davids, and David Heron of Knox Dunedin, whose record as a WW1 Chaplain was a constant inspiration and example.
11. I think as far as possible yes. But was limited. Chaplains supported one another. I used to say, "When three Anglican Padres meet they elected one senior chaplain and they did as he told them. When three Presbyterians met they formed themselves into a Presbytery and made one Senior Chaplain and told him what he was doing wrong.
12. Yes
13. Yes - Through support of the Chaplain's Committee and links with parishes where I had served.
14. No.
15. Yes. By family and friends as well as the wider Church.
16. Yes we were supported by the Connexion and in some cases by parishes & personnel at home.
17. Officially yes, yet brotherliness was only perfunctory on returning for many. Of course there was pacifism then too, men at home had their own job and it could be tough. I never looked on myself as deserving special consideration.
18. On the whole yes- particularly while Overseas, but lacking somewhat on occasion after my return home. Unless one has experienced war service particularly front line ministry where one is confronted with the issues of life and death for self and those you seek to minister to such misunderstandings as sometimes occur are to be understood and accepted. When tainted by jealousy they become a little harder to understand and accept.
19. Yes, in a spiritual sense. The feeling, when in

danger, that Baptists were supporting me by prayer, was strong. In practical ways, not always. My wife, with my son, had no home to go to when we resigned from our Church in Mosgiel. She was expecting our second child. Her brother and sister-in-law cared for her until our daughter was born. Then my relatives in the Waikato found her a home in the country until I came home. It was not easy for her.

14. Did the word Ecumenical have any real significance during your serving years.

1. Endeavoured to minister to all on the same footing, knew I was chaplain to all in unit. Consciously put aside denominational feelings and little there to be reminded of it.
2. In Trentham mobilization Camp there was the usual group of recreational huts and Chaplains. We felt pretty much at one with each other. On Sundays the denomination with the shortest service had the largest and best attendance. Good Co-operation.
3. With the exception of the RC padre, the unit chaplain happily served every one and was accepted as "our" padre. Regular chaplain's meetings, plus a course in Beirut made us a real family.
4. Yes. Although an Anglican I tried to serve all denominations as they affected the troops with which I had to serve.
5. Yes. I had much to do with the NZ Student Christian Movement (SCM) before Ordination.
6. Don't know about the word "ecumenical", but the concept certainly did have significance, and personally I have little use for the narrow bands of denominationalism that governed some. I had more than one argument with my fellow Anglican padres over the matter. 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. They had a very high commitment to hearing confessions and taking Mass for all the men in the Brigade. This is not to say that they didn't

make major contributions to the morale and life of the 2NZEF. I can add this by word of mouth but I won't put it on paper.

In the 18th Bn my ministry to Pres/Meth, and others, I admitted all without conscience to communion. Bishop Allan Pyatt (then an officer in the 20th Arm Regt) a personal friend...was in the last campaign in Italy. Farguahar Gunn was the chaplain, a grand bloke, and Pyatt received communion at some of his services. I look back on the ecumenical side of my army service with the 18th with great pleasure. Not all my Anglican brother padres shared my attitude and joy.

7. Yes. Very much so. I was ever conscious that I should minister to any and...never refused and always welcomed people who were non Anglicans, (in some cases non church) to the altar etc.
8. I hardly knew the word. but there was no thought of denomination and only sharing in a very real way the lives of men - and women too who served as in No 3 NZ General Hospital - and of sharing with them of the Reality of God with us.
9. Certainly. It is illustrated by experiences in Waiouru Camp, Maadi Camp; Chaplaincy Conferences in Italy and so on.
10. After some years with my battalion, I was posted as Senior Chaplain to another Brigade, and at the farewell one of our unit said, "Padre, there's something I always wanted to ask you: What denomination do you belong to?" The matter had never cropped up: one of the greatest pleasures of association with fellow-chaplains was a new sense of the true unity of the church: after the war, many service chaplains held posts of leadership in their own denominations: I'm sure that the rapid and beneficial growth of true ecumenism was due in large measure to the influence of returned servicemen, not only chaplains.

(Chaplains) seemed to mix (at the chaplains' conference June 1943) just as naturally as in a civilian parish. The RC chaplains were highly regarded by all of us - denominations were irrelevant.

11. The word didn't have any meaning. most men had never heard of it. But the reality was there. There were a

few High Anglicans who did not attend my communion services. But on the whole men who attended church services were not denomination conscious.

12. Not the word itself but one forgot about one's own denomination.
13. Through the regular Conferences among Chaplains of All Denominations in the NZ Forces Combined meetings and Refresher Courses in conjunction with British Chaplains- and- on occasion with South African and USA. Courses conducted in Cairo, Jerusalem, (at the Cathedral) at American University Beirut, at Tripoli (North Africa) and Rome.

Also contact with local churches of several denominations.

Armenian Protestant Church - Aleppo Syria.
Waldensian Church. Various Centres in Italy. Church of Scotland - Cairo, Jerusalem, Rome, Florence, etc.

14. Some chaplains of other denominations co-operated by sharing services and Bible Classes.
15. Learned and discovered how to do a great deal together.
16. In the 2NZEF chaplains were appointed to Battalions -Regiments and were able to serve and know personnel of most denominations- in contrast to the British Chaplains who in many cases were geographically located to serve units within their own orbit- who were likely to be moved at any time. In cases of request or special demand we had no difficulty in seeking the aid of fellow chaplains of other denominations.
17. It was really just coming into its own, yet it was very much there in practice. Only the RCs and the Brethren were separate. But the padre who was genuine, sincere, caring, and always "up there" with the men could be loved and respected beyond exaggeration.
18. Yes. In the early stages of the war denominational tags were inclined to be more in evidence than later on, except in the case of one or two individual chaplains, particularly of High Church origins who maintained some degree of bias. Generally speaking, my experience of front line Padres was that of a comradely fraternal sharing in a common task.

19. Yes. 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.

15. In retrospect, how much did your own personality, training and professionalism help you to fulfil your role.

1. Ex secondary school boarder, enjoyed discipline. He moved freely in this environment. It was familiar to him.
2. Personality very important. Who am I to give an opinion? I guess all three ingredients were important.
3. 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.
4. (Response was a question mark (?))
5. To a very considerable extent. I received no specific chaplain training.
6.I was immature...30 years of age...no great experience as an Anglican priest....record of service...as layman...SS teaching, BC leadership, choir, server, lay-reader from 1926 till...ordination 30 Nov. 1939.

Although I would not qualify as "professionalism...10 years after leaving school...railways Dept...Land & Income Tax Dept...fit(ted)(sic) me for getting on with a broad x-section...little trouble adapting to Army life.

....Theological training...did not try to turn us out with any particular brand of churchman-ship. There were short lectures of pastoralia...main effort.... theological studies. Got much out of arguments... devotional life revolved around the chapel services ...many and varied.2 years at St John's...not

really enough...intellectual growth did go ahead...

...physically and athletically fit...competing in sport...international standard...gave standing in regt. Physical demands on padres of WW2 were considerable. Incidents of unfit chaplains having to be lifted out of their vehicles was not unknown.

...personality, always cheerful...weakness was adverse criticism getting at me. I accepted...scorn...as being part and parcel of ones faith and practice, but there were chinks in my armour and I had my bad times.

7. I think one's own personality made its impact. "Wowers, bigots etc" created a negative impact. The troops generally respected the "cloth". Yes training and professionalism played its part too. to be human, fair, down to earth, normal was a bonus. but with that I found the troops did expect Padres to enjoy their profession and portray it as well as they could.
8. Maybe others should say how my personality etc helped me to fulfil my role? But I do know, having been very much part of a group of children at Sunday School in NZ, and part of boys at a big boarding school, groups of students, part of family life, and being a husband and father of small children when our whole country became involved I was very much aware of being in loving concern. (a) For our people in New Zealand, (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 when I had been,
 - i. Timaru as a curate
 - ii. Vicar of Banks Peninsular
 - iii. Vicar of Hokitika and West Coast, and part of the life of the wider community too - all this deep awareness of togetherness and caring and praying helped me in the strong community life of the service

How much my professional training helped me I find it hard to assess, except that I was growing all the time as a person. And professionalism? and fulfil?(sic) To be a man of God! caring, encouraging, sharing in 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 feel far short.

Ask others!

9. It is hard to asses this, but I am sure all three helped. Training was essential - Professionalism gave an edge to action. To be seen to act professionally made all the difference between a rabbid(sic) do-gooder attitude and real effectiveness.
10. Most...not old enough...(to have) had...much parish experience teaching of bible study...conduct of worship...I found immense value...2 year labouring ...during 9 years at Universities...experience as...BC leader, chorister in...home parish...sporting... cultural activities were more relevant than academic and "professional" training:...musical ability... invaluable...(for) concert parties...singing at services:

Others must judge...whether one's personality was suitable.
11. Primarily a Padre had to be visible and available. The gifts he had grouped around that. I read of an airforce trainee in North Canada who was flying with his instructor. The trainee lost his direction the instructor said "Can you see anything to guide you?" "Yes I see something it looks cold and miserable(?). "It's either the north pole or the camp padre." A padre had to be friendly, it was a help if he was a good preacher or mixer or had a gift of conversation.
12. Considerable I guess: but it is hard to estimate.
13. Do not consider that I can determine this.
14. Probably mostly.
15. A man stood or fell by how he was an example of the Christian life. Army training was 3 days at Trentham, drill, map reading, anti-gas and medical familiarity.
16. The major difference in service conditions as contrasted with parochial duties, was the contact (often intimate and serious) with those of widely varying experiences and beliefs who showed their quality and genuineness alongside their mates under the stress of tensions of active service. 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 demands were the general preparation for service

conditions.

17. Training - Yes, necessary. You were amongst professionals lawyers, teachers, scholars, but personality, including character, control, concern for the men - plus gifts and disciplines really counted in the end. It was what you did and were.
18. The ability to mix with men, without the recourse to lower standards was a quality appreciated by the majority of men. Men were quick to judge the padre on his integrity- his works, rather than his words. In the early stages of chaplaincy, some padres who lacked earlier experience of working out in the world were at some disadvantage. Some overcame this hardship with good effect. Some did not. In other cases the ability to combine both academic qualifications and down to earth human and comradely standards made for a very effective ministry.
19. Farming through depression years and breaking in new ground, plus my family and sport formed one's character. Teaching Sunday School and attending Bible Class made me think deeply. My training for four years and steady reading habits was invaluable. Being ordained by my Church made a chaplaincy possible. On C.O. I had made it plain that I was the Padre not the Y.M.C.A. Secretary who had seemed over-zealous. One had a sense of authority when teaching and preaching the Christian message.

16. In your experience is there a definable "ANZAC soldiers' religion". If you will, comment please.

1. Most were not "religious" in the churchy or devotional sense. Still more than today's equivalent age group. Their religion was of the "do unto others" variety. Strong sense of fair-play, and brotherhood. Regarded almost as a religious article.
2. Comes out in the RSA.
3. Attended a large number of regimental re-unions of 27 and 25 Bns. The Sunday Church parade is always one of the highlights.

4. No answer.
5. No answer
6. No I don't think so. Members...took their own faith with them...it stood by them all through the business of war...hardest "non believer" had an open mind about the "one that had his name on it" and any soldier who saw much action has his own personal stories to tell on this.
7. O 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 which was an opportunity to proclaim the gospel and teach, teach, teach.
8. I do not specify "ANZAC" - Maybe people who grew up in NZ and Australia had developed attitudes, however of intuitive and of class-less-ness compared to people of the "old country" and maybe there was an underlying basic faith in God, however vague. There are no atheists in slit trenches!! and maybe also the concern for those back home called for a basic loyalty and care, of prayer - *and there were many of deeper awareness of Christ.*
9. (1) A respect for integrity of faith-
(2) A sort of fatalism-
(3) A practical ideal - learned of experience.

Don't think so. The best chaplains...whose sincerity won ...respect...just as in a parish. A Punch cartoon... of a chaplain leaving the mess...young officer..."What I can't take is this unholy than thou attitude." Men expected the chaplain to be different: he held high rank and never used it: his role was often as a link with home and family: his authority was a spiritual one: most... watched their language in...presence. If he had their respect, "military religion was no different from any other!"

11. Be a good mate. Don't let your cobbler 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. In a crisis this may rise to a hope that someone or something may be on my side.
12. I doubt if there is an "Anzac Soldier's Religion." Popular religious concepts remained and there were expectations of a padre. There was an expectation and a desire for him to be "squeaky clean" and...sincere.

- 13.
14. Christian soldiers were tinged by the army system rather than an Anzac soldiers' religion.
- 15.
16. No I don't think so. For the majority there was 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.
17. I hardly think so. Religion is universal; yet I think there had to be a natural and national affinity between padre and men.
18. In a word, I would define it 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.
19. No really...when we won the confidence of the men by going on route marches and identifying with them through helping meet their needs. Many came personally for New Testaments. They tended as Kiwis to respond to voluntary services rather than "Jack-up Parades" that were compulsory.

17. Can you recall any significant incident which really taxed your faith?

1. No memory of such after so many years.
- 2.
3. Watching bayonet practise first week in Burnham. Soldier asked, "Is this Christianity Padre?" I did a quick think and a prayer and said YES. I was surprised how frightened I was in action. I remember once shivering in a slit trench when I ought to have been up and about and thought of the line in the hymn, "When duty calls or danger." In all my talks to chaplains since I returned to NZ in 1961 I have tried to prepare them for fear and what to do.
- 4.
5. No
6. No. Preparation for war via my pacifist approach

served me in good stead and I found war neither better nor worse than I expected...didn't have to change my mind....This is not to say that the horrors of war left me untouched. In some ways a padre of the line unit of WW2 saw as much of the grim side of war as anyone...frequently involved in their wounded...the burial of the dead-the enemy dead....worst incidents ...tanks hit by armour piercing....in one of ours, only one escaped...and was well singed and badly shocked.

7. No I had a simple faith and in most instances burials at sea, in Ceylon etc. reinforced my faith. The one place I felt awkward was as a padre in Trentham, prior to embarkation I visited the consciencious objectors (unreadable) at Trentham, many of whom obviously deplored me in uniform and I found, "I could do no good thing there because of their unbelief" in my role.

8. I'm sure the whole experience did!

I cannot think of any particular incident. But I do think in spite of all I said of the reality of togetherness, that for me it was also a lonely life. Men had their strongly knit units and section and platoon and their training and action had to be closely knit. They all knew each other, and by name. I knew some by name - but 600 in a battalion, plus more in Brigade units, - or 1200 patients in hospital and only two padres (unreadable) few close contacts!

9. There were many so calculated (unreadable) all tremendous and shattering. But more taxing in degree than in deed.

The first casualty at Deraro(?)
 The first sight of dead Germans.
 The Battle of Cassino.
 The brutalization of "good" people-
 But that was "par for the course".

10. No more than a civilian situation where inexplicable tragedies are just as likely to occur as in the services. There were many men who came into faith ...some 60 servicemen interested in studying for the Presbyterian ministry after the war....service life caused me to adjust my priorities in faith and discard unessentials...war-time experience steadied my faith and made me more sure of the need of Christian ministry.

11. Not really. When men throw thousands of tons of

molten metal at on(sic) another any thing can happen. The thing that overbalanced m(sic) was the sheer horror of the waste of life. The smell of ancient dust and blood.

12. Seeing the sight of Hiroshima.
- 13.
14. Some but not major.
15. Burial of the dead - result of air raids. Anti-aircraft gunners mainly.
16. No - weariness of the long service overseas sometimes dimmed the vision but the challenges sometimes gave new impetus to expressions of our faith.
17. Yes: Excessive drinking by officers and notable neglect of the men on social occasions. If there had been no padre to watch the interest of the ranks - Heavens knows!
18. First of all my sudden call to overseas service...one of the major challenges to my faith...when serving with the Mobile Surgical unit we were over-run by the enemy and held prisoner for 8 days...We had over 100 men who had surgery on the field - had only sufficient water for 80 men for 2 days when captured, and without additional supplies existed on two half cups of tea per day per man in temperatures around 100 degrees. We had water for one meal when released. I visited each group of men at eventide and offered a scripture and prayer. The night before our release I read the 20th Psalm and offered special prayer for each group committing them there to God's care and grace. Realising that many would not survive without proper nursing I spent most of the night in my slit trench praying for their deliverance. I awoke with the sun shining to hear my batman calling out excitably, (sic) "Their ours - they're Kiwi's"
19. My first tough casualty from the Sangro river in Italy was a fine sergeant who trod on a mine. Hie(sic) lower body was a tragic mess and later I took his funeral SERVICE. On writing to his Mother I got this reply" "where does God ccome(sic) into it all? or does He?" Then at Cassino when our planes bombed the Benedictine Monastery. As I took services under houses I used the text from Psalm 46.(v10) "Be still and know that I am God. I will be exalted in the earth." In the long run I said God through His

sovereignty must have the last word. Then I felt a trem-tremendous sense of the Presence as I led in prayer for their folk at home. After burying two fine soldiers killed by bombs dropping short, I spoke on "The Lord is thy keeper" from Ps. 121.(v5) But I found one had to add "In life or in death."

18. How did you refresh spiritually?

1. Where practicable in the exigencies of war, daily prayer, devotions and bible reading. Sought company of committed Christians, where support was mutual and who may also have been ignorant of the fact they gave him considerable support.
2. Contact with local churches was valuable to me whatever the denomination. In Fiji, was often Methodist as well as Anglican.
3. Travelled with bible and prayer book. Tried to read morning and evening every day. I found the Litany a most useful prayer.
4. No answer
5. I had much time for quiet reflection.
6. ...perhaps the hardest task of all...I didn't do well at it. All...padres called on 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...active service was not conducive to the more spiritual side.

Senior Chaplains did manage to overcome this problem with special quiet days, courses, weekly meetings ...when they could be organized. A visit from a fellow padre could be a big help, provided he was on the same wave-length. I thought that 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 an a half years overseas service I felt like an orange that had all the juice sucked out of it!!

7. The daily Office helped. The fellowship in prayer and study with Christian colleagues - officers NCOs etc. One stumbles on convinced Christians, parsons, elders, readers etc at every level. In NZ by worshipping where possible in local congregations.

8. In the aloneness of prayer, I prayed as I was able, before "the day" began. I've the aloneness of the night-But! Of course there were only some times of "action" and much time for training and re-forming (with reinforcements) and time at base [But base was a bit amorphous] I did have a time at Officers Rest House and there was a Chaplains "do" of seminars and sessions, and there were civilians of the Churches and local communities who were supportive. But! I did get a bit "Run-down" physically and spiritually.
9. By regular Bible reading- quiet and prayer. A chaplain had the facilities in action and a truck and a jeep- a driver and some privacy. I made good use of that. Also by contact with other chaplains at reasonably frequent intervals - at Chaplains School and Conferences.
10. 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 although such opportunities were greatly appreciated. I never had an elder in my unit. These three normal avenues of spiritual enrichment were not available: I think that the great OT stories were my chief spiritual encouragement: a first class YMCA secretary was invaluable and sharing Christian music especially with Salvationists in the unit was always refreshing. Mail from older and wiser ministers...kept one's spiritual priorities right and preventing one from thinking we were the only people, "On Active Service" Often our missionaries were having a harder time.
11. Only once together as Chaplains at a Conference in June 1943.
12. By daily prayer.
By meeting with fellow chaplains.
Getting to church services when on leave.
My being sent on a course to the Holy Land.
- 13.
14. Prayer - bible study.
15. Prayer, quiet times, and bible Reading, sharing with other Church men and chaplains where possible.
16. While in base camp for periods the availability of a library was a help. Chaplain's Conferences were a

real source of renewal but contact among the chaplains of the division were always a strength. In the line or under battle conditions one was often dependent only on one's inner experience of response to the demands of often stressful situations.

17. By keeping as close as I could to my bible and listening daily to its marvellous words.
18. Daily devotions as circumstances allowed. When not in action taking opportunity to attend Chaplains' Mtgs and Conferences and a service at some church. Sometimes I found soul refreshment in the bottom of a slit-trench such as at the Battle of Alamein when after nearly 2 days of action my Battalion was desperately tired and pulling out my pocket bible with the aid of my torch read Psalm 4.v8. "Now I lay me down in peace and sleep for thou Lord only makest me dwell in safety." and despite rumbling of tanks managed some sleep that night.
19. By private prayer when I could get away alone. By my Bible and other books that came my way. By a Baptist Fellowship...in Egypt and by reunions in Italy. It tended to draw evangelically minded men from all denominations. After one such after Cassino the Senior Chaplain came, (Padre Dawson at the time) and said that the enthusiasm of the men was "like a revival of Christianity(sic). Fine men in my Battalion were a great inspiration.

19. (A) Was the Cross-Section Christian influence socially evident in the soldier of WW2. (B) Were there present a different set of values between the professional and civilian combatant.

- (A) 1. Can't answer the first part.
2. Yes I think it was.
3. I came to a sweeping generalization. Out of ten good "Church" boys (from Christian homes,) 9 were well above average. Amongst the "pagan" soldiers one (out of ten) was above average. Several said the strong lasting memory of a Christian Mother had great influence.
- 4.
5. Yes at the end of the war, January - December 1945 in Italy there was considerable discussion on the

post-war world and the place of Christianity.

6. Yes I think so, not only in his attitude to his fellow soldier, but also, though not to the same degree, to the civilian. The average Egyptian did not inspire much respect in the NZ soldier...in Italy...the christian concept of compassion was much to the fore. There are still many places in Italy where an NZer 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. Of course there was the other side too, where some pretty despicable tricks were played.

The comradeship between men in the same tank crew, gun crew, section etc was out of this world....Our fellow soldiers became our life-long friends.

- 7.
8. Yes there was...quite a strong X section of Christian man-hood in WW2...I would not differentiate between civilian and professional combatants.
9. To some degree.
10. It seemed...the home was the principal religious power in the life of a man: perhaps for the first time, men realised what the ideals especially of a mother, meant especially in the time of a crisis: we had all been through the Depression and there was great respect for a church that had proved practical and compassionate.
11. Not that I was aware of.
12. Yes I think so.
- 13.
14. Don't understand and...
15. Question not discussed or asked.
16. Very little.
17. There was always "the salt of the earth" the few who never forgot that their faith was bigger than war - the men who stood between the corruptible and the incorruptible. Conspicuously there was the RC padre

who would walk out in faith at times of entertainment.

18. Only in a limited degree. Some medical Unit C.O.'s expressed to me their disappointment in some men of Christian faith who would not attend a church parade if they had some objection to the padre's denomination. 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.
19. ...there was much ignorance of the Bible from the rest. (*reference to those who were without a church background*) One man asked another, "Who's this bloke Jesus the Padre is always talking about?" There were also some fine Christians from all Churches who were always helpful. "Fair play" by officers and men was very important to the troops. They valued freedom and the right to make their own choices where possible. Love of family and home meant a great deal.

- (B)
1. Yes (professional soldiers were different) often so, but this was to be expected as very often they came from different backgrounds which provided them with different opportunities.
 2. Yes probably.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 5. On going to Japan till September 1946 - with much younger troops just arrived as the war finished-the only thing that seemed to matter was to get home and have a job.
 6. ...99% plus of our numbers were civilian.... "professionals" stuck together...often found in HQ...where they did fantastic job...their training fitted them better...rough and tumble of active service...they treated their time away as just part of their ordinary duty...civilian combatant couldn't get it finished and over with quickly enough and get back to real life. I had one officer, a Duntroon graduate who was killed. Post war, 2 of our officers made the Army their civilian work.

7. Professionals had a more "disciplined" view of the chaplain and relationships more formal than with the civilian combatants. My Father, a soldier in the Boer and Great Wars had counselled me against having an "officer complex" and ignoring other-ranks and I did minister to all without partiality as best I could, I think. Perhaps the "other ranks" made more response.
- 8.
9. Some difference. Especially in the attitude to war as war.
10. I saw no difference in the attitude of Regular Force and wartime soldiers: there were never more than 3 or 4 regulars in our unit.
11. There was certainly not the difference between the officers and the Private soldier that there was in the British Army. Our Private soldier was not brainwashed in the same way.
12. I don't know.
- 13.
14. No.
- 15.
16. We had limited contact with any civilian combatants in the theatres of war in which I served.
17. No, both professional and civilian combatants would insist upon the right of Church parade.
18. ...little difference between (the values of the) professional soldier and civilian combatant. Professional CO's under whom I served were mainly very helpful and appreciative of the padre.
19. MOST OF OUR officers and men were civilians. A few Regular Army men tended to give a lead in accepting the Padre, as part of the institution.
20. If you care to would you give an account of a significant military action which had a profound effect upon you.
- 1.
2. Never in Action.

- 3.
- 4.
5. In the last Italian battle. Talking to the wounded and dying and burying the dead and writing to relatives.
6. (Preference by this respondent for interview on the question.). This was not possible.
7. Gives an account while on manoeuvres in NZ of a commanding officer, a Presbyterian Elder, indicated he would attend the Holy Communion celebration taken by him in a local Anglican church. This example meant that 200 attended. Respondent noted that like Paul, the CO lead from the front. This action was in response to the respondents ability to identify and participate in the manoeuvres.
8. I think rather of groups of men kneeling and receiving communion before the holocaust of action, and hearing Christ's words to them and to me, "this is my body given for you" and of our thinking also at that time of those we loved and praying for them. Of going by compass with the darkness across the desert (2000 paces or so) and managing to find a group of men - a brief respite for them in the night-time - them wanting prayer - and again (whatever church and background) Jesus with us saying, "This is my body given for you - my blood shed for you and for many." I Cor. 11. 24.

And in an underground cavern casualty clearing station, an officer whose men and gun-crew had been killed and he, a leg shot off and not expected to live and he and I receiving Jesus' words and the broken bread and the wine of His life given.

BUT!! my littleness, nothingness, in a vast sea of action -desiring to give - and give as I could - But! So little!!

9. The Battle of Cassino. See my book *Jack in the Pulpit*.
10. Probably our participation in the first opposed landing of a NZ unit since Gallipoli: in October 1943 the 3 Div. Task force attacked and re-occupied the Treasury Group in the Northern Solomons: we sailed from Guadalcanal in old US destroyers and transhipped to landing craft for the beach landing. 30 years later I was preaching at a Brethren Assembly and was welcomed and introduced by a sergeant in our Battalion who recalled word for word the prayer I had offered on the destroyer before we moved into

the landing craft! It was Sir Jacob Astley's "Lord, Thou Knowest how busy we must be this day: though we forget Thee; do not thou forget us!"

11. Wished the reply to be confidential.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
16. Response returned as a separate statement and not to be included in the questionnaire.
17. I was in the landing on the Treasuries - the first amphibious action since Gallipoli and led by a Gallipoli veteran. Men were killed at my feet. I barely survived the first night in fox holes through not wounded. Silence reigned through the long long night. None whispered. Japs were close and a grenade could end your life as it did that for some only yards away. I certainly proved the American saying: There are no atheists in fox holes."
18. All action had effect of varying degree but perhaps most horrifying was the great Battle of Alamein. The night before the Battle my Battalion moved forward under the cover of darkness and dug in (sic) before daylight. We stayed down in slit trenches all the next day until 10.p.m that night when suddenly hundreds of artillery guns along the whole Allied line poured a withering fire on the enemy positions. Then under that cover the sappers moved forward to clear lanes through the minefield for the infantry. My Battalion had to take the first objective for our Brigade front. Stretcher bearers etc followed. The padre followed into the night doing what ministry he could to wounded and fallen. For me that night of horror was relieved by a single act of bravery that came to my notice. I came across a young German Medical Orderly lying dead beside one of our Sergeants. I buried them both alongside each other, the German with his Red-Cross band on his arm, the Sergeant with his New Testament lying on the top of his neatly arranged pack. After the battle one of our lads came and asked if I had seen his mate, the Sgt. It appears that he called to his chum after being wounded, but he was unable to get to him -then he saw the young German Orderly run from his position to attend to the Sgt. at the expense of his own life.
19. The Cassino action in Italy. I was stationed at the 5th

ADS on Route 6. There I attended all serious cases that came through. One dead Nazi trooper (sic) big tough man made me feel like kicking him until I opened his wallet and found a picture of his wife and two little sons. Along with this I took out his prayer book. So I could have wept. During the action I visited all the platoons of the Machine Gun Bn. and took services with them in the Front Line. (Underneath Houses)

21. Would you consider providing several hundred words which ...you consider to be pertinent to the research and study.

1. I have given my all. It is now a long time ago. I have not recently enjoyed the best of health.
2. In Fiji I was a Brigade Chaplain and lived with 4th Bn FMF. with particular responsibility for New Zealanders wherever they were: in about 11 different camps. most Fijians were Methodists and 4th Bn Church parades were usually taken by their own Fijian Officers.
3. Question responded to in a separate letter containing other material which has been used and acknowledged.
- 4.
5. No.
6. Respondent refers to his publication of reunion addresses - especially Easter 1944 at Cassino.
7. Respondent relates how a tough Sergeant Major, irreligious and frankly not too supportive had to accompany him to a notification of sickness. The NIK asked the question, "What is a padre?" to which the Sgt.Mjr replied, "Oh, the padre is a man who spends his whole time going about and doing good." "My reaction was two-fold, (a) how near to the Kingdom that irreligious Sgt.Mjr was, (b)-----out of the mouths of babes." Certainly it reinforces my ----- that I was doing God's work at that time.
8. I don't know-better with an interview. *The respondent here outlines the TV programme regarding a desert padre. Refer the visual contents of this. Attached to questioner is a biographical account of Rev.A.C.K. Harper. NZCh.D. KIA. 22 February 1944.*
10. Note my comments...relevance of the Bible: this and other incidents in my forward to *Men of Faith and Courage*. On the afternoon...first Service in...Treasuries...I was going around the perimeter and a man stopped me...Padre, what was that bit you read from the Bible this morning." I

read to him from Psalm 91 (v5ff) "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" After a moment he replied "Padre do you think that David, or who-ever 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" (Edited)

11. Question responded to separately, did not wish to be included in the formal questionnaire.
12. Response was a ?
- 13.
14. During war from 1 Jan 1941 was a member of the Intelligence Section Auckland 111 Regt. Then Chaplain to AA Auckland 1 year then Rotorua (unreadable) and then New Caledonia and Mono Solomons.
15. Went into the Army from the Matamata Circuit August 1942. Served at Narrow Neck Camp. Two other Methodists were\had? there as well, Draper and Jefferies. Remained there until February 1944. Duties were three services a Sunday incl communion. Chaplain to Battery and Hospital. Member of the Social Welfare Committee. Experience got me used to artillery of all kinds. March 1944 flown by Hudson bomber RNZAF to New Caledonia. Transit there to Munda. British Solomon Islands, then Stirling Island. Flew without parachute amid packing cases. Also posted to Mono and Treasury Islands. Posted to 36Bn. Fighting ceased November 1944 (?) some mopping up still. Task to alleviate boredom. I began hobbies and sent for 1000 books. Organised swimming sports, yachting, and the Division known as Baraclough's 40,000 thieves. Worked closely with the YMCA secretary. I also had censor duties of letter home. Men preferred the chaplain as the censor than their own officers. Reading their letters you got to know your men, but in conversation you had to hold your tongue until they opened a discussion they may have written about. There was an association with US forces, and a Negro Bn. close by was not, in my judgement well treated. We co-operated with US Chaplains and I noted that they were all inter-change-able. Eg. A Jewish chaplain could act for a Methodist!

My task prior the embarkation was to operate the Information tent. I returned to NZ in a liberty ship September 1944. Was involved in the reconstruction and organization of the Methodist Mission churches and buildings following the recapture of the mission areas.

16. Responded in previous question.
17. Pray that there will be no more war. Yet if there were, the padre will be there more than ever where would Christ be? If I have regrets it is only because I could have done it all better - the opportunities are immense, and the privileges and responsibilities are great. Nearly 50 years on the bond with the men holds and the re-unions demonstrate it. All this is war. May God hasten the day of peace.
18. Reference censor's duties, and from that the assessment of stable family life; general understanding of morals and the morale of the troops. The NZ soldier objected to being forced to take condoms when on leave. The change in a stable NZ society appears to have surfaced with the American Invasion with war in the Pacific. The infidelity of many sweethearts and wives caused not inconsiderable demoralization. (Respondent developed this brief comment outside the questionnaire.)
19. The first Baptist Chaplain to the 2 NZEF was Lt.Col. (Chap Class 2.) John Hiddleston. He won a good name for helping our men in POW camps. The second was Mjr. (Chap. Class 3.) L. A. Day. He did fine work in Maadi Camp and established the Baptist Fellowship in the Central Y.M.C.A. I replaced him as health did not permit him to be attached for a front line Bn. When I came to Egypt I was attached to 27M.G. Bn and soon moved to Italy where I did service until nearing Venice. Then I had three months in a Convalescent Depot near Bari. I was on a ship in Haifa when the European War ended and took a Thanksgiving service in Maadi Camp for the end of the War with Japan. But for a Rugby Football match in Carisbrook in Dunedin when we (army) won the championship I would not have been overseas at all. Next day the M.O. said, "I see Padre that your medical grading is Grade 2. You didn't look it on the football field yesterday. Would you like to be graded to one?" I said yes. Within a week I was asked by the Baptist Union would I go overseas?" (sic) It was a real Gethsemane for my wife and I as we were expecting our 2nd child. She was born when I was in action at Castlefrentana In Italy. (sic) We both agreed that I should go as it seemed God's call to us both.

THE MILITARY DEACONS: Welfare Officers & Theological Students

6. Had you previous Military Service before enlistment.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. No.

2. School Cadets. Territorial soldier.
3. High School Cadets. 3 Years.
4. Nil.
5. Yes.

CHURCH ARMY OFFICERS.

6. Yes. Narrow Neck Camp Permanent NZ Staff. Acting Chaplain.
7. January 19th 1939. - December 1st 1939.
Yes. 4 Years Senior School Cadets. 10 years
Territorial Service. CQMS. Wellington Regt.
Regular Army. 1947-59. WO.2.
8. No.

THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS

9. No
10. No.
11. No.

7. Married or Single.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. Married.
2. Married.
3. Single.
4. Single.
5. Single.

CHURCH ARMY

6. Married.
7. Married.
8. Single.

STUDENTS

9. Single.

- 10. Single on enlistment. Married on leave in NZ 1944.
- 11. Single.

8. Diary. Available?

YMCA SECRETARIES

- 1. No.
- 2. Yes. Sorry not Available.
- 3. No.
- 4. No.
- 5. Yes. Seriously doubt its value. Not available.

CHURCH ARMY

- 6. Yes at times. It is available for study.
- 7. No
- 8. Forbidden to do so under military law.

STUDENTS

- 9. More a record of travel - immature period. Written at time when my engagement was broken off while in M.East. Have not looked at diary since 1945.
- 10. No.
- 11. No.

9. Available for Interview

YMCA SECRETARIES

- 1. Experiences not of sufficient importance.
- 2. Prefer not. Memory suspect.
- 3. Yes.
- 4. Prefer not.
- 5. Yes.

CHURCH ARMY

- 6. Yes.
- 7. Yes.
- 8.

STUDENTS

- 9. Would prefer no.
- 10. No.
- 11. Yes.

10. Can you briefly outline what motivated you to offer/enlist

as a YMCA Field Secretary\Church Army Officer\Medical Ord.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. Desire to assist in the welfare of Servicemen.
2. Enlisted in Poverty Bay (Gisborne) in 1939. Had two "ops" before going to Sth Pacific. Purely to help in defence of our way of living and our country and the Commonwealth.
3. *This respondent was a serving soldier in the ranks who volunteered whenever possible to assist the YMCA Secretary. He did not become a Driver\Orderly to the Secretary until 1943, and then later was transferred to the YMCA Staff as a Secretary late in 1943.*

When possible I used to help out in a voluntary capacity in Egypt and Africa. At the end of the African campaign the NZ Division returned to Maadi and a number of staff became eligible for home furlough and I was offered the job of orderly driver. (With the rank of Sergeant) An application for transfer was granted and I went to Italy in that capacity. When more staff became eligible for home furlough in 1943 I was appointed Field Secretary. In April 1945 I came home on furlough, and after leave I was appointed to the YMCA Hut serving the soldiers' wards in Wellington Hospital.

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

4. Desire to make a contribution but in non combatant area.
5. "My motivation? Partly it just happened to me (God does move in roundabout ways at times) But I can also remember being pleased that I wasn't going to have to work out the rest of my time in the Army doing routine "nothing" jobs. I had actually been accepted in NZ as a YMCA Secretary (I'd applied while in the Army). But the wheels had ground so slowly that acceptance came after final leave when I was already committed."

"I volunteered (for the Army under age of 20) because I wanted to contribute something towards the defeat of Hitler - nothing starry-eyed, I just wanted to do my bit, hateful though I found the thought of either

killing or being killed.

YMCA Secretary - to be of some service. I was asked to serve.

CHURCH ARMY

6. Yes. Already as a Church Army Officer. Commissioned as a Church Army Officer 1937. (2 years 1931-2 in UK) Had years' experience as Acting Chaplain Narrow Neck Auckland.
7. I was 30 years of age in 1941. I had been a lay reader in my church for 20 years taking services in three different places. (Churches) A Sunday School teacher for 4 years. On the Wellington B.C Anglican committee for 13 years. Most other officers CA that I worked with had similar backgrounds for being in the work. But not many had any theological training or welfare training. Several CA officers I know did have training, prior to being commissioned.
8. To serve God and my fellowmen(sic) as best I could in whatever service God would be pleased to call me - in this case with the Armed Forces.

STUDENTS

9. Desire to serve in medical corps enlisted as non-combatant though hard-pressed to accept full military enlistment (by enlisting officer)
10. 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.
11. 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 morally involved than the bayonet wielding soldier.
12. Whilst Serving did your original motivation maintain conviction?.

YMCA SECRETARIES.

1. Yes. There was continued satisfaction in giving service to the airmen with whom I was serving.
2. Quite.

3. Yes. There were many occasions when prayers for my well being were answered.
4. Yes. I felt that practical service through the YMCA was appreciated and I made no secret of my Christian commitment. I think that the practical service helped in my acceptance when I had to take the Battalion Church Parades.
- 5.

CHURCH ARMY

6. Yes. Tested at times.
7. Yes.
8. Yes I was there to work. St Paul set a standard for all to follow, Captain Kee of the English C.A. wrote Tim. 2. 3 in the front of my Bible in 1938.

STUDENTS

9. Yes - though seconded to combatant unit in Italy for short period to assist MO (short period only) and ordered then to carry a rifle. (at all other times my involvement in Medical corps implied "non combatant service only").
10. Yes- but realized that, in fact, whether as a medical corps person in hospital unit(sic) or C.C.S. (*Casualty Clearing Station Ed.*) (my unit last 1944 to 1945) or in a front line unit, one was just part of the army machine as anyone else anywhere along the line. One had opted to serve for the duration, so one just carried on and did one's job, whatever it might be.
11. Yes, my original conviction remained throughout.

13. Did your Parent Denomination demonstrate care and understanding of your role?

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. No. Methodist.
2. Understandably not noticeable. My roving commission made me difficult to "pin down" in any permanent area.

Church of England.

3. Yes. Church members were very supportive with letters and parcels
Methodist.
4. The local congregation were helpful and sympathetic. I doubt that the majority of the denomination would know of me.
Baptist.
5. No specific response.
Methodist.

CHURCH ARMY

6. As far as was possible.
Church of England.
7. Yes.
Church of England.
8. The English C.A. welcomed me to Headquarters in London and loaned me a marquee at Rushmoor, Aldershot.
Church of England.

STUDENTS

9. Yes. Visited regularly by senior chaplains from the 2NZEF and supplied with literature to keep up with theology studies, and some meetings arranged with that purpose in view, such as invitation to school for theology students held in Jerusalem by English chaplains.
Presbyterian.
10. No contact with the church back home whilst overseas 1940/45 but of course, contact again in 1945 when I started at Knox Theological College, Dunedin on my return.
Presbyterian.
11. I do not know.
Presbyterian.

14. Did the word Ecumenical have any real significance during your serving years.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. It became increasingly significant and the old barriers fell away.
2. So far as I was concerned the greatest opportunity ever to break down "hard dogma" convictions, ceremony, custom, obstinancy (ecclesiastical) etc. "Emergency" bought togetherness and differences were out.
3. The only difference between serving the men was between RC and Protestant. Each Unit had a padre attached but the RC Padres seemed to have a roving appointment to find his denomination in each unit, whereas the Protestant men in the unit regardless of denomination were all cared for. As an infantryman I had Anglican, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, and as YMCA Secretary I worked with was an Anglican.
4. I think that the whole attitude was ecumenical in spirit. Except for RC.s we were a fellowship. We did not talk about ecumenism / we just accepted each other.
5. To me personally yes. "Chaplains were a mixed bag. I'd had a good one throughout most of my Middle East and Italian experience. I had some great times with him. (Paul Sergel) He took me on a picnic to Asissi when we were pushing up the centre after Rome fell - a sacred memory that I'm sure has had a profound effect on my ministry...I can't remember the name of his successor, but he was a lazy beggar. I remember him complaining at one of our Officers' meetings that very few were turning up to his Sunday services and our Major responding 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. But he was always going off to Chaplain's Conferences and Retreats. And I felt I couldn't cope with all the work I felt needed doing. I offered him some practical openings but he wasn't interested. I was always friendly with the Chaplains, for we had so much in common. But as YMCA\Chaplain we did little together, which, even then, I can remember regretting."

CHURCH ARMY

6. Yes.

7. Yes.
8. I worked as an Anglican and respected the views of others.

STUDENTS.

9. An important word for me at the time, and remains so. Though apart from conversations with unit team-mates I had no part in the conduct of services of worship i.e. did not even act as a Chaplain except to conduct a small number of burials when requested to do so.
10. I continued to share relationships with those of denominations other than the one I had known. (I had shared plenty before enlistment) but I doubt if I knew at that time what the word "ecumenical" meant.- Can't remember even using it. Two of my parishes subsequently were combined Presby & Methodist, and I served on the committee of the 1971 Plan for Union that drew up the Church Government section.
11. We had not even heard the word. But we practised it. 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.

15. In retrospect, how much did your own personality, training and professionalism help you to fulfil your role.

YMCA SECRETARIES.

1. It was all a learning experience for which I had no prior training. No doubt my personality was a factor.
2. 20 years of YMCA service need I say more!
3. Previous experience in Sunday School, Bible Class and Boys' Club work seemed to work in well with business training to enable me to come into the work of the YMCA without much stress. Simply if there was a need we tried to fill it.
4. I had received no theological training at this point. I had a good background of biblical instruction. Personality and commitment (sincerity) would have been of greatest value.

5. That's all that got me through.

CHURCH ARMY.

6. A job needed to be done. A job done within the bounds of a POW Camp.
7. I believe my previous experience all helped me to fulfil my role.
8. The C.A. training and parish work was a useful foundation. One was still dealing with individuals with a soul to save whether they acknowledged the fact or not.

STUDENTS

9. 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 Theological Hall.
10. (I expect my work before being accepted as a student for the ministry - 6 years in the Office of an Education Board - training me in administration - helped me to do some of the jobs I got when in the 2nd NZ General Hospital I served with overseas, but I had to learn the work of hospital ward nursing from the Army.)
11. At this stage I had no training or professionalism for the role I had to play.

16. In your experience is there a definable and "Anzac Soldiers' Religion" If you will comment Please.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. No answer.
2. So far as family contact, Yes. Old diggers do some amazing acts of "caring" and "memory" is sometimes akin to "religion" in mellowing hardened old sinners like me!!!!
3. Difficult to define. Probably a fatalistic edge to hope that God would take care of each man - unspoken but there- (There are few atheists in a slit trench under shell fire)
4. Not in my experience. I was not in a war zone and attitudes were much the same as in NZ.
5. I doubt that an "Anzac Soldiers' Religion" is, in essence, any different from the "Lowest Common Denominator" style

of "Christian" attitude that used to be reasonably pervasive in the NZ community. It's getting a bit thinner spread now.

CHURCH ARMY

6. Question paper failed to print this question. Respondent denied a reply
7. (Yes) A belief that their(sic) is a God, But I have little time available to worship Him.
8. N.Z. men had a wider experience of life to draw from than some other men. N.Zers are more resourceful.

STUDENTS.

9. I have tried to avoid this, though have been a nominal member of the RSA, but non participant in its activities apart from days of remembrance.
10. 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. 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!
11. Not in the strict sense, But "Stello" was god for many. (Stello was a beer brand)

17. Can you recall any significant incident which really taxed your faith?

YMCA SECRETARIES

- 1.
2. The few differences in denominations endeavouring to "grasp opportunities" - to advantage themselves, irrespective - some actions were just *not* ecumenical. I still distrust former adversaries. Commercial and general military expansion. The ever present parochialism and self interest doesn't help to keep faith absolutely "undented".
3. Having two close friends killed in action at Alamein. The three of us had entered camp together. Later we became hardened to the loss of friends except that sometimes we

felt the loss of one particular person.

4. No nothing different from normal as at home. Was disappointed in the quality of some of the Chaplains. Felt that some were not acceptable to congregations - so were put in army.
5. While the whole war was a major test for my personal faith, I believe it strengthened and certainly matured my faith. "But I felt I was doing a real job (as a YMCA Secretary) and the service it entailed fitted-in well with my concept of Christian duty."

CHURCH ARMY

6. The first few days after capture on Crete.
7. No.
- 8.

STUDENTS

9. I think being in the Army certainly faced me up to the beginning of a careful scrutiny of what I believed, which was followed by critical Hall studies and an enriching of my faith and (I believe) assisted in my usefulness as an Ordained minister -- though it was a time of painful challenge to me to feel compelled to follow a fairly radical outlook theologically and to accept marked simplicity. But the Army itself, though it shaped me up to the courage to follow that course did not really do more than start me off.
10. Not really.
11. Seeing the trainload of wounded after Greece and Crete; and seeing those who had been burnt in tanks.

18. How did you refresh spiritually?

YMCA SECRETARIES

- 1.
2. Have endeavoured to keep high morals, observe the law of torts and common law, and be an average respected New Zealander.
3. Daily Bible reading where possible and prayers. I had a pocket bible which I always carried. Attendance at services where possible. Two weeks' leave in Palestine

where I saw places I had been teaching about in Sunday School and BC lessons helped.

Oddity! I may have been the only person to have played a piano accordion for an Army Church Padre in Syria and Italy.

4. Personal Bible Study. Quietness. Weekly Christian Endeavour -----? was an Oasis. Good fellowship with the Wesley Congregation. Had a small fellowship group - but small and changing.
5. "There wasn't much problem with my faith. It had been well tried by now , and I was reassured that it was definitely mine and not my Mother's (as I'd rather feared when I left home for the Army.) I worshipped whenever I could at voluntary Services (dodged compulsory Services whenever possible - I detested them, and had done so back in NZ.), and at the Italian Methodiste Chiesa (church) in Florence (where we were stationed finally in Florence for about four months). My Italian was good enough then to be able to share fully in the Service....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, sometime on that day would read John 14. As you can guess, that chapter remains something extra-special for me still."

Personal devotions - pretty brief, but real. And (this applied especially to my active service years) The memory of my home Church, and the realization that I was in their and my Family's prayer concern.

CHURCH ARMY.

6. Because of connection of others.
7. By reading, (Bible?) worship and study.
8. Took part in or conducted services whenever possible(sic) Read the Daily Office i.e. Moring(sic) and Evening Prayer when-ever possible. Attended services conducted by Anglican Chaplains when ever possible.

STUDENTS.

9. Regular attendance at all Unit Services when held; lengthy discussions with Christian friends, plus debates, arguments and odd times of prayer together, as well as a regular Bible reading and what other study books I could

borrow. Three months in Palestine was a great privilege for me, plus opportunities to visit places of Biblical interest and the period of study (for two weeks or three weeks I think) when leave granted to return to Jerusalem to the School for Theological Students mentioned above.

10. Personal "devotional diaries" and the like. Occasional church services - in the unit and in places where the unit was located e.g. Cairo when in Egypt. Bible class led by the unit chaplain on one or two locations e.g 1943/4.
11. Principally reading the bible & by prayer & getting to Bible study classes when they were put on by the Padre.

19. (A) Was the Cross-Section Christian influence socially evident in the soldier of WW2. (B) Were there present a different set of values between the professional and civilian combatant.

YMCA SECRETARIES.

- 1.
2. Some rejected it entirely, perhaps a "carry over" from "civilian life" in NZ., but a significant impact was definitely a powerful influence in soldier conduct, tolerance, understanding and forbearance.
3. Yes. It was obvious by behaviour at times that those who came from a church family behaved in a quiet way.
4. Yes. I think so. There was less veneer with the soldier. The seemingly strong at home were often weak in the forces. The seemingly weak ----- they had an inner strength.
5. I don't know.

CHURCH ARMY.

6. All P.O.Ws were reasonably young and had the experience of being made a POW or being shot down (had his wings clipped!)
- 7.
8. 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.

STUDENTS.

9. I would think so, and generally held in respect, through may have been a pain in the neck to the occasional ardent anti-Church "thinker" often to the fore. (I am aware of affecting some soldiers that way myself.) - for which I feel a sense of shame.
10. Probably few of us who were consistently teetotallers than usual in civilian life, and more who followed others to the brothels of ports of call sailing to the Middle east and exploring certain areas of e.g. city and Cairo - probilely(sic) some just as "sightseers" (Never felt any desire myself for the latter!)
11. Not that I noticed.

(B)

YMCA SECRETARIES.

- 1.
2. I haven't noticed any real variation in recognition of values in all ranks. Your later question - a bit wide for me - but I must admit a social gap is, or seems inevitable at times.
3. We saw few professional combatants.
4. Don't know.
5. I don't know.

CHURCH ARMY

- 6.
7. No not in my experience.
8. Our Officers and men came from civilian life to serve their country in whatever capacity their skills best fitted.

STUDENTS.

9. Not sure what is meant here by "professional" - ? Army or Church - most a closed subject in the ranks regarding combat; but if personal morality is implied, or personal moral viewpoint, not easy to give an answer as we had few contacts with civilians or overseas service.

10. Can't comment on this.

11. None discernible.

20. If you care to would you give an account of a significant military action which had a profound effect upon you.

YMCA SECRETARIES.

1.

2. Forwarded as a donation towards this study a copy of the typed: *History of the YMCA in the Pacific War.*

3.

4. There was a good deal of heart break when folk stationed at Tonga - who became friends - were killed in landings further north.

5. I had my 21st birthday - February 1944 - at the Battle of Cassino. I wasn't aware of any notable effect, but there must have been some impact.

CHURCH ARMY.

6.

7. *Not in a combat zone. (Ed)*

8.

STUDENTS.

9. Ill health precludes serious attention to this question.

10. Not involved in any action at all directly.

11.

21. Would you consider providing several hundred words in addition to the above questions which would recount any experience you consider to be pertinent to the research and study.

YMCA SECRETARIES

1. My duties were mainly in providing a postal service, handling the Station mail, providing a cafeteria service, taking an interest in the Airmen, particularly when there was no chaplain(sic), and organizing entertainment where possible.

- 2.
3. Refer letter attached brief biographical note.
4. Don't feel I have anything to contribute.
5. In the Spring of 1945, after we'd been bogged down on the edge of the Po Valley (quite extensive plains), North Italy, all winter, we began to chase the Germans and were moving forward every few days, sometimes daily. I was friendly with Ken Thornton (one of the more enlightened products of the B.T.I. who'd preached in many Auckland Methodist churches and knew some of the people I knew) YMCA Secretary to the whole of NZASC, but stationed with the Petrol Company where I was, at the time a clerk in the Company Orderly Room. Ken's driver took ill and went off to hospital. He needed someone to drive the YMCA van to each new location. It suited me for it had two bunks in it saved my erecting a bivvy at each new location...after ...three weeks...came the end of the war. Ken needed a new permanent driver...at first part-time...then, permanently I became...YMCA assistant.

CHURCH ARMY.

- 6.
7. The CA officers were always available to talk with personnel on any matters, day or evening, this sometimes dealt with personal matters. I had one experience of being asked to help an ill NZWAC. with Christian counselling (sic) in the absence of a chaplain, but in my case I had to rely on my experience of life.

When I arrived on Norfolk all army personnel had left, and the rear guard about a month before I arrived. I wore army uniform though I was serving on a air-force station. The YMCA was not part of the Welfare Service on Norfolk.

8. Overall and through all one learned to trust God whose providential love and care had brought one thus far and who would carry one through.

One learned to take things as they came, trust God and the other fellow and to do the best job one could do in the circumstances. Like an umpire - one should not waver.

It can be said that it is a good thing to be thrown-back upon one's own resources. It is then that one realizes one's own weakness, the strength of God and the worth of others.

The Armed man on the other side also has the right to be respected for his faith in the Creator and for his personal sense of duty. One's disagreement is with his "boss".

STUDENTS.

9. Ill health precludes me from considering the question.

10.

11. Early in the war I met an Australian soldier in our hospital. When I got talking to him, he pulled out a New Testament with a hole in it. "See this," he said, "It saved my life. I had it in my top pocket along with my paybook which had a fifty akker(piaster) piece in it. An Itai bullet came along going straight for my heart. It hit the N.T . which slowed it up a bit & then went through the paybook & hit the edge of the 50 akker piece which deflected it enough to go through the fleshy part of my ribs & out through my back" I consider this to be a physical illustration of what happened to me spiritually.

THE END

APPENDIX B
THE BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX

APPENDIX B

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Barrowclough, Major General L. The Rt. Hon. PC. KCMG. CB. DSO. MC. ED. Born 1894. Former Chief Justice of NZ. Enlisted as a private WW1. Commanded 4 Bn NZRB at the end of the war. Territorial Officer till 1939. Commanded 6 Bde 2 (NZ) Div. 2NZEF. Mjr General 3 (NZ) Div. in Pacific until disbanded 1944. Returned to legal profession post WW2. Judge of the High court.

Bicknell, Captain N. E. ED., m.i.d. (Salvation Army) 2NZEF 1939-1943. Chaplains' Department. Wounded in action. Chaplain Class 1. Chaplain Commandant RNZCh.D. 1961-65. Living in retirement in Auckland.

Borrie, Dr. John Borrie MBE ED Born Otago 1915. Educated John McGlashan College, Otago University. MB. Ch.M. FRCS. FRACS. Doctor, (Captain) NZ Army Medical Corps. 2NZEF 1940. Captured 1941-45. Author of over 100 articles on surgery. q.v. *Who's Who in New Zealand*. 12th Edition Reed Wellington. 1991. pp.66-67.

Burton, Rev'd Ormond E. MA. M.M., M.d'H. Born Auckland 1893. Auckland University MA, teacher, WW1 two bravery awards. Commissioned in the field 2\Lt. Post war worked for YMCA and NZ Alliance. Worked as a labourer, and contested parliament as a Christian Socialist. Entered Methodist Ministry 1935 Webb St Church Wellington. Founder and Chairman of the NZ Christian Pacifist Society. Imprisoned four times following outbreak of WW2. Expelled from the Methodist ministry 1942. Cleaner Wellington College, then acting head and Headmaster 1954-55. Re-admitted to Methodist Ministry 1955. Opotiki parish, Retired 1960. Extensive writer of WW1 NZEF Divisional history, orthodox theology and critic of English literature. New Zealand's leading Christian Pacifist. Died January 7 1974.

Dawson, Rev'd Fredrick Oberlin. MC. Anglican Priest. Chaplain 2NZEF. 18 Battalion Middle East and Italy. Senior Chaplain 2.(NZ) Div. late 1945. Returned to NZ as a parish priest until retirement.

Dixon, Rev'd Ian. (Pres) Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1942-45. 9 Infantry Brigade. Served Italy 1943-45.

Falloon, Very Rev'd George. OBE. MC. BA. (Pres) (1911-1988) Left school aged 14 in depression years. Farm worker. University of Otago & Knox Theological Hall, BA

1938. President Student Christian Movement NZ rep Madras 1938. Chaplains' Department 1943-55. Served in Pacific and Middle East and Territorial Army post war. Moderator of the General Assembly Presbyterian Church of NZ 1971. Retired to Christchurch 1977. An active representative his church in the ecumenical movement post 1945. Died in Christchurch 1988.

Francis, William. Rev'd. Methodist Minister. Chaplains' Department 2NZE Middle East and Italy 1941-45. President Methodist Conference of NZ 1968. Denominational representative on the Dominion Church Union Committee post WW2.

Freyberg, HE General Sir Bernard Cyril. VC. GCMG. CMG. KCB. CB. KBE. DSO.(3 Bars) LL.D.(St Andrews) DCL (Oxford) Most decorated General in the British Army. Born London 1889. Died 1963. Former GG of New Zealand, Lt Governor of Windsor Castle, late Grenadier Guards. Educated Wellington College NZ, 1907 Wellington 'D' Battery NZ Volunteer Artillery. Admitted NZ Dentists Register 1911. Energetic swimmer and practised dentistry Te Aroha. Commissioned 2/Lt. Hauraki Regiment NZ Territorial Forces 20 November 1911. Special Constable Auckland strike 1913. Left NZ 27 March 1914.

Fought in Mexican Revolution early 1914, on declaration of WW1 commissioned in the Royal Naval Division. This began his long association with Winston Churchill. Distinguished WW1 service awarded VC at Gallipoli. Regular soldier British Army, various commands. App'd General Officer Commanding New Zealand Forces October 1939-45. Commander-in-chief Allied Forces Crete 1941. Knight of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (NZ) Priory.

Known among New Zealand soldiers as "Tiny" Freyberg. He was by nature long suffering, patient, forgiving, and encouraging. Men followed him not only because of his character and leadership ability, but because he understood the Kiwi ethos. q.v. Freyberg, Paul. *Bernard Freyberg VC Soldier of Two Nations* Hodder & Stoughton Auckland 1991.

Forsman, Rev'd Father Edward MA. Born Auckland 1909. Studied Roman Catholic priesthood Rome 1932-36. Ordained Rome 1936. Enlisted Chaplains' Department 1939. 2NZE 1940-45. Fluent in Italian and German languages. Many poetical works. Parish Priest Ponsonby post WW2. One-time lecturer in Philosophy Auckland University. Died Auckland 1976. Biography *E. A. Forsman Priest, Poet, Padre* published privately 1992 by his brother William.

Gerard, Rt. Rev'd George Vincent. CBE. MC. m.i.d. (CofE) Chaplain Cl.2. Born Rotherham Yorkshire, England 24 November 1898. Officer, Royal East Kent Regiment. 1917-18. Awarded Military Cross 1918. Active provincial representative footballer. Ordained Anglican Priest, Timaru December 1923. Bishop of Waiapu 1938-44. Only Bishop to serve with 2NZE. Senior Chaplain 2NZE 1940 - 41. POW Sidi Rezegh November 1941. Repatriated with assistance of Vatican April 1943. Senior Chaplain 3 (NZ) Div. NZE(IP) from April-December 1944. Resigned See August 1944. Returned to UK post-war. Assistant Bishop of Sheffield & Resident Canon of Sheffield Cathedral, United Kingdom 1945. Active retirement c1963. Died 14 January 1984.

Gleig, Rev'd G. R. MA. (1796-1880) Lieut. 85th Light Infantry. Served Peninsula War. 1814. American-British War 1815. Ordained Priest of Anglican Church 1820. Oxford MA 1821. Chaplain General British Army Chaplains' Department. (1844-75) Prebendary of St Pauls. Inspector of Military Schools (1848) Reformer of the Chaplains' Department. Prolific military and educational writer.

Goffin, Brigadier J. Dean. (SA) MBE. Mus.Bac. (Otago) Son of Salvation Army Officers. Divisional Commander Northern Division 1969. Born Wellington 1916. 2NZE Band Master 4 Bde 2NZE 1940-45. Captain. Musical Director of the SA in England 1956-66. Composer of fifty pieces of music.

Green, Rev'd Frank. MBE. Presbyterian Minister. Born Roxburgh 1912. University of Otago and Knox College. Enlisted 2NZE Chaplains Department 1941.- 45. Entered Regular Army 1947. Royal New Zealand Chaplains' Dept. Served K Force Korea 1951-52. Malayan Emergency with SAS 1957. Burnham Military Camp 1963. Retired 1970.

Griffiths, Rev'd Robert J. MBE. (Pres) Born Gisborne 1905. Enlisted 2 NZE Chaplains' Department 1940. Captured in Crete 23 May 1941. Exercised ministry within prisoner of war camps until 1945 awarded MBE. Ian Ryburn states Bob Griffiths was the only Presbyterian Minister he saw during his entire five years of captivity.

Grigg, Major Arthur Nattle. m.i.d. MC. Born 1897. Sheep Farmer, Banks Peninsula. Active member of the community between the wars. Anglican Church Warden. 5th Field Regiment NZ Artillery. 2NZE. Killed in Action November 29 1941.

Hankey, Donald. Born 1884. Royal Military Academy

Woolwich. 1901. Commissioned Royal Artillery. 1904. Reading theology, Oxford. c1908. Clergy School 1911, Enlisted WW1 1914. Commissioned as combatant. Killed in Action, October 1916. Wrote several titles, two published posthumously. His essays had a considerable following during the last years of WW1 and into the 1930s

Hargest, Brigadier James. CBE. DSO. MC. (1891 -1944) A Southlander born in Gore and served in the 1NZEF during WW1. aide-de-camp Governor General, sheep farmer of Invercargill. MP for Awarua 1931-44. Brigadier 5 Bde 2NZEF Campaigned in Greece, Crete and Middle East. Captured 1941 and escaped 1943. Highest ranking British officer to escape POW camp during WW2. Posted to command NZ POW Rehabilitation Depot England. Killed in Action in France August 1944 while attached to 50th Division. It was his custom to "pop over" to France for the weekend and look at the war. A vital enthusiastic officer with a deep concern for his men. A man who has been the source of much criticism and direct blame for the loss of the Crete campaign. He was considered by his critics to be too elderly and fixed in his tactical thinking to be a Brigade Commander in WW2. It is true he continued to keep his hand in active politics while serving overseas.

He wrote the story of his escape as a POW "*Farewell Campo 12*" (several editions) shortly before he died. He was a practising Anglican layman.

Harford, Rev'd Wally. (Church of Christ) Ch.Cl.3. Chaplains' Department 1942-45. 37 Battalion in Pacific. 2NZEF (IP) Served RNZAF chaplain post war, Senior Chaplain RNZAF, retired and died while filling a locum in Tasmania Australia. Active involvement following the war in the NZ ecumenical movement.

Harper, Rev'd Keith. Anglican Priest. Born UK 1904. Parish Priest Southern Westland until enlistment in the Chaplains' Department 1941. 2NZEF Middle East and Italy. Served with 4th Field Regiment until his death 22 February 1944 aged 40 years. Harper established a reputation as a good mixer and an extremely effective chaplain.

Hiddlestone, Rev'd John. MBE. ED. Baptist Minister. First world War soldier. Trained for Baptist Ministry at Knox Theological Hall. Territorial Army Chaplain from 1928. Recalled to Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1940. Senior Chaplain (Cl.3) Other Protestant Denominations. Captured Crete May 1941. On release from prison camp

Padre Hiddlestone returned to New Zealand in 1945. He was unable to resume parish duties in the Baptist Church and later entered the ministry of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand in 1946. He bore the marks of his WW2 service until his death.

Hopkins, Rev'd Ivor H. m.i.d. OBE. (CofE) Born Dunedin 1908. Priest Anglican Parish of Temuka on enlistment into Chaplains' Department 1940. 2NZEF. 1940-45. POW 27 May 1941-May 1945. Parish Priest, until Chaplain and later Senior Chaplain Justice Department. 1959-68. Ret'd to Christchurch 1968.

Huata, Rev'd Wi. MC. (CofE) Born Hastings 1917. Anglican Priest. Enlisted 2NZEF 28 (Maori) Chaplains' Department 2NZEF Middle East 1943-44. Presented over 100 men for confirmation in his period as chaplain to 28 (Maori) Battalion. Post-war parish priest.

Hurst, Rev'd W, CBE. MA. (CofE) Born 1912. Trained at Trinity College Belfast. Commissioned Chaplains' Department 1940. 2NZEF 22 Battalion, POW 1941-45. Canon St Paul's Cathedral Dunedin. Died 1987.

Jamieson, Rev'd Roy MBE. ED. (1904 - 1968) Methodist Minister. 2NZEF 1940-43. MBE for services during evacuation from Greece 1941. Senior Chaplain 2 (NZ) Div. 2NZEF part of 1943. Senior denominational Chaplain Methodist Church of NZ 1955-68. Former Methodist Home missionary Ohai-Nightcaps and Ordained before being commissioned as a Territorial Army chaplain in 1938. First Methodist ministerial appointment to the Union Parish of Raglan, 1943. Chaplain Commandant Chaplain Class 1. Royal NZ Chaplains' Department 1963-68. Died 1968.

Judson, Rev'd Reginald Frank. MC. (Pres) Son of Reginald Stanley Judson DCM. MM. VC. Judson enlisted as a private soldier in 1940 and served as a medical orderly till commissioned at the request of the Presbyterian Church. Posted to 24 Battalion and returned to a post-war parish.

Kingan, Rev'd Father Jesse. MC. m.i.d. BA. (RC) Born 1901. Ordained priest 1929. Lecturer Scripture, Moral theology and liturgy Silverstream College till 1940. commissioned NZ Chaplains Department 1940. Served Middle East and Italy. Wounded at Cassino. Parish Priest following his discharge from the 2NZEF and Roman Catholic representative on the Ch.DAC.

Liggett, Rev'd Kenneth Chaplain Cl.2. (CofE) Born

England 29 April 1905. Chaplain to "N" Force, Norfolk Island October 1942-April 1943. Senior Chaplain 3 (NZ) Div. 2NZE (IP) New Caledonia. 1943 - April 1944. Liggett is recalled by Norfolk Islanders as a man of gentle manners and a gifted pianist. His chaplains recall him as an absolute Christian gentleman.

Love, Lt. Col. E. T. W. Taranaki born and former Lt and later company Commander Wellington Regiment, fifteen years experience in Territorial Army. Appointed to NZ Army Temporary Staff on outbreak of war 1939. Temporary commander 28 Battalion November 1941. First Maori to command the 28 (Maori) Battalion appointed May 1942. KIA 12 July 1942.

Mathews, Rev'd John. G. (Pres) NZ Chaplains' Department. 2NZE 1943-46. Minister Mayfield Presbyterian Church until enlistment.

Mills, Rev'd William (Meth) Ordained 1939. Enlisted 2 NZE Medical Orderly 1940. B Force Fiji, Commissioned Chaplain 1942. 2NZE 1940-45 Without pastoral charge on return to New Zealand due to sickness. Removed to Australia circa 1969. Remained without pastoral charge.

Morrison, Brigadier William Richard Kimmitt DSO. OBE. Born Te Awamutu 23 January 1914. Regular Army Officer, Royal Military College Duntroon 1939. 2 NZE Greece and North Africa, twice wounded. GSO2 Army Hq. Wellington NZ. 1944-45. Staff RMC Duntroon 1946-48. C of S SMD. Christchurch 1949-50. Staff College UK 1951. Commandant Army Schools & Dir. training 1953-57. CO. I. NZ Inf. Regt. Malaya 1958-59. Commandant Waiouru MC. 1960-62. Commander Fiji Military Forces. Anglican Synodman. Retired from the Regular Army 1967.

McDowall, Very Rev'd R. G. MA. ED. (Pres) Born Riverton 1898. Educated South Boy's High School. Otago University and Knox Theological Hall Dunedin and Scotland. Visited Italy. Chaplain Territorial Forces from 1928. (Auckland Regiment) Minister St Lukes Presbyterian Church Remuera on enlistment into 2NZE 1940. Captured during November 1941. Released May 1945. Discharged Reserve Ch.Cl.2. His diary, kept during captivity is a valuable theological and social document. A copy is in the Auckland War Memorial Museum. Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly of New Zealand 1957. Died Auckland 1963. Before his death he supported strongly the move towards Church Union between Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

McLaren, Rev'd Fergus MA. Born Otago 1914. Educated at

Otago Boy's High School Dunedin. Interested in Rover Scouting. Member of Toc.H. Otago University MA Hons. President Knox Theological Hall Student's Union. Ordained Minister Presbyterian Church 1940. Enlisted 2NZEF 3rd Echelon. Commissioned 2\Lt. Killed in Action Greece 27 April 1941. His MA thesis was published as *"The Auckland Islands. Their Eventful History: Reed 1948 with an introduction by Angus Ross MC MA.*

McKenzie, Very Rev'd James William CBE. MM. ED. BA. (Pres) Chap. Class 1. Born Woodend, Southland 1 January 1888. Southland Rugby Rep. 1 NZEF 1915-19. Awarded Military Medal. Ordained Presbyterian ministry 1919. Parish minister, Stratford, Port Chalmers and Epsom. Appointed Assembly Chaplaincy Committee 1939 and Presbyterian representative to the NZCh.D prior to 1939. Sailed with 3rd Echelon 1940 as Chaplain Cl.2. Posted to 6 Field Regt NZA. Senior Chaplain (Cl.1.) of 2NZEF December 1941-44. Was held in special regard by his most senior ranking parishioner General Sir Bernard Freyberg. "Pray for me Mac, everyone needs prayers from time to time." Known among troops for playing the violin at worship services. Returned to NZ exhausted in health aged 56 years, he commented to J. K. Watson, "I've had enough of the army John." Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly of NZ 1945. Chaplain Commandant RNZCh.D. from December 1948 to March 1954. Died Auckland 17 July 1970.

Ngata, Hon. Sir Apirna Turupa. Born 1874. BA Canterbury University College 1893, MA Hons, LL.B. 1896, MP for eastern Maori 1905. Acting-Attorney General, Minister for Maori Affairs. Member NZ University Senate. Author and Father of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.

Norman, Rt Rev'd Sir Edward. DSO. MC. LM. BA. Born Napier 1916. (CofE) Bishop of Wellington. Enlisted 2NZEF 1940 while a theological student at St John's Anglican Theological College. Involved in the pre-war SCM. He did not consider himself an academic and believed strongly that he ought to enlist rather than seek the role of a non combatant. Promoted from ranks to Lt Colonel and Commanded 25 Battalion 2 (NZ) Div. From among the theological students in the 2NZEF he rose to the highest rank. His duties as CO 25 Bn. were undertaken in Italy over the closing months of the war. Chaplain, post war to the Wellington Division of the RNZNV. Retired and died in Wellington.

Palmer, Rev'd G. G. m.i.d. (CofE) Born Christchurch 1909. 2NZEF Chaplains' Department 1940-44. POW 27 November 1941 - 2 January 1942. Post-war returned to

parish ministry.

Penhall, Rev'd Archibald Joseph. (CofE) Chaplain to the Forces within New Zealand 1941-43. Resigned commission on his failure to be appointed as a chaplain to the 2NZEF which was the strong passion of his nature. He therefore enlisted into 2NZEF as private soldier early in 1943. Posted to the Long Range Desert Group he was wounded in action which resulted in his capture. He died while a POW in Greece 23rd October 1943 aged 33 years.

Perry, Sir Norman. MBE. Born 1914. YMCA Field Secretary to 28 (Maori) Battalion 2NZEF 1942-44. Wounded in Italy. Had a long association with Maori Ringatu Church and Sir Apirana Ngata. Sir Norman was Lay Moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly of NZ as well as five times representative from NZ to The World Council of Churches. Fluent in Maori language with an extensive and distinguished association with Maori people.

Perry, Rev'd Stewart BA. ED. (Pres) Chap.Cl.3. Enlisted while a theological student into infantry 2NZEF and served 1940-45 and was commissioned 2/Lt. in the field in 1943. Knox Theological Hall 1949-52. Ordained 1953. Parish Minister and Territorial Army Officer he rose to the rank of Major as a Company Commander in the Hauraki Regt. Appointed to Royal NZ Chaplains' Department 1960-64 at the special request of the General Assembly and made a specific contribution at Waiouru Military Camp among National Servicemen and as the post-war Admin.Off. of the Territorial Army Chaplains' School 1962. He returned to active parish ministry 1965 and in his early seventies was appointed Officiating Chaplain to Papakura Military Camp for one year in 1978.

Pierce, Rev'd Father John G. (RC) Ch.Cl.3. Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain 2NZEF(IP) NZ Chaplains Department 1942. 3 (NZ) Div. Pacific 1943-44. Parish priest in the post-war years.

Plumb, Rev'd Father B. O. (CofE) Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1941-44. NZ Medical Corps Depot. Chaplain hospital Ship HMNZHS Maunganui. Transferred to RNZAF circa 1944.

Potter, B. W. m.i.d. (Twice) YMCA Chief Commissioner 2NZEF 1944-45. Arrived Middle East 6th Reinforcements July 1941. On appointment to Commissioner Potter was a vigorous and innovative organizer. He was a dedicated layman who demanded high standards of all who served in the YMCA. After the war he compiled a type-written history of the 2NZEF and the YMCA 1939-45. This source

has proved virtually the only surviving record of YMCA work in the Middle East.

Pyatt, Rt. Rev'd Allan MA.(NZ) MA. (Cant) (CofE)
 Enlisted NZ Army 1940 while an Anglican theological student. Served 2NZE Middle East 1940-45. Promoted to Major, and aide to General Freyberg 1943-44. 2\Ic 20 NZ Armoured Regt. Dean 1962, and later Bishop of Christchurch from 1966. Commissioned Royal NZ Army Chaplains Department 1960. SCF 3 Bde Christchurch, Southern Military District Territorial Army in post-war years and known as a pastor to many Territorial Army chaplains of all denominations. Represented the Anglican Church on ecumenical committees concerned with Church Union and Military Chaplaincy in the Southern Military District.

Rishworth, Rev'd John. Wesleyan Officiating Chaplain to Waikato Militia, Waikato Military Settlers and Imperial British Forces 1864. Probationary Minister 1864-67. Ordained 1868. Later pioneer minister to gold-fields of the West Coast of the South Island of NZ. His Journal kept during 1864 when appointed a travelling full-time officiating Wesleyan chaplain is the only known surviving record of military chaplaincy during the 2nd Land War apart from casual notes left by missionaries and Bishop G. A. Selwyn.

Rolland, Jean-Baptiste. Catholic Priest. Born France 1834. Ordained Marist Priest 1861. Arrived NZ 1864. Officiating chaplain to Irish soldiers of the 14th Regiment of Foot. (British Army) Second Taranaki Land War 1864. Rector of Taranaki Roman Catholic Mission New Plymouth. Served in action and with distinction with Armed Constabulary 1868 as chaplain. Worked to establish social amenities for former soldiers. Parish priest Reefton 1884-1903 until his death. NZ Government refused to issue him with a NZ War Medal despite several petitions. Buried with full military honours at Reefton 13 July 1903.

Ryan, Rev'd Father W. E. (RC) Chaplains' Department 2NZE Pacific 1942-45. Gained the reputation in the Pacific as a "straight shooter" in regard to his direct personality. Injured in a fall from a landing vessel 1943. Post war served as parish priest in the Auckland area. Retired and under care of the Sisters of Mercy, Auckland.

Ryburn, Rev'd Ian. BA. (Pres) Knox Theological Hall Dunedin 1938. 2NZE 1940-45. Prisoner of War 1941-45. Ordination organized through the International YMCA at Genshagen POW Camp Germany October 1944. Returned to NZ

in 1945 after enquiry into his conduct and clearance of same. A keen sportsman he is remembered for his physical fitness and abilities in a number of sports activities. Retired from the Presbyterian ministry in 1981. The information regarding his activities included in this thesis is his first public and personal discussion with his approval regarding his double agent activities as a POW. Presently living in Christchurch.

Sansom, Rev'd Norman. (Pres) Commissioned Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1940 from the Southland Woodlands' Presbyterian Parish. Middle East 1940-42. NZ service 1942-45. Experimented with a style of probation for servicemen convicted of civil and military offences. His papers outlining the scheme are deposited in the Knox Theological Hall Archives. The proposal was never adopted, but he showed much foresight and ability into the nature of the problem. Post war he became a wood-work teacher Southland Technical College for over 20 years. Elected to be without pastoral charge until his retirement from school teaching. He became Parish Minister Stewart Island and Gore in the 1970s following his retirement.

Savage, Michael Joseph. 1872-1940. First Labour Prime Minister of New Zealand from 1935 until his death in 1940. His greatest contribution to the Labour movement was his personality. He had a great deal of common sense and used his political associates to his advantage. After his death his picture hung like an icon in the home of thousands of New Zealanders. He is considered still, by many New Zealanders, to be a secular saint.

Schollar, Rev'd Father Kenneth. BA. (CofE) Born circa 1903. Ordained Priest 1931. Chaplains' Department 1938. Appointed Canterbury Regiment until the outbreak of war. Posted to the Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1942-46. Served in Fiji 1943-44. Arrived Italy with the final reinforcements after the cessation of hostilities in June 1945. Chaplain RNZAF 1950-58. Senior Chaplain RNZAF 1958-62. Chaplain to Cathedral Grammar School 1966-72 and a language teacher till 1983. Died 1994.

Sheely, Rev'd Father William. (RC) Born 1907. Enlisted 2NZEF Chaplains' Department 1940. Prisoner of War November 1941 - May 1945. A man of quiet disposition. Correspondence between Bishop Liston and Sheely In_LIS 111. Ponsonby Catholic Archives and it contains much interesting material which was unable to be used in this thesis.

Smith, George, Chaplain (CofE) Born UK 1845. St Augustine College 1868, Ordained Deacon 1871 priest 1872 in South Africa. Missionary from 1870 with the SPCG. Appointed Estcourt Mission Parish 1872. Appointed chaplain Volunteer Corps 1873. Attached 24th Volunteer Regiment 1878. Served at Battle of Rorkes Drift. Offered a VC or a Chaplaincy in the Army - he accepted the latter. 1 January 1880 Army Chaplains Department Aldershot, served Tel-el-Kebir 1882. Died 1918.

Somerville, Very Rev. Dr John S. (Pres) ONZ. CMG. MC. Chstj. Retired Master Knox Theological Hall Dunedin. Ordained 1938. NZ Chaplains' Department 1942-46 directly from the Otago parish of Tapanui. He served in Italy with the 19 Armd. Regt. Moderator General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church 1959-60. An active representative of his church within the ecumenical movement over the post-war years.

Spence, Rev'd George Archibald Douglas. OBE. MC. ED. m.i.d. (Pres) Chaplain Cl.1. Born Fielding 8 February 1901. Parish Minister. Chaplain to 2NZEF 1939-45. Wounded 17 July 1942. Senior Chaplain 2NZEF 30 April 1944- 16 October 1945. Minister Seatoun Presbyterian Parish 1946-51. Mornington Presbyterian Parish 1951-66. Chaplain Commandant RNZCh.D. 1 April 1954 - 31 March 1958. Died Wellington 10 January 1974.

Sullivan, Dean Martin. (CofE) Ordained priest 1934. Anglican parish priest in NZ until his enlistment as a chaplain 2 NZEF 1941-45. Dean of St Paul's London. England 1967. Dean Martin held strong views on Anglican re-union with sister NZ denominations before he moved to his position at St Paul's in London. He wrote *Watch How You Go* Hodder & Stoughton 1975.

Spring, Rev'd Father Leo. OBE m.i.d. (RC) Born Napier 1901. Senior Roman Catholic Chaplain 2NZEF. Father Spring was remembered as breaking down denominational walls, he was ecumenical in outlook. His personality was outgoing and fun loving. Some described him as a perfect parish priest. He had strong characters to contend with - Forsman among them. The latter penned a line...*the seasons give us winter, God has given us Spring.*"

Taylor, Rev'd Harry "Kaitaia" DSO. OBE. (CofE) Enlisted Chaplains' Department 1940. 2NZEF 1940-45. Nick-named "Harry Kaitaia" as it was the parish he had been in before enlistment. Post-war chaplain to the Royal NZ Navy and served in Korea 1953. He was over-age and unofficially present in the Borneo Campaign of 1966-67.

Retired RNZN 1976. His former WW2 Regiment raised a fund to his memorial for an annual scholarship at St Stephen's Anglican College. If the NZ Army has a legendary chaplain Harry "Kaitaia" Taylor is that individual.

Thompson, Captain Bill. (Salvation Army) Chaplains' Department 1940-45. Fiji 1940-41. 2NZEF Middle East & Italy 1941-45. 7 Anti-Tank Regiment. He did not return to Salvation Army work on his discharge from the army. He was an active member of the Canterbury Officers Club for a number of years. He wrote the title *The God Botherer*. (1976) He died in Christchurch 1979.

Thorpe, Rev'd David. (CofE) Parish Priest South Westland on enlistment 1940. 2NZEF Chaplains Department until returned to NZ through sickness in late 1943. 22 Battalion. TV1 prepared a production *Padre* largely from 8mm film taken by Thorpe and screened nation-wide on Anzac day 1991. He was a man of deep spiritual sensitivities and retired to Hamner Springs where he died in 1993.

Urban, Pope. 2nd. Pope of the Catholic Church, Rome. 1088-1099. The promoter of the first Crusade.

Underhill, Dean Michael L. CBE. m.i.d. MA. (Oxford). (CofE) Born Glasgow 1910. Educated Queens College Oxford and Westcott House and Theological College. Officer Cadet Unit Oxford University pre-war. Comm. NZ Army Chaplains' Department 1940. 2NZEF 1941-46. Historian and author of *The Chaplains' Official War History*. 1950. Chaplain Commandant (Ch.Cl.1) Royal New Zealand Chaplains' Department 1983-86. One-time Dean of Christchurch Cathedral ret'd 1980. Lecturer at Post War Territorial Army Chaplains Schools and Retreats. Retired in Rangiora.

Watson, Rev'd John K. BA. MC. (Meth) Trinity Methodist Theological College, Auckland 1937-40. Ordained Cairo 1943. Enlisted as a Medical Orderly, 2NZEF 1940-43. NZ Army Chaplains Department 1943-46. Youth Director Methodist Church 1946-49. Watson was a man of deep humility and a faithful parish minister. He died in 1976 His *War Diary* is perhaps the finest yet to come to hand from a literary, historical, military and theological perspective by a chaplain of WW2. Together with the *War Diary* of Very Rev'd Bob McDowall both diaries constitute with Father Forsman's poetry the best religious writing by chaplains to arise from WW2 experience.

Watson, Keith John. Rev'd m.i.d. (Pres) Enlisted

Chaplains' Department 2NZEF 1940, posted 24 Battalion. Captured in November 1941. Mentioned in Despatches. Repatriated 1945. Withdrew from the Presbyterian ministry after the war. Those who served with him speak of his devotion, courage and love of his men.

Walker, Rev'd William (Willie) (Meth) Chaplain 1NZEF France 1917-1918. Territorial Army Chaplain. President of the Methodist Church of New Zealand 1942-3. Lecturer at both Army Schools for Chaplains Trentham 1942-43. Anecdotal evidence suggests he held the Methodist Conference together in 1942, avoiding schism over the matter of Ormand Burton's attitude towards war. Walker was born in UK and emigrated to NZ early this century. Died c1970. Before his death he wrote up the material used in this thesis under his name and left it with the writer. Walker is an example of a churchman who believed the Imperial aspects of post-war British power and leadership was a responsibility from God to be exercised through the British Commonwealth of which New Zealand was a part.

Wanoa. Rev'd N. T. (CofE) Enlisted private soldier 2NZEF 1939 Maori Battalion. Wounded May 1941. Commissioned in the field. NZ Army Chaplains' Department September 1942-44. Chaplain to 28 (Maori) Battalion.

Warren, Rt. Rev'd A. K. (CofE) CMG. MC. Born 1900. Educated Magadalen College Oxford. BA Hons. MA. Ordained 1925. Chaplains' Department 1943-45. 2NZEF 1944-45. Wounded in Italy April 1945. Bishop of Christchurch. 1951-66. Chairman National Council of Churches, Sub Prelate Ven. Order of St John of Jerusalem. Died Christchurch 1988. It will be noted A. K. Warren was 44 years of age when he was wounded while serving with a line infantry regiment in the last weeks of the war in 1945. An Anglican with a deep interest in the challenge to re-Union with other churches.

White, Hon. Sir John. Kt. MBE. m.i.d. LL.M. Born 1911. Staff Officer (Major) and Secretary aide to General Freyberg 1940-45. Lawyer, and Judge of the High Court of NZ. Presbyterian Elder and Judge Advocate of the NZ Military Forces. Author of many legal papers. Presbyterian Layman. Gave his advice and assistance in the use of the term "*colour of right*" as used within this thesis.

Witheford, Rev'd Arthur BA. (Meth) son of a Methodist Home Missionary, began a career as a bank clerk. Entered Trinity Methodist Theological College 1934-36.

Ordained 1940. Commissioned as a chaplain 1942 and appointed to Garrison duties in NZ. Posted to 2 NZEF(IP) Anti-Aircraft Regiment 1944 until Division disbanded. Served on Mono Island. President of the Methodist Church of NZ 1965-66. Active on ecumenical committees and secretary to the Board of Examiners for ordination candidates as well being a Synod District Chairman in several areas of New Zealand. Died 1984.

Whitten, Rev'd Bert (Baptist) Baptist Theological College Auckland 1936-39. Enlisted 1940 as medical orderly. Promoted to Sergeant. Captured December 1941. POW Camps in Italy and Germany. Acting Chaplain with the authority of the Protecting Power from 1943 among POW in Germany until May 1945. Published reminiscences of his experiences for his family. Parish Minister post war, and Chaplain to the RNZAF (Cl.3) 1955-59. Died 1993.

 Information contained in the biographical appendix was provided by immediate families, obituaries published in Church periodicals, personal papers, interviews, and the *Who's Who in New Zealand*, Reed, Auckland. Series One to Twelve volumes published between 1908-1991.

APPENDIX C
STATISTICAL

APPENDIX CTABLE 1.

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Contribution of Clergy to the WW2 Chaplaincy and 2NZEF & estimated Church Membership. 1939-45.

| <u>Denomination.</u> | <u>1.</u> | <u>2.</u> | <u>3.</u> | <u>4.</u> | <u>5.</u> | <u>6</u> | <u>7</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-------------|-----------|------------|---------------|
| Church of England----- | 44.25% | 40.28% | 478 | 85 | 17.78% | 69 | 4.33% |
| Presbyterian----- | 27.10% | 24.66% | 418 | 73 | 17.46% | 40 | 5.8% |
| Roman Catholic----- | 15.10% | 13.09% | 393 | 43 | 10.94% | 24 | 8.6% |
| Methodist----- | 8.75% | 8.11% | 311 | 26 | 8.36% | 17 | 2.55% |
| Baptist----- | 2.20% | 1.66% | 86 | 6 | 6.97% | 3 | 1.18% |
| Salvation Army----- | 1.10% | .84% | 125 | 11 | 8.8% | 4 | 1.0% |
| Ch of Christ----- | .90% | .75% | 32 | 4 | 12.5% | 2 | .50% |
| Congregational----- | .60% | .48% | 32 | 4 | 12.5% | 2 | .20% |
| Hebrew Congregations----- | .19% | .18% | 4 | 1. | 25% | Nil | - |
| <u>TOTALS</u> | | | <u>1879.</u> | <u>253.</u> | | <u>161</u> | <u>24.16%</u> |

KEY

1. Percentage of soldiers declaring adherence to a religious denomination on enlistment.
2. Civilian Population Census: *Religious Denominations 1936.*
3. Ministers of Religion registered with the Department of Justice for each Denomination. 1940.
4. Numbers of clergy commissioned into all Armed Forces (Army, Navy and Air) chaplaincies. 1939-45.
5. Percentage of denominational clergy commissioned as chaplains in all services.
6. The number of denominational chaplains **serving in 2NZEF only** 1940-1945.
7. The estimated percentage of each denominations active

male church membership compared with the total male population. Figures extracted from civilian Church records and chaplains estimates. 1940-44. Percentages are based on a male proportion of the total NZ population of 1.5 million.

NOTES.

- A. The major part of the above information in col.7 has been extracted from the *Population Census-Religious Professions 1936 and 1945*. 2NZEF Administration Records, available Church youth, bible class Union, YMCA, and church membership statistics. Only the Presbyterian Church estimated its attendance at public worship on the basis of national population figures. Anglicans used Easter and Christmas communicants and worship attendances as an indication.
- B. The numbers of chaplains in the 2NZEF are extracted from the Official Nominal Roll.
- C. Known **ordained** clergy who enlisted as combatants, medical orderlies or YMCA Field Secretaries. This list is not complete owing to records being lost or destroyed.

| | | |
|---------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| C of E. | Rev'd N. T. Wanoa. | Later Commissioned. |
| | Rev'd A. J. Penhall. | Soldier. Died of Wounds |
| Pres. | Rev'd R. F. Judson. MC | Later Commissioned. |
| | Rev'd F. McLaren. | Soldier. Killed in Action. |
| Meth. | Rev'd H. Burley MM | Medical Orderly |
| | Rev'd W. Mills. | Later Commissioned. |
| | Rev'd J. Watson. MC | " |
| | Rev'd J. Willoughby | " |
| | Rev'd W. Silvester MM | Coast Watcher. |
| Bapt. | Rev'd Bert Whitten | Medical Orderly |
| Cong. | Rev'd A Muriel | YMCA Secretary |
| | Rev'd G. Johnson | YMCA Secretary |

- D. The Presbyterian Church of NZ estimated in 1943 there were 4000 of its communicants serving in the 2 NZEF, including the Pacific. This was almost 6% of its total membership.

The Methodist Church estimated that in any one year between 1940 - 44 some 1500 communicant members and 5000 adherents served in 2 NZEF. This figure seems accurate when compared with the figures of the Presbyterian Church which was slightly more than three times larger.

The only Anglican figure available indicates that during Easter 1944 at Maadi Camp 15% of all Anglicans attended Holy Communion. An estimate of Anglicans at Maadi over that period is placed at about 1800.

Anecdotal evidence shows that at Maadi, on average, over 50% of all Roman Catholics participated in services of Mass during a single week period.

There are no clear figures or estimates available from other churches.

- E. One Jewish chaplain was commissioned into the Territorial Army during WW2 but he did not serve overseas with the 2NZEF. An estimated 100 New Zealand Jews enlisted into the 2NZEF.

APPENDIX D
2NZEf and 2NZEf(IP) CHAPELS

APPENDIX D.**2NZEF and 2NZEF(IP) Chapels and Church contacts****MIDDLE EAST****1. Maadi 6 Division 2NZEF Egypt**

With the aid of Patriotic Funds the YMCA erected a social and Chapels complex in Maadi early in 1940. There was a separate building for Roman Catholic worship with provision for chaplains' offices. There was some dissension concerning the erection of a Salvation Army Hut, as well as a proposed Roman Catholic Institute, both of which the 2NZEF Administration was unable to approve. Permanent buildings such as chapels and YMCA welfare buildings were funded from the National Patriotic Fund Board. The New Zealand authorities, during the first year of the war failed to communicate the Welfare policy to the HQ 2NZEF. This left the 2NZEF in a difficult situation not knowing the mind of the Government on such an important matter.

The Lowry Hut Facilities, under the direction of the YMCA, were opened in 1941, a gift from Mr & Mrs T. W. Lowry of Hawke's Bay.

There were chapels attached to General hospitals, but little is known about their use.

Chaplains and service personnel frequently worshipped in Cairo where there were a number of denominational churches. One chaplain organized groups to worship at the Anglican Cathedral. Other churches which welcomed New Zealanders included St Andrew's Presbyterian Church, St John's Methodist Church, a Baptist (Armenian) congregation, the Roman Catholic Cathedral, and a much visited Roman Catholic Church and Convent at Maadi. There was an active Brethren Assembly in Cairo which was well attended by New Zealanders.

Egypt was an area of missionary enterprise where the Baptist Union of NZ was involved in medical mission work. The Church Egyptian Missionary Society of the Anglican Church was also active. The Chaplain's Department used the Nile Mission Press for much of its religious printing.

Chaplains used the amenities of the Cairo YMCA and Christian University and training school. The Chaplains Department organized Theological students' retreats in the latter.

(2) Italy.

In Italy Roman Catholic chaplains were generally welcomed at Catholic churches and frequently used them for unit worship services. RC chaplains were also involved in the organization of orphanages and considerable social assistance with the Roman Catholic population.

Protestant chaplains were surprised to discover a small but active Protestant (Waldensian) church. The numerically tiny church conveyed the impression that it suffered from social disadvantage in a Roman Catholic country. The Methodist Church was active in larger centres of population throughout Italy and Methodist chaplains made contact with these congregations who were largely supported by British and American Methodism.

In Rome there were Anglican, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches available. In Florence the local Methodist, Anglican, American Episcopal and Baptist Churches with Salvation Army and YMCA Welfare services catered for many thousands of New Zealand servicemen. One Roman Catholic Church catered for the sacramental needs of Allied RC servicemen. A Jewish Synagogue was also available in Florence.

Following the arrival of the 2NZEF in Italy during late 1943 a further gift of a permanent building was given by Mr & Mrs T. W. Lowry. It was erected at Bari and administered by the YMCA for social and religious activities.

With the end of the war and the stand-off with Tito in northern Italy a Lutheran Church was taken over as the Division Garrison Church in Trieste. Whenever there was a possibility of a settled period for the Division Garrison churches were found, generally from local civilian parishes. After the war with the establishment of the Leadership School at Riccone a small permanent chapel was used for the School worship and the YMCA.

(3) Prisoner of War Camps

Captured New Zealand chaplains were active in the building of prison camp chapels in Germany. There are also records of NZ chaplains using Roman Catholic and Protestant churches close to their prison camp from time to time. The Italian Army proposed to build a stone chapel for a prison camp specifically for Roman Catholic worship. The chapel was begun but on the Italian capitulation the building was demolished.

New Zealand Presbyterian chaplains were members of several

Presbyteries which were established in some large POW Camps in Italy and Germany. Confirmations of NZ Presbyterian servicemen while POWs were sustained by the NZ Presbyterian General Assembly in 1945. These groups were responsible for the building of chapels on POW camps. The work of the Presbyteries was later included in the official record of the 1945 *Proceeding of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*.

SOUTH PACIFIC

(1) New Caledonia

In New Caledonia at the HQ 3 (NZ) Div. the Chapel of St George was constructed from local material and was used by Bishop Gerard for services in 1944 following his appointment as SCF 3 (NZ) Div. In Noumea there was a Roman Catholic Cathedral where NZers were welcomed, but not without some misgiving initially by Roman Catholic chaplains who were concerned for the Vichy French political influences. There was a French Protestant Church which was assisted by the New Zealanders who recognized it as a congregation with very little resources.

(2) Solomon Islands

Rev'd O. Baragwanath indicates that temporary buildings were erected and used during the Division's short stay in New Caledonia before moving to the Solomon's campaign. On the cessation of hostilities soldiers worshipped in Methodist, Roman Catholic, and other mission churches.

On Mono Island (North Solomons) New Zealanders and Americans rebuilt the Methodist Mission Church destroyed during the fighting. Like the Jews, and the Army of Constantine, the 2NZEF practice was to erect a building for worship in the times of relative calm, or well behind the fighting line in a Base area. At this present time 36 Battalion Association 3 (NZ) Div. has maintained contact with the Mono Mission and church providing scholarships and aid in various forms to the people in that area. The Mono Church congregation also tends the graves of New Zealand soldiers who died there.

APPENDIX E
NZ Chaplain' Department LEADERSHIP SCHOOL
Syllabus

FOREWORD

This school has been established by the NZ Chaplains Department with the object of training officers and men of 2 NZEF in the ideals of Christian Leadership.

The course aims at giving to those who already show qualities of leadership, a firm base of Christian Doctrine together with guidance for its practical application. The whole syllabus leads to constructive thinking and its object is to show that the Christian philosophy of life is the only one which supplies an adequate answer to the problems of the world. It goes further by showing that Christianity provides also the power by which its own ideals can be translated into action.

Men who attend this School will gain an inspiration which will not only increase their effectiveness in their unit but will also equip them for the difficult tasks which lie ahead.

TIME TABLE

| Weekdays | Hours | |
|------------|------------------------------|---|
| | + 0700 | Mattins |
| | + 0715 | Holy Communion |
| | 0745 | Breakfast |
| | 0845 | First Lecture |
| | 0945 | Discussion |
| | 1015 | Morning Tea |
| | 1030 | Second Lecture |
| | 1130 | Discussion |
| | 1215 | Lunch |
| | 1530 | Afternoon Tea |
| | 1600 | Third Lecture |
| | 1700 | Discussion |
| | + 1730 | Evensong |
| | 1800 | Dinner |
| | 1900 | Question Time |
| | 2030 | Supper |
| | 2100 | Evening Prayers |
| Wednesdays | Morning: | As usual |
| | 1300 | Third Lecture |
| | 1400 | Discussion |
| Sundays | + 0800 | Holy Communion |
| | 0830 | Breakfast |
| | 1000 | Morning Service |
| | 1045 | Holy Communion at Pres. and O.D. schools |
| | 1900 | Evening Service |
| | + Church of England Services | |

SYLLABUS

- I THE FOUNDATIONS AND FUNDAMENTALS
OF LEADERSHIP
- II THE DYNAMIC AT WORK IN HISTORY
- III THE APPLICATION OF LEADERSHIP

I THE FOUNDATIONS AND FUNDAMENTALS OF LEADERSHIP.

Introductory Talk

- | | | |
|---------|----|---|
| Lecture | 1. | The Nature of Man |
| Lecture | 2. | Belief in God. Man's Search and God's Revelation. |
| Lecture | 3. | The Approach to The Old Testament. |
| Lecture | 4. | The Supreme Leader. Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ. |
| Lecture | 5. | The New Testament. Authentic Writings As Evidence of Person and Teaching of Christ. |
| Lecture | 6. | Man's Failure and the Remedy |
| Lecture | 7. | Eternal Life. |

II THE DYNAMIC AT WORK IN HISTORY

- | | | |
|---------|-----|--|
| Lecture | 8. | From Persecution Through Worldliness to Reformation. |
| Lecture | 9. | Reformation to Present Day |
| Lecture | 10. | The Church's Past Achievements and Present Organisation. |

- Lecture 11. The Oecumenical Movement:
Lecture 12. The Christian Dynamic - The Holy Spirit
Lecture 13. The Necessity for Worship
Lecture 14. Forms of Worship
Lecture 15. Sacramental Life

III THE APPLICATION OF LEADERSHIP

- Lecture 16. Sex, Marriage and Family Life
Lecture 17. Education in the Future
Lecture 18. Politics and Economics
Lecture 19. Possessions - Work and Leisure - Recreation
Lecture 20. The Application of Leadership



CHURCH SERVICES

On Sundays the Church of England Holy Communion Service is held in the Chapel; other Services are held in the Lecture Room. Church of England Services on weekdays are held in the Chapel.

The addresses at the morning and evening services on Sunday are an essential part of the course.

They are:

- I The Qualities needed for Leadership
- II The Meaning of Prayer
- III The Art of Prayer
- IV The Leader's Commission

The Chapel is available at all times for Private Prayer.

GENERAL

The Group Discussions after lectures will be informal and will be on the subject of the lecture. Questions which arise will be written down and placed in the box provided by 1730 hours.

The afternoons will be free for bathing and relaxation up to 1600 hours. Wednesday afternoon and evening from 1430 hours onwards will be free. The second Saturday afternoon will also be free but Question Time will be held in the evening as usual.

The Principal and Lecturers are available for personal interviews at all convenient times.

Each student will fill in the Questionnaire and hand it in to the Principal on the second Sunday of the Course.

WHAT GREAT LEADERS HAVE SAID

THE MEN FOR THE TASK

"I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and had some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward I must say to you they were never beaten.

OLIVER CROMWELL

THE SPIRIT OF THE TASK

"With malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nations wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations"

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

THE QUALITY OF PEACE

" If war in future is to be rendered impossible we must see to it that its function, so far as it has been beneficent in the past, be discharged by some other means. PEACE MUST BE DYNAMIC; it must keep the door open to reform and to freedom and must not become an incubus on human progress, The springs of reform, of progress and of freedom must not be frozen under a deadly peace"

FIELD- MARSHAL SMUTS.

*We beseech thee ; O God, the God of truth, That
what we know not of things we ought to know.*

Thou wilt teach us.

That what we know of truth

Thou wilt keep us therein.

That what we are mistaken in, as men must be,

Thou wilt correct.

That at whatsoever truths we stumble

Thou wilt yet establish us.

And from all things that are false

And from from all knowledge that would be hurtful.

Thou wilt evermore deliver us.

Through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Amen.

APPENDIX F
The King's Regulations (1935) Chaplains
British Army

11.—DIVINE SERVICE, CHAPLAINS, RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

General Instructions

1571. All ranks, unless granted special leave or prevented by military duty, will attend divine service, but no officer or soldier will be obliged to attend the service of any religious denomination other than his own. Soldiers will be marched to and from their places of worship. The officer or N.C.O. in charge should, if possible, be of the same denomination as the soldiers concerned.

1572. The duty of playing troops to church will not interfere with the attendance of a bandsman, drummer, bugler or piper at the regular service of his own denomination.

1573. C.Os. will afford facilities for the attendance of officers and soldiers and their families at public worship, including celebrations of Holy Communion.

1574. Should seditious or inflammatory language be made use of during the service in any place of worship not under military control, the senior officer present will use his discretion in withdrawing the troops with as little interruption as possible, and marching them back to their quarters. He will report the circumstances, through the C.O.-in-C., to the Under-Secretary of State, The War Office.

Chaplains

1575. The duties to be performed by a chaplain include the Sunday services, baptisms, churchings, funerals, attending the sick in hospital and reading prayers with the convalescents, visiting soldiers under sentence in military prisons or detention barracks at least once a week, and giving special religious instruction to the children and enlisted men during one or two working hours in every week, besides attending generally to the religious instruction and welfare of the officers and soldiers and of their families.

1576. All officers in command will see that the conduct of the chaplains is such as becomes their office, and, in the case of Church of England, Presbyterian, Methodist and United Board chaplains, will take notice any deviations from the mode of conducting public worship as laid down in the "Instructions for the guidance of chaplains in their ministrations to His Majesty's Army".

1577. Chaplains will be treated with the respect due to their rank and profession, and C.Os. will render them every assistance in carrying out their duties.

1578. The senior chaplain of each denomination will arrange the work of the chaplains and officiating chaplains of his denomination in his district or station. He will report any neglect or disobedience of orders to the Under-Secretary of State, The War Office, through the C.O.-in-C. The term "senior chaplain" (or its abbreviation "S.C.F.") will not be used without the addition of a suffix indicating the nature of the position in respect of which it is employed. Every chaplain has the right of direct communication on ecclesiastical matters with the recognized head of his denomination.

Officiating Chaplains

1579. Officiating chaplains will be appointed, when required, by the G.O.C.-in-C., and they will be informed, on employment, that no payment for their services can be authorized until the approval of the G.O.C.-in-C. has been officially notified. C.Os. will furnish officiating chaplains in receipt of payment at capitation rates with monthly certificates (A.F. O 1609) showing the amounts to which they are entitled for their services during the preceding month.

1580. Whenever a C.O. deems it expedient to prevent an officiating chaplain from officiating in a military church, he will report the circumstances, through the G.O.C.-in-C., to the Under-Secretary of State, The War Office.

1581. The duties to be performed by an officiating chaplain in receipt of pay from army funds are as laid down for a chaplain in para. 1572, and in the "Instructions for the guidance of chaplains..... in their ministrations to His Majesty's Army", so far as they apply to officiating chaplains. Officiating chaplains will not demand fees for the performance of any of these duties.

Religious Books

1582. (a) A copy of the appropriate book or books shown below will be supplied, at the public expense, to every soldier on enlistment unless he declines them, and may be retained by him on discharge. These books will only be replaced at the public expense at intervals of at least ten years.

| | | |
|--|---------|---|
| Presbyterian | | New Testament with Metrical Psalms. |
| Church of England, Methodist and United Board. |) | New Testament with authorized Psalms. |
| Roman Catholic | | Douai Testament and Roman Catholic Prayer Book. |

(b) Bibles and prayer books (and hymn books when the bibles or prayer books issued do not contain hymns) will be allotted for use in military churches, and also for the use of patients in hospitals, and of young soldiers and children attending regimental schools. These books will be expected to last for ten years.

12.—MISCELLANEOUS

Soldier-Servants and Orderlies

1583. (a) The employment of soldiers (when available) as officers' servants and grooms is sanctioned, as an indulgence. They will, in all cases, rejoin their units when the latter, if abroad, are ordered to quit the command, or, if at home, to move out of the United Kingdom.

(b) The conditions under which allowances in lieu of soldier-servants may be drawn are laid down in Allowance Regulations, but an officer will not employ a European soldier at a station where non-European servant and groom allowance is admissible, except in Malaya (if no suitable non-Europeans are available) and in Egypt. In the latter

CHAPTER NOTES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A

1. Glen, F. G. *Methodism in Auckland during the Maori Wars 1860-64* Institute Printing & Publishing. Auckland 1957.
- " *John A Luxford C.M.G., C.F.* A biography Shirley Press Christchurch 1966.

ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

1. Onions, C. T. (ed) *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary On Historical Principles* Clarendon Press Oxford 1950 (2 Volumes) Vol. 1. q.v. p343. col.3. Colour, color III. "an apparent or *prima facie* right, as in C. (certificate) of title." q.v. p344, col.1. "To imbue with its own character". I am grateful to Sir John White, former Judge of the NZ High Court for his advice on this matter.
- q.v. Johnson, Samuel. *A Dictionary Of The English Language* Times Books London 1983 Two Volumes in One. (facsimile reprint of the original 1755 edition) Not paginated. Vol.1. To Colour Col.2. No.3. "To make plausible". We have scarce heard of an insurrection that was not coloured with grievances of the highest kind, or countenanced by one or more branches of the legislature.
2. Onions, op.cit. p581 col.2. "ecclesial", a. ecclesiastical eg, matters concerning the church.
3. Swift, L. J. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service* Michael Glazier, Delaware USA (ND) p31.
4. Reed, A. W. with A. E. Brougham *The Concise Maori Handbook Encyclopedia Dictionary Place Names Proverbs* Reed Wellington 1981 Part 1. pp.147-148.

CHAPTER ONE

1. The Treaty of Waitangi was signed in the Bay of Islands on February 6th 1840 between the British Crown and Maori of Aotearoa.
2. Ist NZ Anglo-Maori Land War North Auckland 1845-47.

2. 2nd NZ Anglo-Maori Land War 1860-72.
3. The Boer War 1899-1901.
4. World War One 1914 -1918.
5. World War Two. 1939 - 45.
6. Korean War. 1950- 53.
7. RNZAF Deployment 14 Sqdn Commonwealth Forces Cyprus 1952-55.
8. Malayan Emergency. 1955 - 1962.
9. Confrontation - Borneo. 1964 - 1966.
- 10 Vietnam 1965 - 1972.
11. Gulf War 1990 -1991.
12. Bosnia (UN Active Service Duties) 1994 -1996.

Sources: Clayton, Major G. J. (Comp) *The New Zealand Army A History From the 1840's to the 1990's* New Zealand Army Christchurch 1990.

Bentley, Geoffrey and Maurice Conly.
Portrait Of An Air Force Grantham House
 Wellington 1987. pp.125-126.

3. New Zealander's have been involved in the following Peace Keeping Operations in:
 - UIMOGIP India -Pakistan 1951-1976.
 - UNTISO (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon) 1956-1974.
 - UNEF II (Egypt-Israel) 1974 -1978.
 - UNIFIL (Lebanon-Israel) 1978 -1988.
 - UNIMOG (Iran-Iraq) 1988-1989.
 - UNTAG (Nambibia) 1990-1991 (Including Staff of the NZ Police.
 - Commonwealth Cease-Fire Monitoring Force, (CMF) 1979-1980. Rhodesia.
 - Multinational Force and Observers (MFO) 1982 - 1992.
 - UN Observers Bosnia -1992 -Present time.
 - UN Observers Haiti 1993-1994.
 - UN Mine Clearing Cambodia 1993 - 1995
 - UN Afghanistan Mine clearing 1990 - 94.

These Operations have involved over 500 military personnel, not including Naval contributions.

Source: Clayton op.cit. pp.161-167 passim.

4. Farrant, Herbert H *Military Records Relative to New Zealand.* Auckland 1996.
 Farrant lists 31 volumes of official or semi-official histories relating to WW2, and a further 70 official historical publications of the War History Branch of the Department of

Internal Affairs for WW2. These do not include titles published during both Land War periods, the Boer War and other subsequent military episodes of NZ history.

5. There is no record that any of the four New Zealand chaplains who served in the Boer War exercised ministry among the Boers either in action or in the concentration camps.
6. Glen, Frank. *Church Leaders And The First Taranaki War 1860 -- 1861* University of Waikato Unpublished M.Phil Thesis. 1992.
7. Haigh, J Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage*. The official history of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department Word Publishers Auckland 1983 pp.23-37. "The New Zealand Land Wars"
8. MacLean, Chris and Jock Phillips. *The Sorrow And The Pride New Zealand War Memorials* Historical Branch GP Books Wellington 1990. The title is devoted to the study of memorials which include Church community and national memorials to the war dead.
9. Glen. op.cit. pp.264-274 suggests 1864 as the high-watermark of Missionary influence.
10. Taylor, Nancy M. *The Home Front The New Zealand People At War*. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45 Historical Publications Branch Government Printer Wellington 1986. (2 Volumes.) Taylor discusses three aspects of the churches attitudes to WW2 in Vol.1.
 - q.v. (1) The Churches pp63-67.
 - (2) The Roman Catholic Church and conflict of war with Italy p123.
 - (3) Christian Pacifism pp.194-208.
- q.v. Davidson op.cit. pp.95-104. "The Churches At War And Peace 1900 to 1945" Nine pages introduce the reader to the subject.
11. From the perspective of the New Zealand Churches little research has been undertaken which examines the war-time leadership and statements by churchmen. One important beginning is found in Dr Alan Davidson's *Christianity in Aotearoa A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*. Education for

- Ministry, Wellington 1991. Chapter 10. "The Churches at War and Peace 1900 to 1945." pp.95-104.
12. The Bibliography (Volume Two) of primary sources collates the information regarding diaries, letters, writings, sermons, speeches, poetry, official records etc which are available and relevant to this study of WW2 2NZEF chaplaincy.
 13. *The Methodist Church Of NZ Minutes Of The Annual Conference 1943.* "Chaplains Report" printed by permission of the National Security Department in the Agenda pp.105-106.
 14. Records: Chaplains Department 2 NZEF. Monthly Reports (On Active Service) SCF 2NZEF and 2NZEF(IP) to Chairman Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council, Wellington 1940-45. (NL)
 15. These figures were arrived at after extensive research of the contemporary Youth Rolls and statistics of the various churches, communicant rolls and numbers in attendance at public worship during the latter part of the 1930s. The National Census for 1936 published in 1940 also gave valuable insights. The estimates for the Roman Catholic Church was aided by Roman Catholic chaplains' reports to their Bishop.
 16. See *Abbreviations and Terminology Thesis Vol.1.* pxii.
 17. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* March 30, 1942.

Archbishop Campbell West-Watson, Anglican Primate of New Zealand spoke of the necessity for a "...spiritual "blitzkrieg"." in his national address inaugurating the *Campaign For Christian Order*.

q.v. Harnack, Adolf. *Militia Christi The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries* Fortress Press Philadelphia ND. pp.35-40. Harnack outlines the New Testament understanding of the Christian soldier in its spiritual context. These images were frequently used by preachers and chaplains during WW2 to describe a Christians responsibility in terms of offering prayers for victory, and in understanding the error of enemy.

18. Roman Catholic Mass was exclusive to Catholics. The Anglican and Methodist liturgies were recognizably

similar in order and practice. Presbyterian, Baptist, Congregational, and Churches of Christ were of the Reformed pattern which included lay eldership assisting a minister. The Salvation Army did not hold to the necessity of Holy Communion.

19. Non Anglican Protestants: Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Churches of Christ, Congregational, Salvation Army, Open Brethren, Lutherans and the Maori religious groups, all of which were represented in the 2NZEf.
20. Don, Alexander. *Memories Of The Golden Road A History of The Presbyterian Church in Central Otago* A. H. and A. W. Reed Dunedin 1936 pp.98-134. "Union Churches".

Union Churches were established in the Otago Goldfields between Presbyterians, Free Church, Wesleyans, Anglicans, Lutherans, Baptists, Bible Christians, and Congregationalists, during the 1860s until the early 1880s. Union Churches were also built on West Coast areas of New Zealand's South Island during the period of land and mining settlement until the early part of this century. See also OUL material Central Otago Churches.

21. Extract from Orders N.Z.E.F. 15\11\1917. D.51. 292 November. REORGANISATION OF CHAPLAIN'S DEPARTMENT, N.Z.E.F. (NL) Outline of responsibilities which overcame denominational difficulties encountered in the first years of WW1. (NL)
22. Stevens, W. G. Major-General. *Problems of 2 NZEF Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45* War History Branch Wellington 1958. pp.235-241 *passim*. Background of the function and purpose of the National Patriotic Fund Board.
23. Dixon, Norman. *On the Psychology of MILITARY INCOMPETENCE* Jonathan Cape London 1976. p277 including * footnote.
24. Berger, Peter and Daniel Pinard. "Military Religion: An Analysis Of Education Materials Disseminated By Chaplains" *In* Cox, Harvey G. Jr.(ed) *Military Chaplains From Religious Military To A Military Religion* Abingdon Press USA Circa 1972 pp.87-108. A critical study of the view that military chaplaincy cannot divorce itself from a military religion as the very nature of war claims the allegiance of both

body and soul from those involved.

25. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War*. War History Branch Wellington 1958 pp.63-65.
26. See Abbreviations & Terminology Vol. 1. p.xvi

CHAPTER TWO

1. Plummer, Alfred. "Church" James Hastings (ed) *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* T & T Clark. Edinburgh. 1915. Vol. 1. p204. col.2. Section 3. "Name."
 2. Vine, W. E. *An Expository Dictionary of New Testament Words* Thomas Nelson. New York. 1985. p42 "assembly".
 - q.v. Strong, James. *The Exhaustive Concordance of the Bible*. In *A Concise Dictionary of the Words in the Greek Testament*. Riverside Book and Bible House Iowa. ND. p26. Col.3. 1577.
 3. Barler B. & C. King. *Those Two Excellent Monuments of Ancient Learning and Piety, Minucius Felix's Octavius, and Tertullian's Apology for the Primitive Christians, Render'd into English*. B. Barler & C. King Westminster Hall, 1708. p163.
 4. *ibid.* pp.163-165 *passim*.
 5. *ibid.* pp.163-164.
 6. Bettenson, Henry (ed) *Documents of the Christian Church*. Oxford University Press. London. 1963. 2nd Edition. pp.47-48. Section V. "Athanasius on the Atonement."
 7. Bruce, F. F. "New". In *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* Vol.K-Q pp.542-543. with special reference to col.2. p542.
 8. Pope, R. Martin. "Christian Life" In James Hastings, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* T & T Clark. Edinburgh 1915. Vol. 1. pp.200-203.
- cf. Bettenson *op.cit.* p.3-5. Pliny describes Christian worship.

9. Harnack, Adolf. *Militia Christi. The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries* (Trans) David McI. Gracie, Fortress Press. Philadelphia. pp.71-76. passim.
- q.v. Swift, Louis J. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service.* Michael Glazier. Delaware. ND. p37. Harnack is more exhaustive in his treatment of this matter than Swift.
10. Tertullian's Apology. In Barler & King op.cit. Pt.VIII. p120. Tertullian refers to the incident which favoured the Christians.
- cf. Roberts, Alexander & James Donaldson. (ed) *The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of The Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* Eerdmans 1986. Tertullian Vol. 3. p22.
11. Sordi, Marta. *The Christians And The Roman Empire.* (Trans) Annabel Bedini. Croom Helm. Sydney. 1986. p60. "...the crimes implicit in Christianity were thus obviously impietas (atheism) *superstitio illicita* and lack of reverence to the emperor."
12. Roberts & Donaldson. op.cit. Justin Martyr In Vol.1. p168.
- cf. Swift. op.cit. p34.
13. *ibid.* p25.
14. Tertullian's Apology. In Barler & King op.cit. Part XLIV. p196.
15. *ibid.* pp.196-197.
16. Roberts & Donaldson. op.cit. Vol. 3. Tertullian. Chapter 37. p45. "...we have filled every place among you...the very camp,".
17. Cyprian, "The Writings of Cyprian" Bishop of Carthage (Trans) R. E. Wallis. Vol.1. Treatise V. pp.423-424. In Roberts and Donaldson op.cit. Vol 8. 1886 Edition.
18. Swift. op.cit. Citing Cyprian: p49.
- cf. Cyprian, In Roberts & Donaldson op.cit. Vol.8. v20: p438.

19. Swift. op.cit. Citing Tertullian p39.
q.v. Harnack. op.cit. pp.69-70.
20. Roberts & Donaldson. *Ante-Nicene Fathers* op.cit. Cyprian Vol. 5. p488. "...nor, after the Eucharist carried in it, is the hand spotted with the sword and blood."
21. Swift. op.cit. pp.46-47. Citing Hippolytus.
22. Roberts & Donaldson. op.cit. Vol. 4. "Origen Against Celsus" pp.443-444 passim. Chapter 30. "...that they might be under one prince, the king of the Romans..."
23. ibid. pp.667-668 passim.
24. Swift. op.cit. p56.
25. Harnack. op.cit. pp.65-70. passim.
q.v. Swift. op.cit. pp.62-63.
26. Swift. op.cit. pp.74-75ff.
Maximilian objected to military service on the grounds that he could not accept the military seal. Also Marcellus the centurion found the military oath in conflict with his oath as a Christian to Christ.
27. Harnack. op.cit. pp.69b-71 passim.
The cumulative evidence points strongly to the repugnance of Christians in general to service within the military from the earliest of times until, as Harnack suggests, the period of Marcus Aurelius. p71.
q.v. Swift. op.cit. pp.63-64 passim. Cites Lactantius *Divine Institutes*. "And so there must be no exception to this command of God. Killing a human being whom God willed to be inviolable, is always wrong."
28. Schaff, Philip & Henry Wace. *A Select Library of Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers of The Christian Church*. Second Series. Eerdmans. Michigan. 1953. Vol. 1. Eusebius Book VIII. p323.
cf. Harnack. op.cit. p95.

- cf. Sordi. op.cit. pp.124.
29. Harnack. op.cit. pp.93-95. passim.
- q.v. Swift. op.cit. pp.69-70. Cites Lactantius On the *Death of Persecutors* for the account.
- cf. Sordi. op.cit. pp.125-126 passim.
30. Mosheim, John Lawrence. (trans) Archibald Maclaine. *An Ecclesiastical History, Antient and Modern, From The Birth Of Christ, To The Beginning Of The Present Century*: Cadell London. 1782. (Six Volumes) Vol. 1. pp.314-315.
31. Taylor, W. C. *Whittaker's Improved Edition Of Pinnock's Goldsmith's History Of Rome: To Which Is Prefixed, An Introduction To The Study Of Roman History*. Whittaker & Co. London. 1862. pp.31-34. passim.
- cf. Adam, Alexander. *Roman Antiquities: Or, An Account Of The Manners And Customs Of The Romans*; Cadell etc, London. 1825. pp.295-300. passim. A descriptive account of the civic religious rites.
- cf. Sordi. op.cit. p143.

This attitude was characteristic of all the emperors of the third and fourth centuries, and in fact characteristic of the ancient Roman concept of *pietas*: religion was, above all, an alliance between Rome and the deity, an alliance whose object was the salvation of Rome and its empire.

32. Swift. op.cit. pp.76-78. & pp.72-74. passim.
33. Harnack. op.cit. p77.
- Tertullian, in arguing against the use of Scripture for military service, reveals the extent of its use in the *pre Constantine* era.
- q.v. Swift. op.cit. p59. Citing Origen.
34. Roberts & Donaldson. op.cit. Clement In Vol. 2. p200.
- cf. Swift. op.cit. pp.51-52. Swift contends Clement did not expect a soldier to give up his profession if he was a Christian. Clement

differs from Tertullian in that he uses Old Testament examples of war to demonstrate the greatness of God's military servants.

cf. Harnack. op.cit. p75.

35. Swift. op.cit. p40. "...he (Tertullian) recognized the growing presence of Christians in the army..." Swift also draws attention to Cyprian's position during the period under examination see p50.

cf. Harnack. op.cit. pp.82-83 passim.

36. Swift. op.cit. p46.

cf. Sordi. op.cit. p124.

37. Mosheim. op.cit. Vol. 1. p321.

cf. Sordi. op.cit. p134. "...from the third century onwards, the religious question of the choice of a deity to whom to entrust the empire, the need for an alliance with the strongest God, became a political question of the utmost importance."

38. Mosheim. op.cit. pp.324-325.

cf. Harnack. op.cit. p99.

Harnack suggests there must have been a significant number of Christians serving in the army for these measures to be effective. He makes the point that it was in the army Christianity was first recognized before any other institution in the Roman Empire.

cf. Sordi. op.cit. pp.141 Sordi makes a case for the gradual conversion of Constantine.

39. Adam. op.cit. p350.

q.v. Peddie, John. *The Roman War Machine* Allan Sutton. Stroud Gloucestershire. 1994. pp.30-34. passim.

40. Mosheim. op.cit. Vol. 1. p327.

q.v. Bettenson. pp.23-24.

cf. Sordi. op.cit. p142. "Constantine looked more for the salvation of the empire than the salvation of the soul."

41. Swift. op.cit. p81. "...Christianity and the empire were conjoint works of God intended to be mutually supportive now became a common-place idea."
42. loc.cit. Swift cites Aland. "...the need for loyalty to the State which accumulated in the Christians over three centuries, flooded the whole Empire like a high wave".
- q.v. Mosheim. op.cit. Vol.1. p323.
43. Swift. op.cit. p87. Swift notes the grounds upon which Eusebius postulated what was a *Just*, or an *Unjust* war.
44. loc.cit. Swift is citing an alternative translation from the Eusebian text found In Schaff & Wade. op.cit. Eusebius Vol. 1. Chapter VI. p483.
45. Swift. op.cit. p87-88.
46. Schaff & Wace. op.cit. Eusebius In Vol. 1. *The Life of Constantine* pp.554-555.
- q.v. Swift. op.cit. p88.
- q.v. Hatch, Edwin. *The Organization Of The Early Christian Churches* Eight Lectures. Rivingtons, London. 1882. Lecture V. pp.113-142 passim. Clergy were more likely to be earning their own living from a trade or profession and would have to perhaps made a sacrifice in their livelihood to accompany the army.
47. cf. Jorgensen, Daniel B. *The Service Of Chaplains To Air Army Units* US Gov't Printing Office. (Two Vols) Washington. 1961. Vol. 1. p5, q.v. footnote p298.
48. Harnack. op.cit. pp.101-102.
49. Bettenson. op.cit. pp.3-5. passim.
50. Swift. op.cit. p30.
51. loc.cit.
52. loc.cit.

53. Swift. op.cit. p31.
54. See ecclesial: Abbreviations and Terminology Thesis
Vol. 1. pXV.
55. Swift. op.cit. p30-31.
56. Sordi. op.cit. p133.
57. ibid. p134.
58. loc.cit. pp134-135 passim.
59. ibid. p141.
60. Swift. op.cit 84-85 passim. "Constantine, no less...
is the recognizable agent of God in promoting the
welfare of God's kingdom on earth."
61. Sordi. op.cit. p143.
62. loc.cit.
63. Swift. op.cit. p31.
64. ibid. p83.
65. Greenslade, S. L. *Shepherding the Flock. Problems
of pastoral discipline in the Early Church and
in the younger churches today.* London. SCM
Press. 1967. p22.
66. Swift. op.cit. pp.83-84. passim "The monarchy and the
spread of the Gospel were, in fact, two blessings
which came forth from God...which were intended from
the start as integrated and integration forces in the
establishment of God's kingdom on earth."
67. ibid. p88. Eusebius believed that spiritual support
through prayer was appropriate for the clergy, but
that the Christian soldier on the battle line is
expected to do his part no less than his pagan
colleague.
- cf. ibid. pp.108-109. Eusebius and Ambrose share a
common agreement.
68. Swift. op.cit. p85.
- cf. Schaff & Wace. op.cit. Eusebius In Vol. 1.
Chapter II. 3. p583

69. Swift. p93.

70. *ibid.* p94.

71. *loc.cit.*

cf. Schaff & Wace. *op.cit.* St Basil Letters In Vol.8.
p228.

This rendering is more tentative than Swifts,
"Perhaps, however, it is well to counsel that those
whose hands are not clean only abstain from communion
for three years." Here is a hint of an after-thought
on Basil's part.

72. Swift. *op.cit.* p95.

cf. Schaff & Wace. *op.cit.* St Athanasius In Vol.4.
p557.

73. St Ambrose. In Schaff & Wace. Vol. 10. p71.

74. Swift. *op.cit.* pp.98-101 *passim.*

75. *ibid.* p100.

76. *ibid.* pp.101b-102.

These are significant points which Swift draws from
the statements of Ambrose. They constitute the basis
of the later ideas of a Just War sponsored by St
Augustine. There is a hint of the oft quoted "*Greater
love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his
life for his friends.*" John.15: v13.

77. Swift. *op.cit.* p85.

cf. Schaff & Wace. *op.cit.* Eusebius In Vol. 1.
Chapter II. 3. p583.

78. Swift *op.cit.* p104.

79. St Ambrose. "Of The Christian Faith" In Schaff &
Wace. Vol.10. Book. 2. Chapter XV1. pp.241-242.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Pope Urban: See biographical notes: Appendix B.

2. Armstrong, Karen. *Holy War The Crusades And Their
Impact On Today's World* Macmillan London.
1988. p3.

3. Barker, Ernest. "Crusades" In *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th Edition University Press Cambridge 1910. Vol. 7. p524 col.2.
4. Armstrong. op.cit. q.v. p44; p49; p51; p146. Also known as the *Truce of God*.
- 5 . Barker. op.cit. Vol.7. p524 col.2.
q.v. Cross, F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church* Oxford University Press. London. 1963. pp.358-359. passim.
6. Barker. op.cit. Vol.7. p526 col. 2.
7. *ibid.* p524 col. 2.
8. Mosheim, John Lawrence. (Trans) Archibald Maclaine. *An Ecclesiastical History, Antient And Modern, From The Birth Of Christ, To The Beginning Of The Present Century*: Cadell, London. 1782. (Six Volumes) Vol. 2. p450.
q.v. *ibid.* p442. footnote S. p442-443.
9. *ibid.* p442.
10. *ibid.* p452.
11. *loc.cit.* "For while whole legions of bishops and abbots girded the sword to their thigh, and went as generals, volunteers, or chaplains into Palestine..."
12. *loc.cit.*
13. Cross. op.cit. pp.658-659.
14. Koch, H. W. *History of Warfare* Bison. London. 1988. pp73 col.2. q.v.p74. col.1.
15. Armstrong. op.cit. p49.
16. *loc.cit.*
17. Barker. op.cit. p524 col.2.
18. Swift, J. L. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service* Glazier, Delaware. ND. p98.
"...the kind of courage which is involved in defending the empire against barbarians, or

protecting the weak on the home front or allies against plunderers is wholly just'."

19. Swift. op.cit. p107.

20. Defender of the Faith: *Fidei Defensor*.

A title conferred by Pope Leo X in 1521 upon Henry VIII, later revoked but since used by the sovereigns of England. The reigning monarch of England is the head of the Church of England and in that sense Defender of the Faith.

21. Burges-Short, George. *The Records And Badges Of Every Regiment and Corps In The British Army*. Gale & Polden. Aldershot. 1900. pp.915-923. passim.

22. Rev'd G. R. Gleig MA. See biographical notes: Appendix B.

23. Sellers, W. E. *From Aldershot To Pretoria Religious Tract Society*. London. 1900. pp.7-18. passim.

q.v. White, Colonel A.C.T. VC. *The Story of Army Education 1643-1963*. G. G. Harrap & Co Ltd. London. 1963. pp.34-35. passim.

q.v. Montague, R. H. *How to trace your military ancestors in Australia and New Zealand* Hale & Iremonger, Sydney 1989. pp.21-22.

24. Deputy Chaplain General. Rev'd F. W. Hilborne QHC. *The War Office*. London. 18 September 1956. Letter - F. G. Glen. Auckland. p2 para 2. Unpublished History of Chaplains Department of the British Army. (WO)

25. See: *Memorials Of Sergeant William Marjouram, Royal Artillery; Including Six Years' Service in New Zealand, During The Late Maori War* (ed) Sergeant William White. Nisbet, London 1862. There is mention also of the Scripture Readers appointed from among enlisted soldiers of that period.

26. Rev'd George Smith: See biographical Appendix B.

27. Lummis, Canon William M. MC. *Padre George Smith of Rorke's Drift* Wensum Books, Norwich. 1978. Appendix III, pp.84-94.

28. *ibid.* p55.
29. Lefroy, G. A. Rt. Rev. Bishop of Lahore. "Our Indian Empire" In John Ellison and G. H. S. Walpole (eds) *Church And Empire A Series Of Essays On The Responsibilities Of Empire* Longmans, Green, And Co. London 1908. pp.80-85. 2. Claim of our Fellow-countrymen, especially of the Army.

cf. Hobson, J. A. *Imperialism A Study*
Constable. Haymarket 1905. p174.

All the purer and more elevated adjuncts of Imperialism are kept to the fore by religious and philanthropic agencies: patriotism appeals to the general lust of power within a people by suggestions of nobler uses adopting the forms of self-sacrifice to cover domination and the love of adventure. So Christianity becomes "imperialist" to the Archbishop of Canterbury, a "going out to all the world to preach the gospel";...The whole policy of Imperialism is riddled with deception.

30. Ellison, John. Rev. "The Church And National Life" In John Ellison and G. H. S. Walpole (eds.). *Church And Empire A Series Of Essays On The Responsibilities Of Empire* Longmans, Green, And Co. London. 1908. pp.42-43.
31. Whiteley, John. Rev'd *Missionary Journal 1832-63.* 4 May 1860. "May they (the soldiers) be preserved from sickness and may God make their presence here a means of leading the Natives to consider their folly and turn from that which threatens their ruin."
32. See: Glen, Frank. *Church Leaders And The First Taranaki War. 1860--1861 An Exploration of their Influence and Theology.* M.Phil Thesis. Waikato University. 1992. This exposition is dealt within the following sections of the thesis. "The British Army and Divine Judgement." (iv) pp.238-239. Also, "Scripture undergirded loyalty to Crown." (vi) pp.241-242.
33. Father J. B. Rolland. See biographical notes: Appendix B.
34. Gudgeon, Thos. Wayth. *The Defenders Of New*

Zealand Brett, Auckland 1887. p456.

35. Rev'd William Grant lost his life in WW1 while ministering to the wounded and dying in a frontline situation similar to Father Rolland. He was one of several killed and wounded in both World Wars. See See biographical notes: Appendix B.

- q.v. Elder, J. R. *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand 1840-1940* Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch. 1940. pp.327-329. passim. This is the view of one denominational historian but it is typical of all denominations. The writer emphasizes the universal work of frontline chaplains with the wounded and distressed and the chaplain's response by his identification with suffering.

36. McGibbon, Ian. *The Path To Gallipoli. Defending New Zealand 1840 1915.* Historical Branch. Department of Internal Affairs GP Books Wellington 1991. p49.

37. *Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church. Minutes of 27th Annual Conference Auckland March 1900* In "Pastoral Address". p22.

38. Haigh, Bryant. *Men of Faith And Courage. Official History of the Royal New Zealand Army Chaplains' Department* Word Press. Auckland 1983, p43.

39. loc.cit.

40. Haigh op.cit. p39.

41. *Australian Wesleyan Methodist Conference. op.cit. Minutes March 1902. In "Naval and Military Affairs" Item 2 p72.*

42. A term frequently used in Church publications and literature of the period to denote military, or public service to the Empire.

43. Neligan, Rt. Rev. M. R. New Zealand, "An Ill-Constructed Quadrilateral" In John Ellison & G. H. S. Walpole (eds) *Church And Empire* Longman Green London. 1908 p180. Section 3:

44. Haigh. op.cit. p43.

45. *ibid.* p44.

46. *Methodist Church of NZ. Minutes Of The Annual Conference of NZ. 1915. p117.*
47. Maclean, Chris and Jock Phillips. *The Sorrow & the Pride New Zealand War Memorials Historical Branch GP. Wellington. 1990. p77. Note Illustrations p84-85: p87: p111. Analysis of the memorial inscriptions p106.*
48. *Proceeding Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ. 1939. p137.*
49. *The Outlook. 23 June 1943.*
50. *loc.cit.*
51. Underhill, M. L. Rev. & Sydney D. Waters, Squadron Leader J. M. S. Ross, Rev. N. E. Winhall. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War War History Branch. Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington 1950. page.ix.*

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Eusebius "The Life of Constantine." Chapter XXXVIII. *In* Schaff P, & H. Wace, *A Select Library Of Nicene And Post-Nicene Father Of The Christian Church. 2nd Series Vol. 1. p492-493. Footnote 2. Explanation of Pons Milvius Bridge.*

Elsewhere Eusebius gives the date of the Battle of Milvian Bridge as 27 October 312.

2. Cruse, Christian Frederick. (Introduction) *The Ecclesiastical History Of Eusebius Pamphilus Baker Book House Grand Rapids, Mich USA pp.393-394.*
 q.v. Harnack, Adolf. *Militia Christi The Christian Religion and the Military in the First Three Centuries Fortress Press Philadelphia ND p91.*
3. Swift, L. J. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service Glazier Delaware ND p88ff.*
cf. Schaff & Wace. op.cit. Vol. 1. Chapter LVI. p555. Eusebius on Persian War.
4. Eusebius *In* Schaff & Wace. *op.cit. pp.554-555.*
 Reference to the taking of a tent to the place of war (on active service) which was to act as a church, surely an indication of ordered worship

and prayers.

5. Swift. op.cit. p88ff.
6. *ibid.* pp.83-85. *passim* Citing Eusebius.
7. Ambrose, "On The Duties of the Clergy" In Swift op.cit. p98. "...the kind of courage which is involved in defending the empire against barbarians, or protecting the weak on the home front or allies against plunderers is wholly just".
8. N.Z.E.F. *TIMES* Editorial. October 26, 1942. "This War Is Now A Crusade" The editorial is explicit in it's crusading definition of the war.
9. Maclean Chris, and Jock Phillips. *The Sorrow & the Pride. New Zealand War Memorials* Historical Branch GP. Wellington. 1990. p106. The scripture passage, Ecclesiasticus 44: v14. is recorded on 11.7% of the war memorials noted by the authors.
10. N.Z.E.F. *Times*. Editorial "Why Do We Fight?" March 2 1942.
11. *A Pocket Companion.* Presbyterian Church of New Zealand. To Her Members On Active Service. Presbyterian Bookroom Christchurch. circa 1942. p19.
 q.v. *ibid.* pp42-43. *A Prayer for Victory and Peace.*
12. NZ Baptist. *Middle East Edition.* (ed) Rev. A. H. Finlay CF. Nile Mission Print Cairo. April 1945. p14.
 q.v. *ibid.* May-June 1945. *Victory Number.* The edition is strongly crusading in spirit including thankfulness for victory. Prayer on p14.
 q.v. *Contact. National Magazine Of The RNZAF.* December 1943. Vol.4. No.6. Editorial p9.

A secular interpretation in an RNZAF educational magazine writing of the spiritual crusade required for 1944, with particular reference to the colour illustration on the cover. A Cathedral

scene with the sun streaming through on the ceremonial colours of the 6 sections of the NZ Armed forces, (1) The Imperial Standard. (2) The RNZN. (3) The Dominion of NZ Flag. (4) Red Ensign. (5) NZ Army flag. (6) Flag of the RNZAF. The Cross on the High altar has the words below *The Gate of the Year*.

13. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison. Interview, 22 July 1993. Thames.
Brigadier Morrison attended this Orders Conference as a Major in Tripoli and noted the effect this personal statement made among the assembled officers. There were present three Corps Commanders of Lieutenant General rank.
14. Mosheim. op.cit. p439. Details Peter the Hermit's actions following his visit to Palestine in 1093 where he saw "...the vexations and persecutions..." of the pilgrims. He "...went through all the countries of Europe sounding the alarm of a holy war against the infidel nations..."
15. Armstrong, Karen. *Holy War* Macmillan London 1988 p144.
16. *ibid.* p134.
17. Barker, Ernest. "Crusades" In *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* 11th Edition University Press Cambridge 1910. Vol.7. p524 col.2.
18. Swift. op.cit. p98.
19. Shepherd, M. H. "Deacon" In *The Interpreter's Dictionary Of The Bible* Abingdon Press Nashville, 1962. (Four Volumes) Vol 1 A-D. p786.
20. Plummer, Alfred. "Deacon, Deaconess" In *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* T & T Clarke Edinburgh 1915. (Two Volumes) Vol.1. pp.284-85.
21. See Cross, F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church* Oxford University Press London 1963 "Deacon" p376.
22. Cross, op.cit. p376-377. An outline of liturgical duties deacons were known to undertake as part post 3rd century worship.
23. Dodson, Francis. *Being The Story Of The Church Army*

In New Zealand. Church Army Press Auckland
1946. p59.

24. loc.cit.
25. *The Church of the Province of New Zealand Proceeding Of The 30th General Synod 1946.* p133. General Freyberg's letter of appreciation to the Anglican Synod for the work of the Church Army during the war years. His thanks the YMCA was in a similar tone.
26. Potter, W. B. *The New Zealand YMCA with the 2nd N.Z.E.F. in Middle East and Italy.* Wellington ND. Appendix A (5 pages) "Functions of the YMCA with the 2 NZEF -1944:" (GHC)
27. Potter. op.cit. Chapter Twenty-Two: "Venice to Trieste." The writer notes that it was ironic that in the closing days of the war YMCA secretaries were forced to carry arms for self defence not against Germans but against Tito's forces.
28. Swift. op.cit. pp.41-42. citing Tertullian. "...the Lord, by taking away Peter's sword, disarmed every soldier thereafter. We are not allowed to wear any uniform that symbolizes a sinful act."
29. Harnack. op.cit. p99.
30. Taylor, Nancy M. *The New Zealand People At War The Home Front Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* Historical Publications Branch Wellington 1986. (Two Volumes) Vol. 1. pp.29-32. A short introduction explaining the ambivalence of the community as the government became alarmed at the impending outbreak of war.
31. *The Methodist Church of NZ. Minutes Of The Annual Conference. 1939.* p149.
32. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington 1950 p3.
33. Morrison. loc.cit. Interview 22 July 1993 Thames. Among the officers and cadets who felt alienated by the attitude of the churches was Morrison, a Duntroon cadet. Brigadier J Hargest, a Territorial Army Commander was an Anglican Church Warden from Invercargill. His son related how his Father fought

- criticism from his congregation as a "war-monger" from the 1920s until the outbreak of war.
- q.v. Lee, J. E. Colonel. *Duntroon The Royal Military College Of Australia 1911 -1946 Australian War Memorial Canberra 1952.* p63 & p255. There were no NZ students at the college between the years 1921 and 1934.
34. Rev'd Ormond Burton: See biographical notes: Appendix B.
35. *Minutes of Conference* op.cit. p148.
36. Crane, Ernest. *I can do no other. A Biography of The Reverend Ormand Burton* Hodder & Stoughton. Auckland 1986. p167.
37. Burton, Ormand. *To Whom Shall We Go?* Forward Books Auckland. circa 1968. See first p113, then p130. "The Subservient Church."
38. "Manifesto On Peace And War", In *Minutes of the Methodist Conference.* 1940 pp.84-86 This statement lay at the heart of Burton's eventual dismissal as a minister of the Methodist Church. He refused to cease preaching pacifism and opposition to the war. This was a contravention of the Manifesto which the Conference took as it's "credo" on the matter of WW2.
39. loc.cit. p84.
40. Swift. op.cit. *Interpreting Arnobius* c330 pp.60-61.
q.v. Lactantius (c.240-c.320) In Swift. op.cit. pp.62-63 passim. *Divine Institutes.* 6.20:15-17.
41. West Watson, Campbell. Rt. Rev'd Bishop of Christchurch "The Bishops Letter" In *Church News* Christchurch October 1st, 1939. p138.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Appendix C: Table 1. col. 4. Note C.
2. Liston Papers L111. Roman Catholic Bishop Liston made marginal notes on his correspondence. He nominated Rev'd Fathers E. Forsman and W. Sheely as early as 21 August 1939, ten days before the declaration of war. A further marginal note of 13 September 1939 on a document listing priests then on the Military Reserve states "most if not all of them are over age".
3. For example: Rev'd R. G. McDowall went from the prestigious Presbyterian Parish of St. Lukes, Remuera Auckland. The Parish remained in Stated Supply until his return from POW Camp in 1945.

Bishop G. V. Gerard MC, the first SCF 2 NZEF was Bishop of Waiapu, and remained so until he resigned in 1944.

Captain N. Bicknell was the Commanding Officer of the Christchurch Citadel, one of the largest Salvation Army congregations in New Zealand.

4. **Casualties of the Chaplains' Department. 1939-45.**

| | |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Killed in Action | 1. |
| Wounded in Action | 14. |
| Taken as Prisoners of War. | 16. |

Six of the POW chaplains were either released by the enemy or recaptured by Allied Forces.

Casualties in the Department were almost 15% of the total who served overseas. At one period, late 1941, almost 30% of the chaplains were in enemy hands. None were captured by the Japanese.

5. Among "firsthand experienced" clergy were Archdeacon H. A. Hawkins (CofE) a former WW1 NZEF chaplain co-ordinator of the original 1939 district chaplaincy committees, and later in 1942 Secretary of the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council. Rev'ds H. Peat (Meth) and F. H. Buck MC (CofE) were the only former WW1 chaplains to serve in the 2NZEF. All three served on their respective denominational Chaplaincy Committees. Peat was criticized for posting himself to Fiji, for he was considered over-age.
Rt. Rev'd G. V. Gerard MC (CofE) was a former

combat officer of WW1 and chaired the Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Rev'd J. W. McKenzie MM (Pres) later to become SCF 2NZE was a former WW1 soldier. Rev'd J. Hiddlestone (Bapt) was a former WW1 soldier and Senior OPD Chaplain (Baptist, Church of Christ Congregational and Salvation Army) at the outbreak of war.

6. See: Walker, Rev'd (Willie) W. *Lecture No 1. Chaplains School Trentham. October 1942. pp2-3. [GHC]*
7. For example: *The NZ Methodist Times* January 9, 1943. *A Padre Reflects.* p235 col.1-3. passim. The writer is told by soldiers that they consider the Church had failed to influence the politics of the day to avoid war.

ibid. November 1 1941. p215. Letter - Lt.Col. Hector McKenzie MC. "If we are not prepared to supply this service, (chaplaincy to the 2NZE) let us do away with the present humbug and make our position as a Pacifist Church clear."
- 8 cf. *The Church's Attitude To Peace And War* SCM London 1937. p.17. This publication had a wide Bible Class Union and student circulation until the outbreak of war. It presented both points of view, and in some parts an Australasian context postulating Australia being occupied by Japan.
9. For example see *The Analysis.* Appendix A. Chaplains, Question 11. Appendix A. "Can you briefly outline what Motivated you to offer\enlist."
10. ibid. Chaplains Q11\1.
11. ibid. Q11\3.
12. ibid. Q11\7.
13. This group included Rev'd R. G. McDowall, Rev'd J. W. McKenzie MM, Bishop G. V. Gerard MC, Rev'd H. Peat, Rev'd J. Hiddlestone (See Biographical Appendix B) and Rev'd R. V. Jamieson were all Territorial Army chaplains before the outbreak of war and who had by December 1940 proceeded overseas.

14. *Analysis* Chaplains Q11:10\19.
15. 18th June 1940. *National Service Emergency Regulations*. Introduction of conscription to all male New Zealanders except Maori and designated Ministers of Religion.
16. cf. Rev'd Owen Baragwanath, Orewa - letter 11 October 1993. (GHC)
17. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q11:2\8\9.
18. *ibid.* Q11:16.
19. Rev'd William Walker: See Biographical Appendix B.
20. Walker op.cit. Lecture 1 p3. For the full content see pp.1-5 passim.
21. Studdert Kennedy was perhaps the most well known padre of the first world war. He had the ability to identify with the "tommy" soldier. His poem "To-day Thou Shalt Be With Me" is one example.

I can't! Not yet!
 My Gwad, I sweat!
 There's a mist comin' over my eyes.
 Christ, let me be,
 To-day, with Thee.
 You took a thief to Paradise!

WW1 chaplaincy is a separate issue and is not considered in this thesis. Chaplains of WW1 did contribute significantly to the training of their successors in the 2NZEF and this is briefly considered in the relevant chapters.

22. Walker op.cit. Lecture No.2. pp.1-14. passim.
23. Bainton, Roland H. *Christian Attitudes Towards War and Peace*. A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation. Hodder & Stoughton London. 1961. p220.
24. Extract from official Publication of the troopship *New Amsterdam*. Published aboard ship en-route to the Middle East August 1943. (QEII)
25. cf. Churchill, Winston S. *The Second World War*. (12 Vols) Heron Books, Geneva. 1967. Book. 1. *The Gathering Storm From War To War*. 1919-1939. pp.235-236. Churchill cites

Schuschnigg Ein Requiem in Rot-Weiss-Rot, p37ff. Hitler admits he could not have held the Rhineland if the French had opposed him in 1936.

- cf. Shirer, William L. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Book Club Associates. 1978. p211. "That the Allies at this time could easily have overwhelmed Germany..."
26. cf. Remak, Joachim. (ed) *The Nazi Years A Documentary History* Touchstone. New York 1969. "The Churches" pp.93-105 passim.
- q.v. Helmreich, Ernst Christian. *The German Churches under Hitler Background, Struggle, And Epilogue* Wayne State University Press. Detroit. 1968. This author deals fully with the entire subject. "The Protestant Churches and the Outbreak of War" p303ff. "The Catholic Church during the War" p347ff.
27. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q11:6.
28. Swift. op.cit. p114. Swift cites Augustine from his *Letter 189.6*.
29. Whitten, Bert. Rev'd. *The War Diary*. ND. p2. [BTC]
30. Niebuhr. Reinhold, "Christianity in Crisis" (February 10, 1941.) p6. cited In Bainton op.cit. p222.
31. Rev'd Ivor Hopkins: See biographical Appendix B.
32. Hopkins, Ivor Rev'd. Audio Tape. Christchurch. April 9 1994. [GHC]
33. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q11:12.
34. Breward, Ian. *Grace And Truth. A History of Theological Hall Knox College, Dunedin 1876-1975* Presbyterian Church of NZ. Dunedin 1975. For example: ref J. A. Allan on p52.
- q.v. Watson, John K. *The War Diary* op.cit. p1.
- q.v. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q11:6\12.
35. Rev'd Dr. J. Somerville: Biographical Appendix B.

36. Somerville, J. S. *Jack In The Pulpit An Autobiography*. John McIndoe. Dunedin. 1987. p78.
- q.v. Somerville J. S. - Dunedin, 25th Jan 1994.- Letter F. G. Glen, Ref. McLaren, Titchener, Spence, the Bible Class Movement and chaplaincy. (GHC)
37. loc.cit.
38. cf. Taylor, Nancy M. *The New Zealand People At War The Home Front Official History of NZ in the Second World War 1939-45*. 2 Vols. Gov't. Printer. Wellington 1986. Vol. 1. p175. 49% of the university student body responded.
39. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q19A:3\10.
- A number of chaplains in their correspondence for this thesis note the influence of Christian mothers among members of the 2 NZEF.
40. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains, Q11:6\8\10\16. also Q12:7\19.
- q.v. Davis, Brian. *The Way Ahead Anglican Change & Prospect in New Zealand*. The Caxton Press. Christchurch. 1995. p14.
- Writing of the Church of England in NZ before 1950 Archbishop Davis notes:
- We Anglicans had the largest church membership, although most of our "members" were rarely seen inside our church doors, and then mainly for funerals, weddings and perhaps "christenings". Our fundamental understanding of church and society was that which had dominated Christendom virtually since the conversion of the Emperor Constantine in the fourth century. We were a Christian nation, Christian assumptions and values shaped our public life, and the Church was part of the established order of things.
41. Somerville. op.cit. p77.
42. Somerville Letter - Glen. op.cit.
43. Dean Martin Sullivan: See Biographical Appendix B.
44. Sullivan, Martin. *Watch How You Go An*

Autobiography Hodder & Stoughton. London
1975. p90.

45. *ibid.* p91.
46. Augustine. *The City of God* Book 19. Chapter 12.
In. *Great Books Of The Western World*. R. M.
Hutchins (ed) W. Benton Publisher:
Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc. London. 1952.
Vol. 18. p517.
- cf. Swift. *op.cit.* p114-115. Swift cites
Augustine's letter to Boniface 418 CE
(*Letter* 189.29) advising him on how he
ought to conduct himself in the ultimate
restoration of peace.
47. Rev'd Paul Sergel (CofE) was a single exception
among Protestant clergy, he was a teacher in an
Anglican Boys' School before enlistment into the
Chaplains' Department. There were Roman Catholic
chaplains of the Marist Teaching Order, but it is
unclear if any came directly from teaching into the
Chaplains' Department.
48. *The Analysis* *op.cit.* Chaplains Q:7. There is no
reason to presume the sample was much different
from the total enlisted.
49. Rev'd A. R. Witheford: See Biographical Appendix B.
50. Witheford, Mrs Eileen. Audio Tape. Christchurch 8
April 1994. (GHC)
51. *loc.cit.*
52. Witheford, Rev'd A. R. *Sermon* 268. p6. (Witheford
Family) Copy GHC.
53. Captain N. Bicknell(SA): See Biographical Appendix
B.
54. Bicknell, Colonel Norman (SA) - to Capt. Shaw
Clifton. International Salvation Army Hq. London.
15 Sept. 1985. In Bicknell Papers. [SAA]
55. Stevens, W. G. Major-General. *Problems of 2 NZEF*
Official History of NZ in the Second World War
1939-45 War History Branch. Wellington.
1958. pp.228-230.

Policy regarding returning men and women to NZ

on compassionate grounds. In the case of 2NZE(IP) these guide-lines appear to have been followed. The approval of the Denominational Senior Chaplain and the SCF 2NZE(IP) would have been essential in the case of a chaplain.

56. cf. Page, Lorriane "VP (Victory Pacific) Day stirs widows' hearts and memories" *In Journey Queensland Uniting Church Magazine, Brisbane October 1995. p12.* Interviews with widows of Australian WW2 chaplains, there is assumed a similarity of (ANZAC) identity and experience.
57. Rev'd Bert Whitten. Interview. Thames September 4 1990.
58. Angell, Norman. *Peace With The Dictators? A Symposium and Some Conclusions* Hamish Hamilton. London. 1938. pp.307-309 passim.
59. Appendix C. Note C.
60. Watson. op.cit. *The War Diary* p32.
 q.v. Whitten. op.cit. *The War Diary* p31.
 q.v. Wattie Silvester. See: Lord, Walter. *Lonely Vigil Coastwatchers Of The Solomons* Viking Press, New York. 1977. pp.240-244. passim. p246, p253.
61. Rev'd Fergus McLaren: See Biographical Appendix B.
62. *Fergus A Memoir Of Fergus Blair McLaren* By His Friends Reed. Dunedin. 1943. p23.
63. *ibid.* p124.
64. *ibid.* p115.
65. Among them were clergy who experienced hard times as students during the depression years, and who for the most part had their roots in the blue collar and working class homes. Among them Falloon, Harding, Titchener, McLaren, and Hopkins. There were others. Roy Jamieson was never a student, but struggled through the Home Mission ministry to Ordination through the depression years.
 q.v. *Fergus.* op.cit. pp29-32. passim.

66. Donald Hankey: See Biographical Appendix B.
67. Hankey, D. *A Student In Arms* Second Series 4th Edition. Melrose. London 1918. pp.34-35.
68. Fergus. *op.cit.* p117.
69. Rev'd A. J. Penhall: See Biographical Appendix B.
70. Rev'd N. T. Wanoa: See Biographical Appendix B.
71. Padre Wanoa's pastoral concern for the Ngati Porou is considered in Part Five, **The Maori Chaplaincy.**
72. Rev'd Bert Whitten: See Biographical Appendix. B.
73. Whitten. *op.cit.* *The War Diary* p2.
74. Rev'd W. Mills: See Biographical Appendix B.
75. Mills, Rev'd W. *The War Recollections Of Rev. W (Bill) A. Mills 2.NZEF. 1940-45. 1956. p1. (QEII)*
76. Rev'd J. K. Watson: See Biographical Appendix. B.
77. Watson. *op.cit.* *The War Diary.* p1.
78. *ibid.* p61. Sunday 25th July 1943.
79. *ibid.* p91. Wednesday 5 April 1944.
80. Watson's views may be considered through the titles and texts he introduced into his preaching while chaplain to the Engineer Regiment. 1943-44.
- ibid.* p67. 18 October 1943. Sermon delt with Paul's Call to Macedonia. Acts.16:6ff. Watson suggested as the 2NZEF was now destined for Italy they may well be "...God's Ambassadors in this new continent".
- p68. Sunday 24th October 1943: 2 Cor. 4:18. "...for the things which are seen are temporal; but the things which are not seen are eternal." The previous day he noted one of the officers protested against the compulsory Church parade. Military authority was important to Watson. He had been a soldier and NCO.
- pp.68-69. Sunday 31 October 1943: Jeremiah:

44: 28. "...whose words shall stand, mine, or theirs." Watson's scripture and the sermon title preached just before battle.

p93. Sunday 23 April 1944. General Leese 8th Army Commander requested all chaplains of the 8th Army to preach on the subjects of Loyalty and Tradition. Watson was happy to comply and took OT examples from the life of King David.

81. *Analysis op.cit.* Chaplains Q11\8.
82. Breward. *op.cit.* p52. eg: Among them J. A. Allan.
83. Walton, John Rev'd. Audio Tape. Blenheim. 7th April 1994. Walton was then a Church Army Officer acting, somewhat reluctantly as the Bishop's Secretary and was present at the incident. (GHC)
84. Rev'd J. G. Mathews: See Biographical Appendix. B.
85. Mathews, John Rev'd CF. 21Bn 2NZEF. 24 January 1945 - Mr Bill Turner, Mayfield.
86. Barth, Karl. *A Letter To Great Britain From Switzerland*. Sheldon Press London. 1941. p21.
87. *ibid.* p24.
88. *A Pocket Companion*. *op.cit.* p42. *A Prayer for Victory and Peace:* p36. *A Prayer for our Allies:* p33. *A Prayer for the Empire:* p54. Rev'd R. S. Watson attempts to deal with "...tremendous spiritual issues." in asking men to support their chaplain. All these prayers have a theme of sacrifice.

CHAPTER SIX

1. *Church News*. Christchurch. The Newspaper of the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch 1 June 1940. A review of the book *God Defend The Right* by Nathaniel Micklem. pp.412-414 *passim*. Reviewed by the editor.
2. Anglican Colleges : St Johns Theological College. Auckland.
College House. Christchurch.
Selwyn College. Dunedin.
Roman Catholic : Holy Cross. Mosgiel.
Silverstream. Napier.

Presbyterian : Knox Theological Hall.
 Dunedin.
 Methodist : Trinity College. Auckland.
 Baptist : Baptist College. Auckland.
 Church of Christ : Glen Leith. Dunedin.
 Congregational : Included in Methodist College.

Non Denominational: NZ Bible Training Institute.
 Auckland.

3. 18th June 1940. The Government promulgated the *National Service Emergency Regulations* which introduced conscription for all male New Zealanders except Maori. A right of appeal to an Armed Forces Appeal Board was permitted. In the subsequent 5 years 306,000 males were called up for military service out of a population of 1.6 million people.
4. Those theological students who wished to appeal their military service call-up on pacifist grounds could do so. A small minority of pacifist students refused theological student exemption and chose to confront the Armed Forces Appeal Board. Some were imprisoned.
5. *The Outlook*. 15 November 1944. "Theological Hall" p17.
6. *The Analysis* includes three theological student responses, but contributions are consulted as a result of other interviews and letters.
7. *The Analysis* op.cit. Theological Students Q12:10.
8. *Church Notices*. (All denominations) Maadi Camp. HQ. 6 Division 2NZE. In Underhill Diary. [GHC]

Ordinands and men considering candidature for the Christian Ministry should give their names to any chaplain, as there is an organisation which may benefit them considerably while serving overseas and after.

Just how effective this organization was is questionable for there is no hint of its existence in the diaries of chaplains.

9. Watson, Rev'd J. K. *The War Diary*. p66. circa 20 August 1943.

"Bill Mills and I were busy on several occasions what with three young men who decided to become

candidates for the ministry."

10. SCF. 2NZEF Middle East Forces.- *Report To Chairman Of Chaplain(sic) Advisory Council. Army HQ. Wellington 26 December 1944. para (2) Theological Students. [QE2]*
11. *The Analysis* op.cit. Theological Students Q15:9.
12. *ibid.* Q10:10.
13. *ibid.* Q10:11.
14. *ibid.* Q14:9.
15. cf. Watson. *The War Diary* op.cit. He notes the death in action of an unnamed Presbyterian theological student in Italy.
16. "*Titch*" of the DIV.CAV. A Memoir Of L\Sergt. P. L. Titchener. 2nd N.Z.E.F. Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch. 1944. p40.
17. *loc.cit.*
18. *ibid.* p47.
19. *ibid.* pp.49-50.
20. Rt. Rev'd Sir E. Norman: See Biographical Appendix B.
21. Information provided from a conversation between Norman and Rev'd Dr. J. J. Lewis aboard the train in which they met. Norman was proceeding to Officer Cadet Training Unit circa 1940.
22. Davidson, Allan K. *Selwyn's Legacy The College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843-1992 A History.* Auckland. 1993. p180.
23. Rt. Rev'd Allan Pyatt. From an address to the newly commissioned National Service chaplains of 3 Brigade Military (Southern) District, Burnham Military Camp June 1964.
24. Rev'd Stewart Perry: See Biographical Appendix B.
25. Rev'd. S. Perry. *Response to Questionnaire & Letter, Takanini 23 November 1989.* - F. G. Glen (GHC)

26. loc.cit.
27. Barth, Karl. *The Church And The Political Problem Of Our Day* Hodder & Stoughton London. 1939. pp.78-79.
28. cf. Bainton, Roland H. *Christian Attitudes Toward War and Peace A Historical Survey and Critical Re-evaluation* Hodder & Stoughton London 1961. p222.
29. *The Analysis* Theological Students. Q10:9\10\11.
30. Swift, L. J. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service* Michael Glazier, Inc. Delaware. ND. p40.
31. Rev'd Dr. J. J. Lewis. Former Principal Trinity Methodist Theological College, Auckland and involved with the SCM first as a student and later as Auckland chaplain. Dr Lewis's remarks refer generally to theological students from mainstream theological colleges.
- q.v. *The NZ Methodist Times*. October 7 1939. Letter from Laurie Greenslade Senior Student in which he notes some of these problems. He later volunteered as a medical orderly.
- q.v. Davidson. op.cit. *Selwyn's Legacy*. p181. An Anglican perspective.
32. *The Analysis*. Theological Students Q10:10\11.
33. There are two known ordinations in the 2NZEF. Rev'd J. K. Watson (Meth) in Cairo on his transfer to the Chaplains Department and Rev'd Ian Ryburn (Pres) while a POW in Germany.
- Watson was a probationary minister of the Methodist Church on enlistment and was already licenced by his denomination as a clergyman. This thesis considered Watson outside the situation of a student and his ordination has already been noted among non-combatant clergy.
34. Rev'd Ian Ryburn: See Biographical Appendix B.
35. Rev'd Bob Griffiths: See Biographical Appendix B.
36. *Proceeding Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ*. 1944. p262.

37. Rev'd Ian Ryburn Audio Tape Interview. Christchurch 8 April 1994. The respondent has given approval to the writer to use interview, recorded material and his auto-biographical writing which, until now, has been known to his family only. His contribution is acknowledged and it is recognized the material is to be used in this study only.
38. Ryburn. loc.cit. 8 April 1994.
39. Ryburn, Ian *War Memories One Man's War To Be Or Not To Be Decisions* Privately Published for the Ryburn Family. Christchurch. 1986.
q.v. Opening page of Chapter One, page not numbered.
40. Ryburn, op.cit. 8 April
41. *ibid.*
42. *ibid.*

In interview (Christchurch 5 May 1996) Ryburn stated that the Germans had warned his associate, Staff Sgt. Brown, that if he betrayed them, he faced imprisonment in Belsen Concentration Camp. Ryburn understood he would face the same penalty.

43. Stevens, W. G. Major-General. *Problems of 2 NZEF Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45 War History Branch Wellington. 1958. "Welfare." pp.235-247. passim.*

The 2NZEF Administration had established alternative welfare options which employed more soldiers than the total number of YMCA or Church Army workers. In addition each YMCA Field Secretary generally had an enlisted soldier allocated as an assistant. A small number of New Zealand YWCA women Secretaries also served in the Middle East, under British jurisdiction.

44. Potter, B. W. *The New Zealand Y.M.C.A. with the 2nd N.Z.E.F. in Middle East and Italy* (Title is differently described on inside page) Wellington ND circa 1948. A cyclostyled foolscap publication. Not paginated consecutively. See Appendix "E": Not listed in Bagnal.

q.v. Dodson, Francis. *Two Crosses Being The Story Of The Church Army In New Zealand.* 1946. Appendix B.

Figures noted in the text extrapolated from the above official YMCA & Church Army records.

q.v. Stevens. op.cit. p241.

q.v. *The Analysis*. YMCA Field Secretaries. Question 10:Responses 1-5 consecutively.

45. *The Analysis* op.cit. YMCA Field Secretaries Q10:3 & 5.

46. Potter op.cit. Chapter One. "The Early Days" p6.

q.v. Mills, Rev'd W. *War Diary*. pp.1-2 passim.

q.v. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. *War Dairy and Reminiscences*. Sunday June 8 1941.

Underhill, an Anglican chaplain, was one of many who used the Church Army Hut and facilities for worship in the same manner as Mills, a Methodist, and his OPD associates used the facilities of the YMCA.

q.v. Dodson op.cit. pp.78-79.

References to establishment of Church Army facilities.

47. Stevens op.cit. p240.

48. Potter op.cit. Appendix D. p3.

49. *The Analysis* op.cit. YMCA Field Secretaries Q12:1-5 inclusive. q.v. Q18:2\5. Note No 5 in this response is the content of the Stead Letter referred to in Q12:5 herein.

50 Rev'd J. W. Walton Blenheim 11 October 1993.-letter [GHC]

q.v. Dodson op.cit. p71.

51 Dodson op.cit. p61.

52 *Anglican Military Affairs Minutes*. 26 September 1939, ANG096. 4\2 passim. [SJC]

53. *The Analysis* op.cit. Church Army Officers. Q10:8.
54. YMCA Field Secretaries represented a wider catchment of denominations than the chaplaincy. They included a significant number of Open Brethren.
55. Potter. op.cit. Appendix D. p1.
56. Rev'd A. Muriel (Cong) Rev'd G. Johnson (Cong) both Congregational clergy served as YMCA Field Secretaries in the 2NZE Middle East and Pacific.
57. Rev'd Owen Christian was one of a number of students from the NZ BTI who worked in the Church Army and after the war entered the Methodist Ministry.
58. Potter. op.cit. The list of those who served. Appendix E.
59. *ibid.* Appendix D. p1.
60. *ibid.* Chapter Two. "Greece And Crete." p1. For more detail pp.2-9 *passim*.
61. Swift. op.cit. p52.
62. *ibid.* p55.
63. *ibid.* p58.
64. *The Analysis*. YMCA Field Secretaries, Q10\3.
65. Potter. op.cit. Appendix D. p2. W. D. Potter is referring to the scripture passage St Mark 9:41.
66. Archbishop Campbell. *In Church News* February 1942 "The Archbishop's Letter".
67. Archbishop Campbell. March 1941 p4.
68. Flint, C. R. & Quote Staff *The Quotable Billy Graham* Murray Melbourne 1966. p144
69. Rev'd L. Greenslade. Interview. Auckland, November 1966. The late Laurie Greenslade had enlisted as a medical orderly about the same time as John K Watson and both went to Fiji in early 1940.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Campbell, Alastair V. (ed) *A Dictionary Of Pastoral Care*. SPCK Oxford. 1987. p299. col.1.
2. cf. *Church News*. May, 1943. p17. An account from Rev'd J. D. Froud (CofE) of the dedication of 4th General Hospital. 3 (NZ) Div. IP by himself and Rev'd W. Parker. (Meth)

Note: Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison states that Regimental Colours were laid up in New Zealand on the outbreak of war and none were consecrated during the war. There is no record of an artillery chaplain "blessing the guns" in the 2NZEF.

3. Chaplains' diaries note the conduct of Memorial Services following the battle, or during a lull in the fighting.
 4. Campbell. op.cit. p147. col.1.
 5. Richardson, C. C. "Christian Worship In NT Times" In *The Interpreter's Dictionary Of The Bible* Abingdon Press Nashville 1962. Vol. R-Z. Sec. 4. pp.887-889 passim.
- q.v. Dearmer, Percy M.A. *The Parson's Handbook*. With an Introductory Essay on Conformity to the Church of England. Henry Frowde London 1907. 6th Edition. p246.
6. The conduct of burials and unit services of worship by theological students, YMCA Field Secretaries and serving clergy in the field was similar to those students and clergy conscripted into the French and German armies of 1939-45. They were soldiers on all occasions except when requested to conduct divine worship and the sacraments. These occasions received little publicity within the Church both in Germany and Allied countries.
 7. Watson, Rev'd J. K. *The War Diary* p67 & p69. Scripture noted as in Diary.
 8. Campbell op.cit. p215. col.1.
 9. *Interpreter's Dictionary Of The Bible* Abingdon Press Nashville. 1962. Vol. K-Q. p868. col.1.
 10. 1 *Corinthians* 1. 21b-23.

11. Watson. *The War Diary* op.cit. Sunday 18th March 1944. p87.
12. Somerville, J. S. *Jack In The Pulpit* John McIndoe Dunedin 1987. p79.
13. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. *War Diary & Reminiscences*. pl. 20 April 1941. (GHC)

An account of the services aboard ship enroute to the Middle East. He also gives numbers attending Easter Communion and believed the padres were "chivvied round" and "...moved unintelligently amongst swarms of parishioners."

- q.v. Rev'd Thomas Skuse *Dairy of a Journey to the Middle East*. 16 January 1944. (MCA) Seven padres under the superintendence of Rev'd Father Edward Forsman sailed with the reinforcements. He organized them effectively and ecumenically for Divine Worship. Evidence of quite advanced ecumenical working with a Roman Catholic chaplain responsible for organizing and training new chaplains.
14. See Appendix D. 2NZEF and 2NZEF(IP) Chapels.
15. Gourdie, Rev. McL. R. *The War Dairy* p78. (GHC)
- q.v. Watson. *The War Dairy* op.cit. p73. Watson's opinion regarding compulsory services following a discussion with Major Goodsir who supported the Unit change to voluntary Church parades. Watson noted when the change was made "...and quite a nice number turned up." He continued voluntary services in his Unit, but compulsory Memorial Services at a company level were retained.
16. Dixon, Norman. *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* Jonathan Cape London. 1976. p359.
17. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison. Interview. Thames September 8 1994.
18. The only known New Zealand soldier killed on active service while at a Religious Service was 66736 Private Arthur (Bill) Hoy. He was assisting the Roman Catholic chaplain in the preparations for a Field Mass when German Stuka aircraft attacked the

surrounding positions. Pte Hoy's *Manual of Prayer* and a photograph of his grave were returned to his fiancée Winnie Toye. Hoy was an active member of St Benedict's Roman Catholic Parish Auckland. The official notification of death indicated he was "accidentally killed".

19. Appendix G.
 20. *Church News* June 1st, 1940. The Archbishop's Letter. The Editorial.
 21. *The Christchurch Star-Sun*. Friday, May 14, 1943. p3. Special Prayers to be Offered For Victory In British Churches. Prayer on the Defeat of the Africa Korps.
- HM King George VI on regular occasions throughout WW2 called the British Commonwealth to Prayer. These periods were recognized throughout Great Britain and the Dominions, and especially within the Armed Forces in both training and Active Service. King George devoutly believed there was Divine direction and Guidance available to those in authority during WW2.
22. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Department of Internal Affairs. Wellington 1950. p94.
 23. Mills, Rev. W (Bill) A. *The War Recollections Of* p1. (MCA)
 24. cf. Gourdie. op.cit. p78.
- q.v. *Brigadier (Salvation Army) Dean Goffin Papers* (SAA) Letter-From 7473 Lt. Dean Goffin. 4 Brigade Band. 2NZEF MEF. 19 July 1942. To his parents -Wellington NZ. Goffin describes a spectacular compulsory Church parade with an equally spectacular march past. The several Brigade bands played an important part in the services and the ceremonial.
25. Commissioner Dean Goffin (SA): See Biographical Appendix B.
 26. Goffin Papers. op.cit. Letter 25 November 1941 p7. To his parents.
 27. *ibid.* p6.
 28. Rev'd Norman Sansom: See Biographical Appendix B.

29. Rev'd G. A. D. Spence: See Biographical Appendix B.
30. An aided parish within the Presbyterian Church is one receiving a subsidy from official Church funds for the maintenance of its existence and work. Such a parish can be newly created, or requires sustaining though a change in social conditions.
31. Dean Michael Underhill: See Biographical Appendix B.
32. cf. Goffin. op.cit. p6.
33. At the first Chaplains' School to be conducted at Waiouru Military Camp for the National Service Training Units in 1962 cadet chaplains were required to repeat the Lord's Prayer and be heard audibly at the length of a parade ground. Perhaps this style of training might have been considered irreverent in 1942.
34. Chaplains do not appear to have noted their diffidence in diaries or letters. Privately over the post war years a number admitted to being ill prepared to cope with the large services and to a feeling that the best of their numbers ought to have specialized in such large services. Those who have commented believed the strength of the denominational duty to be represented and to have their "turn" was stronger than it would have been in the more ecumenical circumstances of today.
35. Underhill. *Official History* op.cit. pp.92-93 passim. Compulsory Church parades were not generally held in the front line, but were nearly always in the rear positions and held on special occasions such as those commanded by the King.
36. Campbell. op.cit. p147. col.2.
 - q.v. Padre Underhill recalls the impressive sound of over 4000 men in a Brigade Church Parade of Easter 1944 turning their page over together in following the liturgy. It was the loudest and most reverent rustling sound he had ever heard.
37. There are references by Anglican chaplains to their use of Church Army facilities in Base areas for voluntary evening services which were unquestionably very Anglican. These were the Anglican equivalent of the YMCA Song Services held on a Sunday evening. Yet it is equally as evident that ALL denominations, and all chaplains, took part in YMCA song services. What

records there are show it was rare for a non Anglican chaplain to take part in services in the Church Army Huts.

38. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. Audio Tape 1. Underhill indicates the Brigade Roman Catholic chaplain had freedom to move throughout the entire area, and Catholics could be detached without much difficulty from their units when the padre arrived. (GHC)

q.v. Forsman, W. *A War Time Brotherly Appreciation* (QE2 War Memorial 9302532.) circa 1991. Unpaginated. Private Family Publication. "Mass over, we returned to our positions, naturally stirring up the dust clouds, and the inevitable rebuke from our mates when the crap came down. One remark we heard was, "I don't think your bloody Pope likes us right footers."

39. *Church News* May, 1941 "The Archbishop's Letter"

q.v. Rev'd McL. R. Gourdie DSO. Letter Foxton Beach 12 September para 14. 1989 - [GHC] Padre Gourdie records that he did not find ALL Anglican chaplains in agreement with the ecumenical spirit.

q.v. Rev'd E. F. Farr *Experiences*. Letter p5. -Epsom, 26 July 1989. (KTC) Padre Farr, a Presbyterian notes that some Anglican chaplains "...who were a bit stuffy" in their attitude towards matters of co-operation and unity.

40. Mills. op.cit. p1.

q.v. *The Outlook*. December 20, 1944. "For troops on the field the Sunday service resembles the service they knew at home only in the spirit in which they worship their God." A report of 900 attending worship in Italy of whom 130 remained for a Presbyterian style of Holy Communion. A complementary comment to that of Mills.

41. Underhill. Audio Tape 1 op.cit. Underhill always refers to his soldiers as *parishioners*.

42. There are *frequent* references in the War diaries of Whitten, Watson, Gourdie, Falloon, Parker, and Underhill to the organization of line services and religious groups. Farr, Thorpe, and Bicknell refer

to these instances in their contribution to *The Analysis*.

q.v. Padre G. A. D. Spence In *The Outlook* "With the N.Z. Division in Italy" February 16, 1944. p7.

43. cf. North, Corporal. J. R. 2NZEF. Kennington, Southland. Interview Southland, 26 November 1977.

These (Memorial Services) were very reverent occasions. As the war went on it tended to make you a bit cautious about who you took as mates, because if you really got too close to someone, who had kids for instance, there was a feeling of responsibility to those left behind. I really did not envy the padres having to write letters to the blokes' parents or wives. In answer to your question about whether these were occasions of depression, I can honestly say they were not.

44. Mills. op.cit. p1. para.3.

45. *ibid.* p2.

46. *loc.cit.*

47. Campbell. op.cit. p147. col.2.

48. Brigadier James Hargest: See Biographical Appendix B.

49. Hargest, Brigadier James. *Farewell Campo 12* Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd Wellington. 1945. pp.19-26. Hargest recounts his capture.

50. Rev'd C. G. Palmer: See Biographical Appendix B.

51. Hargest. op.cit. p33.

52. Rev'd Frank Green: See Biographical Appendix B.

53. Haigh, J. Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage The official history of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department.* The Word Publishers. Auckland. 1983. p119.

q.v. Underhill. Audio Tape Interview 1. op.cit.

q.v. Underhill. *War Diary* op.cit. pp.3-11. *passim*.

54. Bicknell Papers In "Reply to Questionnaire." An additional comment in letter, 30 September 1989.

(SAA)

- q.v. Rev. R. G. McDowall MA. ED. *War Diary*. (AWM)
26 November 1941 - 30 November 1941. Padre
McDowall writes an objective account of the
capture and privations of death, shelling and
shortage of water.
55. Private Wm. Baker. Interview. Thames 3 February
1995. Mr Baker was a patient in the Field Hospital
and received communion from Underhill. He expressed
his fear of death and sense of bewilderment and Padre
Underhill prayed with him asking God to strengthen
and give Mr Baker courage. He believed the prayer to
be answered as he is alive and well today.
56. Witheford, Rev'd A. R. *Sermons* No 289. circa 1945.
Text Matthew 28: 20.
57. Very Rev'd. O. Baragwanath Letter 11 October 1993. -
F. G. Glen. (GHC)
58. *Presbyterian Church of NZ A Pocket Companion To Her
Members on Active Service*. Presbyterian Bookroom,
Christchurch circa 1943. "A Prayer for Courage and
Endurance." p15.
59. Baragwanath. op.cit. 11 October 1993.
- 60 Underhill. Audio Tape 2 and he comments on the
effects of worship on p98 of his "*NZ Chaplains in
the 2WW*" (GHC)
61. Bell. R. A. Pte 65627. 24.BTN. *Soldiers Diary*
2NZE From September 1941 - September 1946.
(GHC) 21 May 1944; 17 January 1945; 12 May
1945.
62. Bishop C. W. West-Watson DD. MC. Address to New
Zealand Anglican Servicemen on his Christmas Card of
1944 to the Middle East Forces. (message signed by
Campbell in the absence of West-Watson.) (CDA)

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Davis, Brian. *The Way Ahead* Anglican Change &
Prospect in New Zealand The Caxton Press.
Christchurch 1995. p56.
2. Anglican Military Affairs Committee (AMAC) Minutes 12
February 1940. (SJC)

3. See Appendix G: *The King's Regulations For The Army And The Army Reserve* 1935 His Majesty's Stationary Office London 1935 paras 1571-1582. Passim. (QE2) The task of censoring letters arose through the idea of maintaining confidentiality. Officers were not usually required to have their letters censored, it was considered they would not reveal information of a sensitive or military nature.

q.v. *Fergus A Memoir Of Fergus Blair McLaren* By His Friends. Reed Dunedin 1943. p105. q.v. 9 March 1941.

4. cf. Rev'd Owen Baragwanath Audio Tape Interview. 18 April 1994. (GHC)

5. *Fergus* op.cit. p98: p105 9 March 1941.

Fergus McLaren elected to attend an Anglican Communion after attending a Presbyterian Service.

6. cf. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *NZ Chaplains in the 2nd WW*. War History Branch Wellington 1950. p79: p90: p102.

q.v. C. L. Robinson, Marton, Letter 12 October 1993

I recall one occasion when our Brigade was in a rest area Padre Bill Francis (Methodist) of 24th Bn sent word around for a special communion service for Methodists of the Brigade to join him. I my younger bro, and a friend...were among those who attended this rare occasion. (GHC)

7. Bicknell, E. J. *The Thirty Nine Articles* Revised by J. H. Carpenter Longmans London. 3rd Edition 1955. pp.356-357.

8. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. Letter to his Bishop 1st April 1944 In War Diary.

q.v. loc.cit. 11 April 1944. A report on the Easter Service combined with Presbyterians and Methodists. He reported five early morning Easter Services and "one big communion". (CDA)

9. Bicknell. op.cit. p366.

10. *The Book Of Common Prayer, (Including) Hymns*

Ancient And Modern. University Press of London & Oxford. circa 1936. p259.

11. Bicknell. op.cit. p391.
12. ibid. p392.
13. *Book of Common Prayer* op.cit. p260.
14. cf. Thorpe, Rev'd David. *A Padre's Story*. NZTV Video Presentation of Anzac April 1991. Channel 1. 24 April 1991.
15. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. "The Padre as Prisoner" An Experience in Libya. *In Church News*. March, 1942. p2. Underhill wrote this after the event from diary notes kept at the time. Some years later he re-wrote it to add to his *War Dairy*. The original account states, "It was a wonderful thing to see the effect of the Blessed Sacrament." (CDA)

cf. Stout, T. Duncan M. *New Zealand Medical Services in Middle East and Italy* Official History of NZ in the Second World War 1939-45. War History Branch Wellington. 1956. pp.275-280.

The official account of the capture.
16. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. *War Diary & Reminiscences*. op.cit. p.3-10 passim.
17. loc.cit.
18. loc.cit.
19. loc.cit.
20. Underhill. *Church News* op.cit. p2.
21. Gourdie, Rev. Mcl. R. *The War Diary* pp.104-105.
22. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* "Padres' Service" p2. 9 March 1942.
23. loc.cit.
24. Rev'd Ivor Hopkins: See Biographical Appendix B.
25. Rev'd W. E. W. Hurst: See Biographical Appendix B.
26. Rev'd R. G. McDowall: See Biographical Appendix B.

27. McDowall, Rev'd R. G. *War Diary* 7 July 1943: 28-29th August 1943: 5 September 1943. McDowall describes "different" Anglican customs. Despite the common experience of being prisoners of war Non Anglicans were still not invited to share Anglican Holy Communion in this instance.
28. Underhill. *NZ Chaplains in the 2nd WW*. op.cit. p112.
29. Church Army Officers were not authorized by the Anglican Church to celebrate the Sacraments. YMCA Field Secretaries were laymen, with the expectation of two appointments who were ordained clergy of OP Denominations. There is no record that these two celebrated the Holy Communion while serving as Field Secretaries. Many Field Secretaries and Church Army Officers assisted chaplains in the distribution of the communion elements.
30. Walton, Rev'd J. Audio Taped Interview. 7 April 1994. (GHC)
31. cf. Mason, W. Wynne. *Prisoners Of War*. Official History of NZ in the Second World War 1939-45. War History Branch. Wellington 1954. fn. p247.
32. Canon David Thorpe: See Biographical Appendix B.
33. Major Grigg: See Biographical Appendix B.
34. Thorpe, Rev'd Canon D. Letter Hanmer Springs, 11 November 1989 - To F. G. Glen. (GHC) The grammar in the entire letter is difficult to follow.
35. loc.cit.
36. Dr J. Borrie: See Biographical Appendix B.
37. Dr. John Borrie, Audio Taped Interview. Otago Medical School 12 April 1994. (GHC)
38. Underhill to Bishop. op.cit. 1 April, 1944. (CDA)
39. loc.cit.
40. loc.cit.
41. loc.cit.
42. loc.cit.

43. *ibid.* 11 April 1941.
44. Underhill. *War Diary op.cit.* Pt.2. p6.
45. Rev'd Ken Schollar: See Biographical Appendix B.
46. Rev'd B. O. Plumb: See Biographical Appendix B.
47. Pastor Douglas Campbell. (Church of Christ) Interview. Thames April 2 1993. Pastor Campbell considered the padre to be of the "high" church persuasion.
48. Private Murray Forster. Letter. Rotorua 9 October 1993. (GHC)
49. Bishop A. K. Warren: See Biographical Appendix B.
50. Foster *op.cit.*
51. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison described Hopkins "a bit like a fellow from the Church Army." By implication a low churchman. "Everybody liked him, he was more at home with those in detention."
52. Hopkins Audio Tape Interview *op.cit.*
53. *ibid.*
54. Cross F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church.* Oxford University Press London 1963. p1349. col.1.
55. *ibid.* St. Cyprian pp.363-364.
 q.v. *The Great Encyclopaedia Of Universal Knowledge.* Odhams Press. London ND. p326.
 "...he was a zealous bishop of the High Church type."
56. Roberts A. & J. Donaldson. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library: Translations Of The Writings Of The Fathers Down To A.D.325.* T & T Clark Edinburgh 1888. Vol.VIII. *The Writings Of Cyprian.* In Vol. 1 Translated by R. E. Wallis. p214. (Both Volumes in one)
57. *ibid.* p219.
58. *ibid.* p221.
59. *Book of Common Prayer. op.cit.* p265.

60. Hopkins Audio Tape Interview op.cit.

CHAPTER NINE

1. *Population Census 1936; 1945; 1951; 1956; 1961; 1996. Religious Professions* Government Printer. Wellington. An average of 13.5% from 1936.
2. Hall, H. Duncan. *The British Commonwealth Of Nations* Methuen & Co. Ltd. London 1920. pp.375-376.
3. Two denominational newspapers informed the Roman Catholic community in New Zealand, *The Zealandia* located in Auckland and the *NZ Tablet* in Dunedin.

NZ Tablet. 10 January 1934 & 4 July 1934. A sympathetic statement on the rise of Hitler in a time of massive German unemployment. (LIS)
- 4 cf. Simmons, E. R. *A Brief History Of The Catholic Church In New Zealand* Catholic Publications Centre. Auckland 1978. p102.
5. Prime Minister M. J. Savage: See Biographical Appendix B.
6. Gustafson, Barry. *From The Cradle To The Grave* A biography of Michael Joseph Savage Reed Methuen Auckland 1986. p213.
7. Liston Papers. LIS. 111. Selection of Papers relating to Military Chaplaincy 1939-45. -to the Military Secretary Papers. File 1940. (LIS)
8. Davidson, Allan K. *Christianity In Aotearoa A History of Church and Society in NZ. Education For Ministry* Wellington 1991. pp.93-94. 9.4 "Conclusion"
9. *Population Census, 1945 Vol. VI-Religious Professions.* Gov't. Printer. Wellington. 1952. pii.

Southlands population was 69,748 of whom 34,696 or 49.75% claimed to be adherents or members of the Presbyterian Church.
10. Simmons. op.cit. pp.98-99. Bishop Liston's sedition trial of 1922 when he accused the British Government of terrorist tactics in Ireland. The

Auckland court found him Not Guilty.

cf. Davidson. op.cit. p90.

11. *Population Census.* op.cit. p.ii. Roman Catholics represented 28.3% of Westland's population, virtually double the national average for the rest of New Zealand.
12. Interview David Baxter retired Police Constable. Havelock North, August 1986.

Political, religious and discussions concerning women were avoided or discouraged by hoteliers during the depression years. It was not always wise or safe, in the West Coast mining community to discuss the problems of Ireland or British Ulster even into the early 1950s.

13. Sister Margaret Louism, Associate Parish worker in ministry. Catholic Parish of Thames. Interview September 1993. Sister Margaret recalled her upbringing and education in a strict Catholic family home and Convent schooling during the 1940s.
14. Roman Catholic's represented 13.09% of NZ Population in 1936. The Table below shows the RC lowest and highest proportion employed in the selected occupational groups. The +or-% indicates the under representation or over-representation of Roman Catholics in the selected occupation.

| <u>Occupation</u> | <u>Percentage</u> | <u>+ or-%</u> |
|-------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| Motor Trade | 8.34% | -4.75% |
| Shipping & Trade | 8.79% | -4.03% |
| Medical & Hosp. | 10.02% | -3.07% |
| Defence | 11.06% | -2.03% |
| Local Gov't | 12.86% | -1.20% |
| Freezing Workers | 13.28% | + .19% |
| Mental Patients | 18.51% | +5.42% |
| Forest Workers | 18.91% | +5.82% |
| Police Force | 22.06% | +8.97% |
| Religious\ Clergy | 23.87% | +10.78% |
| Hotel Trade | 27.04% | +13.95% |

In: *Population Census, 1936. Vol. VI.-Religious Professions.* Gov't Printer Wellington, 1940.

15. Rev'd Father David Bennett MA Parish Priest & Theological Teacher. Hamilton. Interview 8th February 1994. His opinion regarding the influences of Irish Catholic priests in contrast to the New

Zealand "Kiwi" cultural development within Catholicism.

16. Donovan, Peter (ed) *Religions of New Zealanders* Dunmore Press. Palmerston North. 1990. p68.
17. The late Rev'd E.T. Olds told the writer of this incident during the time he was a student in Auckland in the mid 1950s. In the opening months of the Second World War Olds was a visiting lunch-time chaplain to the Railway Workshops.
18. Davin, Daniel Marcus. *In The Illustrated Encyclopedia Of New Zealand*. David Bateman Auckland 1989. p.286. cols.2&3.

E H McCormick has written of him: "He rarely ventures north of Dunedin (as a writer) and confines himself ...to a spiritual enclave of the Southland Province inhabited by Catholic families of Irish origin. The manners and morals of...their religious beliefs... have supplied the material for some of Davin's most successful fiction.
19. The writer has vivid memories of attending a wedding in the Waikiwi (Invercargill) Roman Catholic Church in 1944 when aged 11 and listening to the whispered comments of Protestant guests. The Bride's parents had refused to attend the wedding because she had decided to "turn" eg. become a Roman Catholic.
20. *The Catholic Soldier* July, 1942.
21. Gustafson. op.cit. p212.
22. ibid. p213.
23. Underhill, Rev'd M. L. Audio Tape Interview No 2.
24. Simmons. op.cit. p100.
25. Shirer, William L. *The Rise And Fall Of The Third Reich* A History of Nazi Germany. Book Club Associates. Printed in GB. 1978. p234.
26. ibid. p235.
27. Nash, Walter. *New Zealand A Working Democracy* J. M. Dent & Sons London 1945. pp.36-37. passim.
28. "The Pope and The War" *In The Catholic Soldier* July, 1942. (LIS)

29. loc.cit.

30. loc.cit.

31. loc.cit.

32. Forsman, H. C. A. (ed) *E. A. Forsman, Priest, Padre, Poet*. Privately Published. Auckland 1992. p7.

...Ted found himself, for good measure, also responsible for the care of the German Catholics in the Helwan Prisoner of War Camp. He threw himself into the work of saying Mass, hearing confessions and preaching in German with a good deal of energy.

q.v. Maadi Roman Catholic Chapel Notices. 1944.
In LIS.111.

The *Chapel Record Book* notes Confessions and Mass by the NZ Roman Catholic chaplain in residence at Maadi at least once weekly among German prisoners of war.

33. McDowall, Rev. R. G. *War Diary*. Not infrequent reference by Padre McDowall to the appointed Italian Roman Catholic army Chaplain to Allied prisoners of war. He does not comment as to how the chaplain was accepted, though services and masses appear to have been well attended by New Zealand Catholics.

34. *The Catholic Soldier* "Faithful In Service" July, 1942.

35 loc.cit.

36. cf. Chesnais, SM. T. *Le Menant des. The Church And The World* NZ Tablet Printing, Dunedin 1905 pp.42-43.

37. *ibid.* p226 para 6.

38. Sister Margaret *op.cit.* Recalls her teaching nuns dramatically warning 10 year old Catholic children at her Catholic school, circa 1942, "If you go to a Protestant service, or sing their hymns you'll never get to heaven, for Protestants can never get to heaven without first becoming Catholics."

q.v. Chesnais, *op.cit.* "Approbation." Bishop J. J. Grimes in commending Chesnais's book uses the words "...our dear separated brethren" with

reference to Protestants.

39. Trent. Council of, 1545-63. Considered by Roman Catholic theologians as the most impressive embodiment of the ideals of the Counter-Reformation.

See: Cross, F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church*. Oxford University Press, London 1963 pp.1373-1374.

40. Kearney, John Rev. C.S.Sp. *The Meaning Of The Mass Materials For Meditation On The Holy Sacrifice And Its Relation To Our Spiritual Life*. Burns Oates & Washbourne London. Publishers to the Holy See. ND. page x. "Method Of Treatment".

41. *ibid.* p105.

42. *ibid.* p108.

43. *ibid.* p111.

44. "To change from one substance to another; to transform, to transmute." *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*. Vol. 2. 1950. p2234. col.2.

45. No. 10648. Rev. E. A. Forsman C.F. 1st. N.Z. General Hospital N.Z.E.F. At Sea. Undated. (circa 1940) Letter-Rt. Rev. Dr. J. Liston, Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland. In Liston Papers LIS.111. See Biographical Appendix B.

46. Liston Papers. *op.cit.* Roman Catholic Chapel notes Maadi 1944.

47. *loc.cit.*

48. cf. QE2 War Memorial 9302532. *A War Time Brotherly Appreciation*. "Here comes your brother, Bill, we love him you know, but tell the bastard to stay away."

49. Rev'd Father Leo Spring: See Biographical Appendix B.

50. 8999 Fr. L. P. Spring N.Z. 6th Bde. 2.N.Z.E.F. 1 March 1944. Letter - To E. A. Forsman. In Liston Papers LIS.111

51. Haigh, J. Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage* The official history of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains' Department The Word Publishers. Auckland 1983. p107.

52. Rev'd Father Wm Sheely: See Biographical Appendix B.
53. Oflag VA. Chaplain William Sheely. 29 October 1943.
Letter to Bishop J. M. Liston. In LIS.111.
54. Rev'd Fathers Sneddon and Flanagan undertook to provide relief for Father Sheely while he was a POW in Italy. In LIS.111 Sheely to Liston 7 May 1943.
55. LIS.III. op.cit. Forsman-Liston 3 December 1944.
56. *The Catholic Soldier* July, 1942. P1. "The Catholic Soldier-An Apostle" In LIS.111.
57. Forsman, H. C. A. op.cit. p104.
58. *ibid.* p83.
59. Forsman, H. C. A. op.cit. p98.
60. *ibid.* p22.
61. *ibid.* p26. Selected from the poem "In Lucem".
62. Father J. Pierce to Bishop J. Liston. 16 March 1944.
op.cit. (LIS.111.)
63. Appendix C. Table I. Col. 7. Just over half of the Roman Catholics in the 2NZEF attended church services.
64. *The Catholic Soldier* August, 1942. "Prayer for Peace" also "Our Blessed Sacrament Chapel" (LIS.111.)
q.v. *ibid.* June, 1943. p6. "Does the Crucifix of your Rosary carry with it the Plenary Indulgence to be gained at the moment of death? If not, ask your Chaplain for this special blessing."
65. *ibid.* In "The Catholic Soldier-An Apostle" -F.G.W.
66. Forsman, H. C. A. op.cit. p98.
67. *The Catholic Soldier* July, 1942. "What Are We Fighting For?" In LIS.111.
68. *The Last of the World Wars*. Replay Radio. Broadcast NZ on Air 3 July 1994. General Freyberg was a nominal Anglican as was Burrows. Parkinson was a Presbyterian and Crump a Methodist.

CHAPTER TEN

1. Stevens, W. G. Major-General. *Problems of 2 NZEF Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* War History Branch Wellington 1958. p121. Enlistment census figures for the year 1943 by denomination.
2. An early interview of WW1 chaplains revealed a criticism regarding the arrogance of some Anglican chaplains who demanded recognition above other denominations. Rev'd J. A. Luxton Senior Chaplain NZ Division 1NZEF relates in his diary of February 1915 bickering between himself (a Methodist) and the Anglican brigade chaplains who believed his position ought to have been held by an Anglican.

Anecdotal evidence from WW2 reveals a repetition of what was perceived as arrogance by some Anglican chaplains who believed as the largest denomination Anglicans ought to hold Senior chaplain positions.

3. *An Adventure in Co-operation amongst Christian Youth.* Pamphlet Undated circa 1944. In Thornley Papers 1944-70. Vol.1. [GHC]
 - q.v. *The Outlook* 9 August 1944. p10. The above is reprinted totally into the title "N.Z. Adventure Christian Youth Learn Co-operation."
 - q.v. Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. *Protestant Christianity Students Edition* New York. 1968. pp.294-295. *passim*. A wider world view of the growing ecumenical youth activity.
4. *They Met at Christchurch Full Report of the Conference on Christian Order in New Zealand Christ's College, Christchurch August 28 to September 4, 1945.* National Council of Churches Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch 1945. p7.
5. Winhall, N. E. Rev MBE, L Th. "The Chaplains' Department in New Zealand 1939-45." In M. L. Underhill *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington. 1950. pp.181-182.

6. Protestants did not hold to a Catholic understanding or belief of Apostolic Succession which excluded those of differing understanding from Anglican or Roman

Catholic Holy Communion.

7. Onions, C. T. (ed) *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary* The Clarendon Press Oxford 1950. (2 Vols) Vol. 2. p1382. col.3. "A practice or usage authoritatively enjoined or prescribed, esp. a religious or ceremonial observance. Applied esp. to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper."
8. *The Book Of Offices being the Orders of Service authorized for use in the Methodist Church together with The Order for Morning Prayer* Methodist Publishing House. London. 1936. p69.
9. Purdy, Alexander C. and J. Harry Cotton "The Epistle to the Hebrews" In *The Interpreter's Bible* Abingdon Press Nashville Vol. 11. 1955. pp.619-620. See Commentary. 3:1.
- q.v. Finlay, Allan H. Rev. C.F. (ed) *2NZEF Middle East Edition New Zealand Baptist*. April 1945. p3. An article on the Priesthood of all believers, "This remains still the real cause of the cleavage between their (Catholic and Anglican Churches) frozen system of authority and that of the Free Churches, and it is one which may never be bridged."
10. *The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand To Her Members On Active Service A Pocket Companion*. Presbyterian Bookroom Christchurch. ND. circa 1942. 45 pages of prayers, selected hymns, readings psalms, and devotional matter. Brief homilies by the former chaplains listed below.

Rev. Dr E. N. Merrington CF. "The Presbyterian Church What Does It Stand For?"

Rev. John A Allan CF. "What is a Man To Believe?"

Rev. R. S. Watson MA CF. "Why Use The Means Of Grace?"

Rev. J. A. Thomson CF. "Temptations And How To Meet Them"

Rev. D. C. Herron MC. "What About Your Marriage?"
11. Underhill, Rev's M. L. *The War Diary*. April 13 1941. Aboard ship. "Stan Reed(sic)(Read) had O.D. parade and communion (with more communicants than us)".
- q.v. There are additional references to be found in

the War Diary's of Gourdie, Skuse and Watson.

- q.v. Falloon, Rev. Geo. MC BA. *War Diary*. October 24 1943. Following the memorial service for those who fell in battle, 30 attended the Communion service.
12. Bates, J. M. M.A. *Our Church's Faith* A Study Book On Christian Doctrine Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch 1941. p45.
- q.v. Bates, J. M. M.A. *A Manual Of Doctrine* Presbyterian Bookroom. Christchurch 1950 pp.184-185. *passim*. An appreciation of the Methodist & Anglican celebrations of holy Communion from a Presbyterian perspective.
13. McConnachie, John Rev. "Talks To The Catechumen" The Christian Church And The Sacraments In The Confirmation Class A Manual of preparation for intending First Communicants Paul & Matthew Dundee 6th Edition 1962. General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. p31.
14. *loc.cit.*
15. *A Pocket Companion op.cit.* p52.
16. Rev'd John T. Gardiner. Torbay Auckland. Interview March 7 1995. John Gardiner is a surviving contemporary of many Presbyterian chaplains noted in this thesis. He studied as a student with them at Knox Theological Hall Dunedin. Gardiner was active in supply work during the war years and the parishes mentioned were familiar to him as were their worship customs.
17. Gardiner. *op.cit.*
18. *Book Of Common Order 1928 For Use In Services and Offices Of The Church*. Oxford University Press. London. There was a subsequent revision which was published in March 1940 which found use among a younger generation of Presbyterian ministers.
19. McDowall, Rev. R. G. MA. ED. *War Diary*. References throughout February 1942 - July 1943 *passim*. Including his attendance at a Holy Communion Service conducted by a visiting Greek Orthodox priest.

20. McDowall. op.cit. 26 September 1943.

A major feature of the war diary is the regularity with which McDowall conducted Holy Communion. He never missed a Sunday and frequently conducted communion mid-week. There were Roman Catholic and Anglican chaplains in the same prison-camp, so McDowall catered for Protestants. He says "The Anglican service attracts me."

q.v. Entry Sunday 5th September 1943.

21. McDowall. op.cit. 28 February and 2 July 1943. Father Cotter, the Italian RC Army chaplain who provided the elements also endeavoured to encourage NZ prisoners to assist in the building a RC Camp Chapel. The payment was an extra loaf of bread a day. McDowall was cynical about the matter. The chapel was destroyed on the Italian capitulation.

22. Rev'd S. Perry: See Biographical Appendix B.

23. Rev'd Stewart Perry, Takanini. Letter- 23 November 1989.

q.v. Interviewed at Katikati 7 August 1995.

24. *Methodist Church of New Zealand. Minutes Of The Conference. 1938. p166.*

25. Rev'd R. V. Jamieson: See Biographical Appendix B.

26. *The NZ Methodist Times* 28 June 1941. col.4.

27. *Book of Offices* op.cit. p70.

28. *ibid.* p79.

29. Rev'd Dr. J. J. Lewis Past Principal Trinity Methodist Theological College Auckland. Lecturer in New Testament Studies. I am grateful for Dr Lewis's comment in this section of the text.

30. Of the one hundred and sixty one chaplains who served in the 2NZEAF seven represented the Congregational Church, Associated Churches' of Christ and Baptist Church. See Appendix C. Table 1.

31. Finlay, Rev. A. H. C.F. *Christmas & Souvenir Number NZ Baptist. Middle East Edition December 1944. p6.(iii)* An account of a Baptist Rally NZ YMCA Divisional HQ, Central Italy. It concluded with

Holy communion where Baptist and other evangelical soldiers assisted their Padre.

32. Survey conducted among the seven ex WW2 veterans of the Thames Baptist Church. They were quite unanimous in their recollection that communion services among OPD chaplains were not as regular as those conducted by Anglicans. The first thing the Anglican chaplain did on arrival for a service "... was to set-up for the celebration of communion."
33. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison Interview 22 July 1993.
34. Thompson, (Padre) Bill *The God Botherer Pumpkin* Press Christchurch 1976 p.93.
35. *ibid.* p94.
36. Finlay. *NZ Baptist op.cit.* December 1944. p3.
37. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War War History Branch Wellington* 1950. p102.
38. C. L. Robinson. Marton. Letter - 12 October 1993. Contains information of attendance at various churches in Italy, and memories of a Methodist Holy Communion for his Brigade conducted by Rev'd W. Francis.

q.v. Underhill recounts frequently in his war diary of taking Anglican soldiers to the Cairo Cathedral. J. K. Watson also notes his visits with some of his soldiers to a rural Methodist Church in Italy and the Methodist Church in Rome.
39. Thompson *op.cit.* p100.
40. Captain Wm Thompson (SA): See Biographical Appendix B.
41. Underhill Interview May 19 1995. Rangiora. Underhill notes the theological dichotomy which existed in the Anglican view of Salvation Army Officers being commissioned chaplains. He states Anglican chaplains did not want to make an issue of this difficulty.
42. Underhill, Rev'd. M. L. "Addendum" p8 *In War Diary.*
43. Underhill. *War Diary op.cit.* 3 & 5 December 1941. Sunday 4th October 1942.

44. Mr Ivan Whyte. Mt Eden. Auckland. Letter - 4 November 1993. Reference to attending communion in the Brethren tradition while in the NZ Army.
- q.v. Mr Norman Botting, Gore former Medical Orderly. 2NZEF Interview 26 April Invercargill 1995. Statement regarding Brethren Assembly in Cairo and participation by Brethren Elders in the "Breaking of Bread" within the 2NZEF.
- q.v. Skuse. Rev. Thomas, *War Diary* 1944. 6 February 1944. Thomas Skuse was an evangelical Methodist and recounts a prayer meeting held with other evangelicals in the ship's hold in which he travelled to the Middle East.
45. cf. Howe, F. A. *Then The Planes Came*. Nile Press. Cairo circa 1942. An example of a Christian tract by a British Church Army Officer witnessing to the Providence of God throughout the Crete Campaign. (BTC)
46. Mr Allan North, 2NZEF Interview Kennington 11 November 1977. This is of course, only his reaction.
47. Swift, Louis J. *The Early Fathers On War And Military Service* Michael Glazier, Delaware. ND. p37.
48. Whiteley, Rev'd John. *Journal* 1832-63. (MCA) 18 March 1860. 25 March 1860: 28 March 1860. New Plymouth is besieged, Whiteley holds Prayer Meetings. 8 April 1860: 22 April 1860. (MCA)
49. Rev'd John Rishworth: See Biographical Appendix B.
50. Rishworth, Rev'd John S. *Journal* 1864. (QE2) 30 August 1864.
51. Bishop Allan Pyatt: See Biographical Appendix B.
52. Dean Allan Pyatt. Chaplains' Conference 3 Brigade, SMD Burnham Military Camp July 1964. From his lecture to 3SMD National Service Chaplains on the necessity to be fully ecumenical.
53. Rev'd Geo, Falloon *War Diary* 24th October 1943. Following the ceasation of fighting on Vella Le Vella
54. Watson, Rev'd J. K. *The War Diary* p88. 21 March 1944.
55. The theological difficulty regarding Salvation Army Officers commissioned as military chaplains has still not been overcome. It remains an open option for

Salvationists to celebrate. They are usually instructed by another Protestant chaplain in the required procedures and liturgy.

56. Rev'd W. J. McKenzie: See Biographical Appendix B.
57. *The Outlook*, July 5, 1944 Letter to Presbyterian Assembly Chaplains' Committee from General B. C. Freyberg. Hq 2 NZ Division. M.E.F.
58. Rev'd G. A. D. Spence: See Biographical Appendix B.
59. Stevens. op.cit. p121.
60. cf. Rev'd M. L. Underhill. Audio Tape Interview No.2.
61. Hon Sir John White: See Biographical Appendix B.
62. Hon Sir John White. Audio Tape Interview. 26 June 1995. (GHC)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

1. The Advanced Base for the 3 (NZ) Div. had been established as Guadalcanal between 27th August and 14th September 1943. The three Island actions of the division are listed below.
 - i. 14 Brigade disembarked on the beaches of Vella Lavella to clear the Island of an estimated 500-700 Japanese troops on 18 September 1943.
 - ii. 8 Brigade waded ashore on Mono Island and the Stirling Islands in the Treasury Group of the Solomon Islands on 27th October 1943. This was the first opposed landing undertaken by NZ forces since Gallipoli.
 - iii. Elements of 3 (NZ) Div. with US Forces landed on Nissen Island in the Solomons Group on 15th February 1944.
2. Gillespie, Oliver A. *The Pacific Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45 War History Branch*. Wellington 1952 p359 Appendix X. q.v. *ibid.* p203.
3. Clayton, G. J. Major. (Comp) *The New Zealand Army A History from the 1840's to the 1990's*. New Zealand Army Christchurch 1990. p130.
4. *ibid.* p126.

5. *ibid.* p130.
6. *ibid.* p128. 3rd Division formed 14 May 1942 from the former B-Force.
7. cf. *Proceedings Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church Of New Zealand 1941.* pp.155-156.

q.v. *Proceedings etc.* op.cit. For 1942 p166.

Training Schools were held at the Army School of Instruction Trentham Military Camp in August and September 1941, and two further Schools in August 1942. A total of 80 chaplains passed through the schools where the lecturers were drawn from former WW1 senior chaplains and Army Officers. The syllabus covered first aid, map reading, King's Regulations, drill, and introductory lectures on the function of the Unit Chaplain on active service conditions.

8. Rev'd Owen Baragwanath. Audio Taped Interview 18 April 1994. (GHC)
9. *Liston Papers LIS 111.* United States Naval Commander; New Zealand Area. Auckland. November 1943. Letter to- Rt. Rev. Dr J. Liston Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland. Thanks for the provision of worship and special services and open parish welcomes to United States Roman Catholic personel stationed in the Auckland area.
10. Rev'd A. R. Witheford. Interview 6 November 1972 Christchurch.
11. 44631 Rev'd J. G. Pierce C.F. 8th Brigade Hqrs. 3 (NZ) Div. N.Z.E.F.I.P. N.Z. A.P.O. 150 April 1943 Letter-"My Dear Lord" to Bishop J. Liston Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland. In LIS.111.
12. See Barrowclough: Biographical appendix B.
13. Rev'd Keith Liggett: See Biographical appendix B.
14. cf. Underhill, M. L. Rev. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington, 1950 Photo between p78 & p79. "3rd NZ Division Chaplains' Retreat at Bourail, New Caledonia, July 1943."

q.v. Baragwanath op.cit. Audio Tape.

15. *ibid.*
16. Rev. Geo. David Falloon *War Diary 1943-44.* 30 July 1943
- "9. a.m. S.C.F. Liggett arrived with Bags (Rev'd O. T. Baragwanath Senior Presbyterian Chaplain) to give us our jobs. Me to 36th, Robbie to C.C.S. Lowden to Engineers, and Ed to Base. All quite pleased. My prospect the most interesting I think." A clear indication that SCF Liggett knew his men.
- q.v. Underhill. *op.cit.* *NZ Chaplains in the 2nd WW.* pp.116-117.
17. Rev'd Father J. C. Pierce: See Biographical Appendix B.
18. *LIS.111.* Pierce - Liston letter 4\43.
19. *loc.cit.*
20. *loc.cit.*
21. *loc.cit.*
22. *The Catholic Soldier* June, 1943. "Two Points of View"
23. *eg.* Padre Falloon of 36 Battalion teamed with his batman Percy Burns, and Padre Wesley Parker of 35 Battalion with his batman and YMCA Field Secretary.
- q.v. Falloon, Mary. Lillian Falloon and Richard Falloon *The Day Thou Gavest, Lord an Account of the life of George David Falloon OBE, MC, BA 1911-1988* Christchurch 1991 pp.61-63 *passim.*
- q.v. Parker, Wesley. *Over To You, Padre A pacific Padre looks back* Uniprint Auckland 1995. pp.84-88 *passim.*
24. Falloon. *op.cit.* *War Diary* 20 August 1943.
25. Rev'd George Falloon: See Biographical Appendix B.
26. Rev'd Wally Harford: See Biographical Appendix B.
- 27 Falloon. *op.cit.* *War Diary* July - August 1943 *passim.*

There is no reason to suggest that Falloon's Pacific experience as recounted in his diary regarding regular

Bible Class and Fellowship activities was markedly different from any other front-line infantry chaplain.

28. See *ibid.* 21 August 1943.

29. *ibid.* 24 October 1943.

cf. *The 35th Battalion A Record Of Service Of The 35th Battalion With The Third Division In The Pacific.* Reed. p60.

30. Falloon. *op.cit.* *War Diary* 15 November 1943.

On this occasion Padre Falloon was escorted by the Rev'd H. Voyce a pre-war Solomon Islands Methodist Missionary who had been commissioned as a chaplain and returned to the Solomons with the 3 (NZ) Div. Voyce was attached to Divisional HQ and his role, it is suggested, was much less of a chaplain than that of an intelligence operative and civil control official.

q.v. *ibid.* 5 & 30 December 1943.

31. cf. *ibid.* January - February 1944 *passim.* Accounts over an extended period of the building of primitive facilities to provide accommodation for religious and social activities.

32. cf. *ibid.* 21 November 1943.

33. Rev'd Father W. E. Ryan: See Biographical Appendix B.

34. LIS.111. *op.cit.* 64142 W. E. Ryan CF. 20 Field Coy. N.Z.E. N.Z.A.P.O 150. 23 November 1943. Letter to Rt. Rev. J. M. Liston DD.

35. *loc.cit.*

36. *ibid.* Catholic War Services Fund Board Wellington. Letter-407696 Chaplain N. Berridge. 4th N.Z. General Hospital, NZEFIP APO 150. 28 January 1944.

q.v. *ibid.* Pierce - Liston 1 February 1944.

37. *ibid.* Pierce - Liston 26 September 1943.

38. *ibid.* Letter - Father Ted Ryan. 27 September 1943.

39. Pastor Douglas Campbell. Minister of the Churches of Christ (Holding Advent & Truth) Interview Thames 6 June 1993.

40. *The Book Of Common Prayer* The University Press.
Oxford. circa 1936. "The Communion" p267.
41. Baragwanath op.cit. Audio Tape.
42. Rev'd Arthur Witheford. op.cit
43. *Replay Radio New Zealand* Padre K Liggett Senior
Chaplain NZEFIP. Recorded 13 November 1943.
44. loc.cit.
45. *Book Of Common Order Of The Church Of Scotland* Oxford
University Press. Edinburgh. 1940. "Holy Communion"
p119.
46. cf. LIS.111. op.cit. Pierce - Liston 10 May 1944.
47. Underhill, Michael. Rev'd. *War Dairy Addendum* Letter
to the Bishop of Christchurch. 1 April 1944.
48. loc.cit.
49. Rev'd O. T. Baragwanath, Interview 18th April 1994.
Orewa.
- Rev'd Baragwanath was the Senior Presbyterian Chaplain
to the 3 (NZ) Div. and the Senior chaplain in the
Brigade in which he served. When questioned as to why
he believed the ecumenical experience to be marginally
better than that of the Middle East, he expressed the
view that isolation forced the chaplains to be totally
inclusive of all soldiers' spiritual needs. This he
believed to be the case for Roman Catholics as well.
Padre Witheford noted that "We were too isolated to
get pompous...we had to depend upon each other."
50. ibid.
51. Witheford op.cit.
52. *The 36th Battalion. A Record Of Service Of The 36th
Battalion With The Third Division In The
Pacific.* Reed Wellington 1948 p58.

CHAPTER TWELVE

1. Sellers, W. E. *From Aldershot To Pretoria A Story of Christian Work among our Troops in South Africa* Religious Tract Society. London 1900. pp.12-18. The author recognizes major influences in the welfare to Imperial troops which came from Methodist and Anglican churches following the Crimea War.
2. "Buckshee" *A Pictorial Record of the work of the New Zealand Y.M.C.A on Active Service* London 1919. p9.
3. Dodson, Francis. *Two Crosses Being The Story Of The Church Army In New Zealand* Church Army Press Auckland 1946. p59.
- q.v. The Methodist Church of NZ *Minutes Of The Annual Conference 1939.* p148.
4. Dodson. op.cit. p60.
5. Dodson. op.cit. p61.
6. loc.cit.
7. Bradwell, Cyril R. *Fight The Good Fight The Story Of The Salvation Army In New Zealand 1883-1983* Reed Wellington 1982. p104.
8. LIS.111. Archbishop Thomas O'Shea to Bishop J. Liston. 29 September 1939.
9. Stevens. W. G. Major-General *Problems of 2 NZEF. Official History of NZ in the Second World War 1939-45.* War History Branch, Wellington 1958. p235. "The experience of the First World War had been lamentable...".
10. Bradwell. op.cit. p104.
11. *Presbyterian General Assembly Chaplaincy Committee Minutes.* 26 September 1939 p136. (KTC)
12. loc.cit.
13. loc.cit.
14. Bradwell. op.cit. p105.
15. loc.cit.

16. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes. 1st December 1939.
17. *ibid.* 12 February 1940.
18. The Anglican Military Affairs Committee Minutes give no hint of any suggestion or attempt to negotiate with any denominations concerned over the dispute.

q.v. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 22 November 1942 para 308. No action be taken regarding the invitation of the YMCA to have the Church of England included on the YMCA letter head.
19. Bradwell. *op.cit.* p106.
20. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 10 April 1940 para 131.(2).
21. Bradwell. *op.cit.* pp.106-107.
22. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 16 April 1940 Section 139 paras 1-4.
23. Stevens. *op.cit.* pp.240-241.
24. *ibid.* p240. Stevens confines the outline of his history of welfare in the 2NZEF solely to the YMCA. "...it is proposed in what follows to confine attention to the YMCA."
25. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 16 March 1943. Para 332.

cf. *ibid.* 22 November 1940 para 224.
26. Dodson. *op.cit.* p106.
27. While I was researching the WW2 defences of Norfolk Island in 1993, local knowledge still referred the to the Church Army recreational site as the "YM".
28. Potter, B. W. *The New Zealand Y.M.C.A. With 2nd N.Z.E.F. In Middle East And Italy 1940-1945.* Wellington ND. "The Early Days." p7.
29. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 22 November 1940
30. Potter. *op.cit.* "The Early Days." p4. Frequent

references to this service noted in chaplains' diaries, Anglicans included.

31. See *The Analysis*, YMCA Field Secretaries, Q12:4.
 cf. Captain John Walton, Church Army, was appointed by written direction of Army HQ on 18 December 1939 as acting chaplain to 18 Battalion about to embark with the First Echelon.
 q.v. Anecdotal evidence abounds where at the request of a Commanding Officer, and in the absence of a chaplain formal Church parades were conducted by the Unit YMCA secretary.
32. Potter. op.cit. Appendix D. p2.
33. *ibid.* Appendix A.
34. *The 35th Battalion A Record Of Service Of The 35th Battalion With The Third Division In The Pacific.* Reed Wellington 1947 pp.103-105 "The Doings Of The YMCA"
35. Rev'd Wesley Parker Interview Thames 28 March 1990.
36. Stevens. op.cit. p242.
37. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 20 December 1940. para 230. 19 March 1941. para 233.
 cf. Gillespie, Oliver A. *The Pacific Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45* War History Branch Wellington 1952 p32.
38. *INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armies in the Field* Geneva, July 27, 1929 His Majesty's Stationary Office London 1931. Chapter 111. Personnel. Article 9. p33.
39. Stevens. op.cit. pp.241-242. Salaries of Church Army and YMCA Secretaries were the responsibility of the National Patriotic Board of which the army contributed an amount equal to that of a private soldier.
40. Walton. op.cit. Audio Tape. Rev'd John Walton recalls clearly being give the instruction that

should he be captured he was to claim the status of a chaplain. This advice was given to most welfare officers.

41. *ibid.* Walton indicates he had little difficulty in finding acceptance from senior German Commanders. He believed as older men they had some closer association with the pre-Nazi German Christian Church.
 42. *ibid.*
 43. *ibid.*
- q.v. John Ledgerwood a YMCA Secretary was also appointed and acting chaplain. Others took the role in the absence of prison camp chaplains.
44. Anglican Military Affairs Committee. Minutes 4 October 1939.
 45. *ibid.* 24 November 1942. para 318(b)
 46. *Our Nation and Our Faith.* Film produced for the Home Mission Department of the British Methodist Conference. Produced by J. Arthur Rank Productions. Ealing Studios 1958. 35 minutes. Contains footage of the Women Chaplain Assistants, and backgrounds their status as deaconesses of the main Churches.
- q.v. *The Outlook.* Editorial "Women Chaplains" August 16, 1944. Backgrounds the enquiry made by the Ch.DAC into the proposal from their British counter-parts.
47. Barber, Laurie. *War Memorial A Chronology of New Zealand and World War II* Heinemann Reed Auckland 1989. p209. By 1 April 1944 7837 women were serving in the NZ Armed Forces of whom 838 were serving overseas.
 48. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* May, 8 1944. A report from Dunedin of the annual meeting of the Synod of Otago & Southland of the Presbyterian Church of NZ.
 49. *The Outlook.* *op.cit.* "Women Chaplains".
 50. *loc.cit.*
 51. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES.* September 18, 1944.

52. Williams, Rev. W. J. *Centenary Sketches Of New Zealand Methodism* "Lyttelton Times" Christchurch (1922?) p288.
53. Rev'd M. Underhill. *War Diary*. Addendum Letter to Bishop 1 April 1944.
54. Throughout the interviews of two surviving WW2 Church Army Officers; although both acknowledge a considerable ecumenical journey over the past 55 years, there remains buried within their memories strong bitterness, one bordering on resentment at the Church Army having to work "under the authority of that YMCA". From their perspective the YMCA lacked Churchmanship.
55. YMCA Letterhead from 1941 includes the "Jewish Congregations" as one of the several religious groups, eg, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, etc officially within the YMCA Welfare Organization.
- q.v. Goldman, L. M. *The History Of The Jews In New Zealand* Reed. Wellington 1958 p217. A brief account of the Jewish contribution to WW2.
- q.v. A calculation from the *Religious Census Returns* of 1936 suggests about 100 New Zealand born male Jews served in the 2NZEF 1939-45.
56. Dodson. op.cit. p16.
57. ibid. p49ff.
58. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington, 1950 p17.
59. Dodson. op.cit. p71.
60. Walton. op.cit. Audio Tape.
61. Barber. op.cit. p203. By March 1 1944 75,000 women were working in essential duties.
62. *The Outlook*. op.cit. "Women Chaplains"
63. Specifically women's units all stationed in the Middle East and South Pacific undertaking medical, logistical and support roles.
64. Appendix C. Table reference to clergy enlistments.

65. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES*. April 30, 1945.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

1. Onions, C. T. (ed) *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary On Historical Principles* Clarendon Press Oxford 2 Volumes 1950. Vol.1. p1280. col.3.
 q.v. Chambers, William & Robert. *Chambers's Information For The People* W. & R. Chambers London 2 Volumes. 1875. Vol.2. p198. Written in 1873 "Administrative Department of the Army." has elements in the understanding of morale in the British Army.
2. Onions op.cit. Vol.1. p1280.
3. loc.cit.
4. Stevens, W. G. Major-General *Freyberg, V.C. The Man 1939 - 45* Reed Wellington 1965. p61.
5. Keegan, John and Richard Holmes *Soldiers A History Of Men In Battle*. Hamish Hamilton London 1985 p39.
6. loc.cit.
7. loc.cit.
8. McLeod, John. *Myth and Reality The New Zealand Soldier In World War II* Reed Methuen Auckland 1986. p62.
9. Dixon, Norman. *On the Psychology of Military Incompetence* Jonathan Cape London 1976. p276.
10. Rev'd Wm (Bill) Francis. 2NZEFC Chaplain. He recalled an incident in Italy late in 1944. Interview Auckland 1966. See Biographical Appendix B.
11. McLeod op.cit. p64.
12. Gardiner, Wira. *Te Mura O Te Ahi The Story of The Maori Battalion* Reed Auckland 1992. p72.
13. McLeod. op.cit. pp.78-79. (Incident One) 14 members of 15 Platoon, C Company 21 Battalion at 0400 hrs on

- 24 December 1943. (Incident Two) 7 Platoon, A Company 23 Battalion 30 July 1944.
14. *ibid.* pp.78-81 *passim*.
 15. *ibid.* p78.
 16. *ibid.* p66.
 17. *ibid.* p65.
 18. A chaplain was not required to undertake duties which conflicted with his ecclesiastical function or his theological beliefs. (eg) Bar Manager or a task which demanded too much of his time.
 19. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* June 25, 1945.
 20. Montgomery, Field-Marshal Viscount of Alamein. *A History of Warfare* Collins London. 1968 p17.
 21. *ibid.* p566.
 22. McLeod. *op.cit.* p62.
 23. *ibid.* p81.
 24. Montgomery. *op.cit.* p17.
 25. "Return to El Alamein." TV. Channel 3. Commemoration of the Battle of El Alamein October 1942. Screened 8 October 1995. Statement by representatives of the 28 (Maori) Battalion.
 26. Colonel N. E. Bicknell (SA) Bicknell Papers. (SAA) Wellington.
 27. Thompson, (Padre) Bill. *The God Botherer* The Pumpkin Press Christchurch. 1976. p10.
See Biographical Appendix B.
 28. Late Jack Melrose. 18 Armoured Regt 2NZEF. Interview Invercargill March 1967.
 29. Rev'd Ivor Hopkins. Audio Tape Interview Christchurch. 7 April 1994.
 30. *ibid.*
 31. Rev'd Pat Gourdie. *War Diary.* p71
 32. *ibid.* pp.73-74.

33. Rev'd J. K. Watson. *The War Diary* p87. 14 March 1944.
34. loc.cit.
35. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q21:15.
36. loc.cit.
37. Rev. Geo David Falloon. *War Diary 1943-44*. 28-29th November 1943 passim. See Biographical Appendix B.
38. Campbell, Alastair V. "Pastoral Care, Nature Of" In Alastair V. Campbell (ed) *A Dictionary Of Pastoral Care* SPCK London 1987 p188.
39. loc.cit.
40. Watson. op.cit. p82. 29 January 1944.
41. Campbell. op.cit. p190.
42. Rev'd R. G. McDowall. *War Diary* 10 September 1943.
43. Campbell. op.cit. p190.
44. Bradwell, Cyril R. *Fight The Good Fight The Story Of The Salvation Army In New Zealand 1883-1983* Reed. Wellington 1982. p107.
45. Thompson. op.cit. p94.
46. Rev'd O. T. Baragwanath. Tindalls Road Orewa. Letter - 10 November 1989.
q.v. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q21:10.
47. McGill, David. *P.O.W. The untold stories of New Zealanders as prisoners of war* Mills Publications. Lower Hutt 1987 p20.
48. For example the Germans provided blood for New Zealand wounded.
49. Thompson op.cit. p70.
50. Interview with former padre Bill Thompson at the Canterbury Officers Club. Christchurch December 1969.
51. McLeod. op.cit. Chapter 5 "Combat- morale and the mental battle. pp.62-81.

52. *ibid.* p72. col.2.
53. *loc.cit.*
54. Rev'd William (Willie) Walker. *Lectures. Chaplains School 1942. No.2.*
55. Campbell, Alastair V. (Ed) *A Dictionary Of Pastoral Care* SPCK. London. 1987.
56. Mathers, J. "Morale" In Campbell *op.cit.* p169.
57. Montgomery. *op.cit.* p17
58. *The Outlook.* June 14, 1944. Cover page.
59. *The Outlook.* April 19, 1944.
60. Mathers. *op.cit.* In Campbell "Morale" p169.
61. Watson. *op.cit.* p87. 15 March 1944.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

1. Haigh, J. Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage* The Word Press Auckland 1983. p147.
 - q.v. Murray Foster. Rotorua. - Letter 9 October 1993. (GHC) Mr Foster was present and makes the following contribution on Padre Warren.

He got hit in the ankle. He was said to be hopping around on one foot ensuring that the others got attended to first and saying "I've got a wound stripe". That was the last time we saw him in Italy. By this time he had proved himself and was very popular.
2. Rev'd David Thorpe. Letter - Hamner Springs, 11 November 1989. (GHC)
3. Rev'd Michael Underhill. Interview Rangiora 24 May 1995.
4. Rev'd Ronald S. Watson. p.31. Letter - 20\10\18. to his parents Mr & Mrs T. Watson of Fielding. NZ. In Watson, Nigel M. (ed) *Letters from a Padre A Record of the War Service of Ronald S. Watson M.C.* Privately Printed : 120 Reproductions, Melbourne. 1970. (KTC)

5. Brigadier James Hargest. CBE. DSO. MC. ED. MP. Commander 5 Bde. 2NZEF Crete. April - May 1941. In *The Crete Diary*. See 24 May 1941. (GHC)

"Three of the MO's elected to stay (with the wounded)...and two padres, Griffiths 23rd and Hurst 22nd." Hargest noted again later "Padre Griffiths from Bluff stayed with them," ie, the wounded.
6. Rev'd I. Hopkins. Audio Tape Interview Christchurch April 19 1995.
7. Rev'd R. G. McDowall. *War Diary* 29th-30th November 1941.
8. Rev'd John K. Watson. *The War Diary*. p88. 21 March 1944.
9. The Engineers Official History notes Watson said nothing. Watson said or recorded nothing regarding the incident which was noted later by Watson's successor Padre E. F. Farr who says the engineers long remembered Watson for his retort "CRUMS!(sic)" on the loss of his finger. The word was oft repeated by engineers when they experienced difficulties later "What did the Padre say?" "CRUMS!". In *Addition to Analysis* (not included) Rev'd E. F. Farr, Epsom Auckland 26 July 1989.
10. Rev'd Harry Taylor: See Biographical Appendix B.
11. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison. Interview Thames 24 September 1993.
12. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* May 24, 1943. Citation Rev. H. G. Taylor, CF. "He went through heavy shellfire to attend to some wounded...Then still under shellfire he conducted a burial service."
13. Rev'd Wm Francis: See Biographical Appendix B.
14. Rev'd Wi Huata: See Biographical Appendix B.
15. Gardiner, Wira. *Te Mura O Te Ahi The Story of The Maori Battalion* Reed Auckland. 1992. pp.162-163.
16. Bicknell Papers op.cit.
17. Rev'd A.C.K. Harper: See Biographical Appendix B.
18. Henderson, Jim. "On earth Peace, goodwill towards men" Biographical sketch Rev A. C. K. Harper. In

- Review (RSA) December 1990. p8.
19. Rev'd Canon David Thorpe: See Biographical Appendix B.
 20. Rev'd Keith Watson: See Biographical Appendix B.
 21. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison: See Biographical Appendix B.
 22. Morrison. Interview op.cit. 24 September 1993.
 23. Bishop G. V. Gerard: See Biographical Appendix B.
 24. Morrison. Interview op.cit. 24 September 1993.
 25. *ibid.*
 26. Rev'd R. F. Judson: See Biographical Appendix B.
 27. Haigh. op.cit. pp.135 and 137 *passim*.
 28. The story has persisted among former medical orderlies who served at Cassino.
 29. Hopkins. op.cit. Audio Tape 19 April 1994.
 30. Canon David Thorpe. Hamner Springs. Comment included in the Questionnaire reply of 11 November 1989 but not included in *The Analysis* at his request.
 31. Vine, W. E. *An Expository Dictionary Of New Testament Words* Thomas Nelson, Nashville 1985 p562 "doulos" (1)
 32. Rev'd M. Underhill. Audio Tape Interview (2) Rangiora 28 February 1995.
 33. Rev'd F. O. Dawson: See Biographical Appendix B.
 34. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* "Citation" Rev'd F. O. Dawson MC. September, 14 1942.
 35. The late Bob Foster, Railway Construction Company 2NZE. Interview Thames February 1994.
 36. Padre McDowall's diary reveals that he and the Italian Roman Catholic army padre, Father Cotter worked together in a professional manner. McDowall tried to like Cotter, but it seems the Italian was not over fond of Protestants but had, at least

accepted that the New Zealanders were a majority Protestant nation.

37. Trevor Bramely. *op.cit.* Interview. Bramely was in the same prison camp as McDowall at the time of the incident.

38. Rev'd F. Green: See Biographical Appendix B.

39. McDowall. *War Diary op.cit.* 2 December 1941.

40. Bicknell Papers. *op.cit.*

q.v. Underhill. *War Diary Addendum p7.*

41. Rev'd M. Underhill. *War Diary. Addendum p7.*

42. Rev'd Robert Griffiths. Letter - Mr E. R. Lauder. Stalag VIIIB Germany. 13 October 1941. (GHC)

q.v. Mrs June Shaw. Letter. Henderson. NZ Circa September 1994. (GHC) Reference letter from Padre Griffiths on the medical condition of her father.

q.v. Ide W. Hynes. Letter. Cambridge. 18 February 1994. (GHC) Reference to letter from Padre Griffiths regarding injuries of her husband and treatment whilst a POW in Athens. Padre Griffiths "... helped him spiritually too. He (my husband) was already a Christian but Rev Griffiths kept his spirit up when times were rough."

43. 7206 Jack Bain, 20th Battalion. Letter Christchurch. 27 October 1993. (GHC)

44. Rev. Geo. Falloon. *War Diary.* 5th & 6th October 1943. His account is modest and devoid of any heroics.

q.v. Pat C. 19449. Letter. Christchurch. 18 October 1993. (GHC)

The writer relates personal contact with Padre Falloon during Japanese air-raids, which is an enlightening addition to understanding impressions made by Padre Falloon on his soldiers. An example of the shepherd role is clearly shown by the author of the letter.

45. Bill Stewart. Letter - Mount Mangunui 29 October

1993. (GHC)

The writer refers to Rev'd Wally Harford, (Church of Christ) of 37 Battalion 3 (NZ) Div. during the fighting in October 1943 at Vella Lavella. "...he insisted on being right up in the forward area mainly to give casualties a decent burial....Wally was near me and had a 45 revolver in readiness. He moved away from a Banyan tree only in the nick of time to avoid a bullet."

46. Bob Foster. op. cit. Interview.
 47. *The Analysis*. Chaplains Q11\2,8,10.
 48. Gnr. M. Baker. *In Review* (RSA) December 1990 p8.
 49. Late Jack Melrose. op.cit. Interview 1967.
 50. Rev. McL. R. Gourdie. *The War Diary* p104.
cf. Haigh. op.cit. pp.142-143. This is the official account.
 51. Padre Gourdie had originally been recommended for an MC, but General Sir Oliver Leese changed it to an immediate DSO.
 52. *INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION relative to the Treatment Of Prisoners Of War Geneva, July 27, 1929.* Part 3. Section 2. Article 9.
 53. McDowall. op.cit. *War Dairy* Sunday 30 November 1941.
 54. loc.cit.
 55. ibid. 2 December 1941.
 56. Information regarding this incident was provided on that condition of strict confidentiality.
 57. These opinions were expressed some years after the war. They arose incidentally in the interview with the chaplain who experienced this incident.
 58. Gourdie, Padre. *18th. New Zealand Battalion And Armoured Regiment 2 N.Z.E.F. "We Will Remember Them" Addresses At Reunions From 1975 to 1986.* Offset Publications Palmerston North 1986. pp18-19.
- q.v. Gourdie. *War Diary* op.cit. p116a and Letter 12

September 1989.

59. Padre Watson took his Monday off! He referred to it as "Monday - Parsons Day off" Chaplain's letters and diaries indicate they knew how to work the "system" and allow themselves plenty of room to manoeuvre. Most commanding Officers were too busy running their units to be overly concerned as to where their chaplain was.
60. Bedoyere, Michael de la Francis. *A Biography of the Saint of Assisi* Collins London 1962. p25.
61. Number of Chaplains who served in 2NZEF and 2NZEF(IP) was 161.

Haigh. op.cit. pp158-159. gives the awards below for the Chaplains Department.

Decorations & Awards NZ Army Chaplains Department
1939-45.

| | | |
|---|--------|-----|
| Commander of the Order of the British Empire. | CBE. | 2. |
| Distinguished Service Order. | DSO. | 3. |
| Officer of the Order of the British Empire. | OBE. | 2. |
| Member of the Order of the British Empire. | MBE. | 6. |
| Military Cross. | MC. | 9. |
| Mentioned in Despatches | m.i.d. | 18. |
| United States Silver Star. | | 1. |
| United States Bronze Star. | | 1. |

Total of 42 of an establishment of 161. or 25%

62. Smyth, Sir John. VC. *In This Sign Conquer The Story Of The Army Chaplains.* A. R. Mowbray. London 1968.

The information provided from the above for the numbers of British Commonwealth **army** chaplains who served during WW2 is noted as under. Sir John does not, however, consider the figure is accurate. The exact number he considers is much larger.

| | |
|----------------|------|
| United Kingdom | 3692 |
| Canada | 900 |
| India | 600 |
| Australia | 480 |

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| New Zealand | 161 |
| South Africa | 80 |
| <u>Total</u> | <u>5913</u> |

63. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington 1950. p104.
64. Watson. *War Diary*. op.cit. p94. 5 May 1944.

END OF NOTES PART FOUR

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

1. Biggs, Bruce. *The Complete English-Maori Dictionary* Auckland and Oxford University Press Auckland 1981. p148.col.2.

Biggs makes a distinction between a priest as *tohunga* in a general sense and the term *taaura* which is used to describe the priest who goes to war. The term *tohunga* is used throughout this chapter for the records show the overwhelming preference to this term.

- cf. Reed, A. W. with A. E. Brougham (Comps) *The Concise Maori Handbook* Reed Wellington 1981. p236.

Tohunga is defined as expert, priest, or artist. There are a further eleven associated definitions of specialist *tohunga*, some of which are mentioned herein.

2. Kippenberger, Mjr-Gen. Sir Howard. *Infantry Brigadier Geoffrey Cumberlege* Oxford University Press London 1949. pp.314-315. Kippenberger writes of the horrific losses suffered by the Maori Battalion in April 1943 at Takrouna and of his attendance at a memorial service to the fallen of 28 Bn.
3. Ramsden, Eric. *Sir Apirana Ngata And Maori Culture* Reed Wellington 1948. p58.
4. Ngata, A. T. *The Price Of Citizenship* Ngarimu V.C. Wellington. 1943. p19.
5. Cody, J. F. *28 (Maori) Battalion Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45* War History Branch. Wellington 1956 p6. Map

showing the company districts of the North Island tribes.

- cf. Gardiner, Wira. *The Story of The Maori Battalion Te Mura O Te Ahi* Reed Auckland 1992. pp.30-31.
6. Pugsley, Christopher. *Te Hokowhitu A Tu The Maori Pioneer Battalion In The First World War* Reed Auckland 1995. The recently published first history of the Maori Pioneer Battalion.
 7. Sutherland, I. L. G. "Maori and Pakeha" In Horace Belshaw (Ed) *New Zealand. The United Nations Series* University of California Press. Los Angeles 1947 p66.
 8. Nominal Roll. NZ Army Chaplains' Department 1939-45.
 9. Winiata. Maharaiia, *The Changing Role Of The Leader In Maori Society* A study in social change and race relations. Blackwood & Janet Paul Auckland 1967. pp.140-141.
 10. *The Methodist Church of NZ Minutes Of The Annual Conference. 1943.* Embargoed attached Security Report by Senior Chaplain. Noted as "Confidential". Para "General".

In the 1950s the writer was informed by Rev'd A. R. Witheford, a 2NZEFP chaplain, that the designated Maori Methodist chaplain for the Maori Battalion was Maharaiia Winiata who was due in 1944 to graduate from Trinity Theological College. He was to be ordained immediately and would represent the Ratana and Methodist Churches. Winiata discontinued his theological training and the nomination lapsed.

11. The religious census figures for Maori between 1936, the last to be taken until 1945, reveal 87% of Maori were represented in the former missionary churches, Maori denominations and sects. The following information is provided from the *Population Census, 1936 and 1945, Vol. VI. Religious Professions Census & Statistics* Department Wellington. Published 1940 and 1952.

The information is noted (a) The former missionary churches represented in the Chaplains' Department.
 (b) The remaining denominations represented within

the Chaplains' Department. (c) The distinctly Maori national religious groups and the sects.

These figures are not complete for the following religious affiliations: Maori Church, Christian, Seventh Day Adventist, Seven Rules of Jehovah, Jehovah's Witness, Israelite, Lutheran, The Brethren Assemblies are not included in these years of census returns, but are included among All Other Religious Professions.

| <u>1936 Census Numbers Only.</u> | | <u>1945%*</u> | <u>Numbers</u> | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|---------------|----------------|--------|
| a | Church of England | 24,832 | 33% | 32,578 |
| | Roman Catholic | 11,326 | 15% | 15,190 |
| | Methodist | 5,743 | 8% | 7,535 |
| b | Presbyterian | 1,115 | 2% | 1,646 |
| | Protestant | 118 | | 211 |
| | Churches of Christ | 52 | | |
| | Salvation Army | 39 | | 97 |
| | Baptist | 32 | | |
| c | Ratana | 16,337 | 17% | 17,181 |
| | Ringatu | 5,091 | 5% | 5,166 |
| | Hau Hau | 586 | | 662 |
| | Te Wairua Tapu | 25 | | 14 |
| | Te Whiti & Te Honu | 217 | | 79 |
| | Object to State. | 4,235 | | 7,005 |

*Winiata. op.cit. p140. The percentages are taken from Winiata as they are not calculated in the Official Publication.

12. Walker, Ranginui. *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou Struggle Without End* Penguin Books Auckland 1990. pp.71-72. A Maori historians perspective.

q.v. Best, Elsdon. *The Maori*. Memoirs of the Polynesian Society. Vol.V. (Two Volumes) Published By The Board of Maori Ethnological Research Wellington 1924. Vol.2. p235. For a European understanding of the Maori as a warrior.

13. Best, Elsdon. *The Maori As He Was* A Brief Account of Maori Life as it was in Pre-European Days. NZ Board of Science and Art. Manual No. 4. Dominion Museum. Wellington, 1934. pp.155-156.

q.v. Geering, Lloyd. *2100 : A Faith Odyssey*

The changing face of New Zealand religion St Andrew's Trust Wellington. 1995 p6.

Professor Geering refers to Best in his conclusions that Maori religion, at the time of the settlement by Europeans, possessed "no concrete form of national religion; no universal system of worship was practised".

14. Five Anglican chaplains were attached as Unit padres to 28 (Maori) Battalion. Rev'd M. A. Bennett; Rev'd K. T. Harawira; Rev'd W. Te T. Huata MC;; Rev'd W. Rangi; Rev'd N. T. Wanoa. Roman Catholic chaplains visited the Unit from their Brigade HQ. At least one Methodist chaplain, Rev'd T. Skuse ED was attached to Maori Reinforcements aboard the troopship to the Middle East in early 1944.

15. Andersen, Johannes C. *The Maori Tohunga And His Spirit World* Avery & Sons. New Plymouth. 1948 pp.18-19. An outline the military duties.

cf. Walker. op.cit. pp.66-67. Walker does not highlight the military or warlike functions of the tohunga, but outlines a multitude of his other duties in Maori life.

16. Williams, Herbert W. MA. *A Dictionary Of The Maori Language* Government Printer Wellington. 7th Edition. 1971. p98. col.1. 1. Charm, spell or incantation. 2. Repeat a form of words as a charm or a spell. 3. Repeat an incantation over a person. 4. The use of the word in public worship is modern.

17. *ibid.* p20.

1. God, demon, supernatural being or ghost. 2. An object of superstitious regard. There are meanings which are not entirely associated with the spiritual.

18. Reed, A. W. & A. E. Brougham. op.cit. pp.147-148.

19. Best, Elsdon. *The Maori* op.cit. In Vol.2. p228.

20. Smyth, Brig. The Rt. Hon. Sir John. *In This Sign Conquer The Story Of The Army Chaplains* Mowbray London 1968 pp.4-5.

- q.v. Mosheim, John Lawrence. *An Ecclesiastical History, Antient And Modern, From The Birth Of Christ, To The Beginning Of The Present Century*: Translated by Archibald Maclaine, DD. Cadell London 1782. (6 Vols) In Vol. 2. p452. For an account of those in religious Orders fighting in the Crusades.
21. Cowan, James. *The Maoris of New Zealand*. Whitcombe & Tombs. Wellington 1910. pp.228-230 passim.
- q.v. Best, Elsdon. *The Maori As He Was*. op.cit. p162.
22. Cowan, James. *The New Zealand Wars* Gov't Printer Wellington 1983. (2 Vols) Vol.1. pp.208-209.
23. Whiteley, Rev'd John. *Journal*. 25 March 1860.
24. Babbage, S. Barton. *Hauhauism An Episode in the Maori Wars 1863-1866*. Reed Dunedin 1937. pp.16-69. passim.
25. Cowan. *The Maoris of New Zealand*. op.cit. pp.223-227 passim. An outline of the prayers for victory before and after battle.
26. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Wellington 1950. p65.
- q.v. Cody. op.cit. p293.
- q.v. Gardiner. op.cit. p151. Record of Ringatu prayers conducted by an officer who later in the engagement lost his life.
- q.v. *New Zealand At War*. NZTV1. 3 January 1996 Episode 7. A Maori veteran commented on the prayers before and after battle in the Maori Battalion of 1943.
27. Cody. op.cit. p209.
28. loc.cit.
29. *ibid*. p210.
30. Best. *The Maori*. op.cit. p226.
31. *ibid*. p227.

32. Cody. op.cit. p228
cf. Whakarau, Iver. Pte. Description of a memorial Service conducted by Padre Harawira. In Cody, op.cit. p176.
33. Underhill. op.cit. p65. Footnote 5.
34. Gardiner. op.cit. p77.
35. ibid. p107.
36. ibid. p97.
q.v. Bell. R. A. Pte 65627 24.Btn. *Soldiers Diary*. His record of July 1942 confirms a scourge of illness through the divisional area at this time.
37. Ramsden. op.cit. pp.59-61 passim.
38. Best. *The Maori*. op.cit. p228.
39. Best. *The Maori As He Was*. op.cit. p157. Best describes the role of the tohunga on the battlefield. If he were not participating in the battle he was also expected to have "second sight," the ability to predict the outcome. Perhaps we have here something akin to morale required to encourage the warrior in those pre-Christian times.
40. Underhill. op.cit. p64.
41. loc.cit.
42. loc.cit.
43. Gardiner. op.cit. p162.
44. Best. *The Maori*. op.cit.pp.67-70. The role of the tohunga in the burial of warriors slain and a description of the pre-Christian ceremony undertaken for the recovery of the dead following battle.
45. ibid. p69. The pre-Christian tohunga role in the burial of warriors slain in enemy territory. Maori of 28 Battalion killed in the Cassino railway engagement remained in German territory unburied for six weeks.

46. Gardiner. op.cit. pp.153-154. A moving account of the recovery of the above.

q.v. Sir Norman Perry: See Biographical Appendix B.

47. Gardiner. p154.

48. *ibid.* p151.

The German officer-commanding and defending Cassino, a former Rhodes Scholar, General Von Senger, was responsible for the evacuation of the clergy and the removal of the valuable artifacts before the bombing. He was a devout Roman Catholic and a lay member of the Benedictine Order.

49. *loc.cit.*

50. Biggs. op.cit. p126 Iwi is defined as Nation.

cf. Williams. *A Dictionary of the Maori Language.* op.cit. p80. col.2. Williams indicates the word "Iwi" has four different connotations. The fourth is used in the context of "Nation or people".

51. Colonel Love: See Biographical Appendix B.

52. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* August 3, 1942.

53. Cowan. *The Maoris of New Zealand.* op.cit. pp.223-237 *passim*. Being a member of a tribe required taking responsibility for defending the whanau. Citizenship and the warrior were inseparable. It was axiomatic in Maori thinking.

q.v. Best. *The Maori.* op.cit. p281. The responsibility of the elderly males was to pass on the skills of military training to youth.

q.v. *ibid.* p287. No conscription of tribal members, the role of warrior is a personal and individual responsibility.

54. Padre Wharetini Rangi. Letter to his wife. In Gardiner. op.cit. p97.

55. Sir Apirana Ngata: See Biographical Appendix B.

56. Rangi In Gardiner op.cit. p108.

57. *ibid.* p97.
58. *loc.cit.*
59. Charlie. (Full name withheld at the request of the informant) Member of 28 Battalion. Statement October 21. 1994. Thames RSA.
60. Vayda, A. P. *Maori Warfare* A. H. & A. W. Reed for the Polynesian Society. Monograph No 2. Wellington 1970 Reprint. pp.19-22. "Kinship And Locality In Maori Warfare" An explanation of the responsibility of the *whanau* (family) and the *hapu*, or sub-tribe loyalties which, being held in common, formed the basis of military units. Being a member of a family at any level, eg. *hapu* and *iwi* had with it the responsibility to defend and fight for its interests or survival
61. Ngata. *op.cit.* p31. Biographical Note.
62. Gardiner. *op.cit.* p108.
63. *ibid.* p109.
64. *loc.cit.*
65. *ibid.* pp.109-110.
66. Ngata wrote the title in recognition of the bravery of the Battalion and also to the memory those who had lost their lives. The title contains a nominal roll of all killed in action until August 1943. There are biographical notes on senior officers and a brief history of the Battalion. The title, *The Price of Citizenship*, is all the more poignant when it is considered that all Maori in the battalion were volunteers. The book is considered by critics to be a homily dealing with New Zealand civics.
67. Ngata. *op.cit.* p18.
68. *loc.cit.*
68. *loc.cit.*
70. *loc.cit.*
71. Ngata. *op.cit.* p17.
72. The NZTV1 screening of *New Zealand At War*, No 2 in May 1995 demonstrated visually the strong tribal and

social links which the Battalion stimulated.

73. Cody. op.cit. p501. Maori Battalion casualties for the period of WW2 operations in the middle east were:

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| Killed in Action and all other deaths | 640 |
| Wounded | 1,791 |
| Taken Prisoner of War | 158 |
| Total: | <u>2,589</u> |

74. Ngata. op.cit. p18.

75. Gardiner. op.cit. pp.162-163.

q.v. Underhill, op.cit. pp.63-65. Underhill gives the thumbnail sketch of each chaplain and their individual strengths.

76. Pocock. J. G. A. (Ed) *The Maori And New Zealand Politics* Talks from an N.Z.B.C. series with additional essays Blackwood & Janet Paul Hamilton 1965. Intro. pp1-13 passim.

q.v. Walker. op.cit. pp.194-197 passim. Dr. Walker proposes a perspective from a Maori academic's viewpoint.

77. *ibid.* p286-287. Dr. Walker's remarks are in effect, an introduction to a continuing process of research which is necessary for further study.

cf. Scott, Stuart C. *The Travesty of Waitangi. Towards Anarchy.* Dunedin. 1995. p21. A point of view which maintains that the Maori language has no "...word in the... language which corresponds to "sovereignty." "

GLOSSARY OF MAORI WORDS.

| | |
|------------|--|
| ahua | appearance, form, make or character. |
| atua | ghost or god. |
| hauhauaitu | starved, cold, listless, weak. |
| hinapo | dimness of sight, the supernatural. |
| Iwi | family or nation. |
| karakia | incantation, spell, (modern - worship.) |
| pahunu | anxiety, burn or fire. |
| tapu | Sacred, to make tapu - not be to touched |
| Maori | The people, the people who exist. |
| takatimu | One of the original migration canoes |

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Tumatarehurehu | ills resulting from infringing the tapu in connection with war. |
| tohunga | A priest, in connection with war, birth, marriage, death, planting crops, blessings of boats. Various kinds of priests. |
| pakeha | Maori term for a European, originally a term of derision derived from Maori being sworn at "bugger yer" by Royal Navy sailors circa 1795. Maori have no 'b' and as a result substituted 'p'hence pakeha. |
| whanau | family, group of those related, an extended family, possibly a tribe. |

END OF NOTES PART FIVE

NOTES CHAPTER SIXTEEN

1. *The Analysis*. Chaplains Q16. Appendix A.
2. See: Cox. Harvey G. (ed) *Military Chaplains From Religious Military To A Military Religion* Abingdon Press. 1969 p99.

Cox defines military religion as that which legitimatizes the military enterprise and that indirectly advocates the values that are necessary for a soldier's duty eg. deemphasizing values that are potentially dysfunctional to the soldier's well-being. It also justifies entirely the soldier's role in killing in the name of religion. The definition implies a strong collusion between the military, state and religious organizations.

3. *The Analysis* op.cit. Chaplains Q16:7.
4. Rev'd John Dawson. 24 Bn. Chaplain 2NZEF Italy. Interview Wesley College. September 1987.

There were occasions when I found myself being roundly judged by the openness and acceptance soldiers shared between each other. Christians tended to have a holier than thou approach. Thank God it did not last long. I learned that Christ is alive and well outside the Church's four walls.

5. Farwell, Byron. *For Queen and Country* Allen Lane Penguin Books Ltd. London 1981 pp.216-217.
6. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q16:18.
7. *ibid.* Q16:16.
8. Warrant Officer Keith Payne VC. (Retd) Interview, Norfolk Island 8 December 1993 suggests,

"There is a close bonding which dominates a group of men involved in life and death situations." Payne's experience taught him that religious convictions supplemented an individual soldier's personal and social contribution to his section. The individual's religious convictions never dominated or united the group in the same way as comradeship or brotherhood.

My own experience in Vietnam supports this view. Religious faith properly applied is the source of hope and discipline for a believer in a military crisis and can contribute to group stability.

q.v. Pat Kane's remarks Chapter note 31.

9. Absenting oneself from Church Parade without the approval of the Commanding Officer was considered an offence of Absent Without Leave (AWOL) punishable by being confined to barracks, or fined one day's pay.
10. Rev. R. G. McDowall. *War Diary* 17 January 1943.
q.v. *The Kings Regulations* 1935. Section 1574. This section makes it an offence for a soldier to disturb or interfere with a Church Parade.
11. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* Editorial April 13, 1942.
12. Gourdie, Padre. *18TH. New Zealand Battalion And Armoured Regiment 2 N.Z.E.F. Addresses At Reunions From 1975 To 1986* Offset Publications, Palmerston North 1986. p22.
13. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* Editorial August 31, 1942.
14. loc.cit.
15. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* Editorial April 13, 1942.
16. *The Analysis* Chaplains. Q16:11.
17. *ibid.* YMCA Field Secretaries Q16:2.
18. *ibid.* Theological Students Q16:10.
19. *ibid.* YMCA Field Secretaries Q16:2.
20. *ibid.* Church Army Officers Q16:8.
21. Rev'd Pat Gourdie - Letter, Foxton Beach 12 September 1989. (GHC)
22. That which is the outcome of fellowship, a contribution. eg. "...and take upon us the fellowship of the ministering to the saints." 2 Cor.8:4b.
23. To be fond of ones brethren or close associates eg.

"Finally, be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another, love as brethren, be pitiful, be courteous:" 1 Peter 3:8.

24. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q16:9.
25. Scott, Padre Harold. "Religion in a Line Battalion"
In The Outlook October 25, 1944. pp13 and 15.
26. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* Editorial August 31, 1942.
27. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q16:11.
28. *ibid.* Q16:8.
29. Slatter, Gordon. *One More River* The Final Campaign
of the Second New Zealand Division in Italy.
David Ling Publishing Auckland 1995. p86.
30. *The Analysis* YMCA Field Secretaries Q16:3.
31. Kane, Pat. *A Soldier's Story* A Mediterranean
Odyssey Quality Publications Wellington,
1995 p72.
32. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison. Interview, Thames,
March 6, 1994.
33. General Sir Bernard Montgomery. Text of address to
Soldiers of the British Forces about to embark upon
the D Day Landings in France. 5 June 1944.
34. Rev'd Michael Underhill. Audio Tape No 2.
Interview Rangiora 28 February 1995.
35. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* September 21, 1942.
36. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q16:1.
37. Very Rev'd O. T. Baragwanath - Letter, Whangaparaoa.
11 October 1993.
38. *loc.cit.*
39. Forsman, H. C. A. (ed) *E. A. Forsman, Priest,
Padre, Poet.* Privately Published, Auckland,
1992. p26. (QE2)
40. Rev'd Peter A. Stead. Former YMCA Field Secretary
2NZEF Letter-Waiheke Island October 2, 1989.
(GHC)

41. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q12:17.
42. "Buckshee" A Pictorial Record of the work of the New Zealand Y.M.C.A on Active Service London, 1919. p78.
43. Dodson, Francis. *Two Crosses Being The Story Of The Church Army In New Zealand*. Church Army Press, Auckland 1946. p10.
44. *The Analysis* YMCA Secretaries Q17:2.
45. Dodson. op.cit. Appendix B.
46. *El Alamein Revisited 1992 50 Years After*. Comments by Sir Charles Bennett. Channel 3 TV Production, Sunday 11.00am 24 September 1995.
47. Nash, Walter. *New Zealand A Working Democracy* J. M. Dent & Sons London 1945. pp.26-30 passim.
48. *Abbreviations & Terminology Thesis Vol. 1*. p.xvi.
49. Padre Pat Gourdie. op.cit. p21.
50. *The Analysis* Theological Students, Q19A:8.
51. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* April 13, 1942.
52. SCF 2NZE to Chairman, Advisory Council Chaplain's Department, Army HQ. WGTN. HQ 2NZE 26 March 1945. para 4. Subject: Strength (Establishment). (NL)
53. *The Analysis* Chaplains, Q19A:18.
54. Gospel of St. John 15:13.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

1. "We were thrown in at the deep end, and despite the Chaplains School I think the army expected us to know what to do automatically." Rev'd Arthur Witheford. Interview. Christchurch November 6th 1973.
2. Mills, Rev'd W. Letter to Mr & Mrs C. R. Packer-Doust 2 May 1942. NZMC Training Cadre, MEF. (MCA) Mills describes his embarrassing experience on elevation from Corporal of the Medical Corps to Chaplain Cl.4. He makes the point of the difference in the eyes of

soldiers in associating with officers. Mills experienced both messes, viz, Other Ranks Mess and the Officers.

3. At least 9 of the 19 chaplain respondents had a University degree whilst serving in the 2NZEF. This information is provided from the denominational clergy list, not *The Analysis*. Salvation Army Officers did not usually enter their ministry with a University degree. Presbyterian chaplains were more likely to have a degree than any other denomination.
4. An example was Rev'd Roy Jamieson MBE of the 2 Div. Signals. (See Biographical Index) He had no formal theological college training being ordained through the Methodist Home Mission work.
5. Finlay, A. H. Rev. *When Your Man Gets Home - What?* Nile Mission Press, Cairo, circa 1943. p6-7. Finlay is a Baptist and warns families at home of the changed attitudes towards alcohol, smoking, films, sport, dancing and other secular entertainment. It was virtually an unwritten rule that Salvation Army Officers (chaplains), Baptists, Methodist, Churches of Christ, and a number of Presbyterian chaplains would be non-drinkers. Some clergy of the 1940 period did not approve of dancing, or card playing. Gambling of any description was unknown among Other Protestants. The liberal attitude towards alcohol which RC chaplains appeared to tolerate was distasteful to many Protestant clergy of the time. The "signing of the pledge" for a life of totalism was a significant influence within the bible class movement of the 1930s.
6. Colonel W. French 20 Battalion 2NZEF. Interview Winton May 9 1995.

If you had a Salvation Army Unit chaplain you had a non-drinker. I never struck one who touched a drop or who ever decried his fellow officers or men for doing so themselves. Mind you - if he had he would not have lasted too long!

7. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q15: 1-19. This section suggests that life skills coupled with theological training and an ability to mix socially were the essential ingredients required for a chaplain to be accepted.
8. *ibid.* YMCA Field Secretaries Q15:2.

9. *New Zealand Defence Act 1909. School Cadets.* The Act required a Universal obligation for youth aged between 12-14 years to undergo two hours military training weekly in school time. The scheme was abandoned in the late 1960s. It exists as a volunteer organization in some secondary schools today.
10. *The Analysis Chaplains, Q6.*
11. The Chaplains' School was conducted over four days at Trentham Military Camp. There were two Schools held in 1942 and a further two in 1943. Subjects taught were map reading, first aid, military law, gas precautions, army organization, drill, and familiarisation with weapons. Senior denominational chaplains took lectures on ministry in the military situation, church parades, and chaplains private devotional conduct. The senior chaplains were, in the main, ex WW1 chaplains or soldiers. Chaplains were selected to attend in proportion to the percentage of their denomination. Twenty attended each course.
12. The Very Rev'd Owen Baragwanath. Interview, April 8 1994.
13. Among those with Pre-war Territorial Army Chaplains experience were; Rev's J. W. McKenzie, (Pres) J Hiddlestone (Bapt) V. R. Jamieson (Meth) R. G. McDowall (Pres) David Thorpe (CofE) K. Schollar (CofE) G. A. D. Spence (Pres) H. Peat (Meth). Two chaplains from WW1 saw service in the 2NZE. Rev'd H. Peat (Meth) and Rev'd F. H. Buck MC (CofE) formerly of the Canadian Army Chaplains' Department.
14. Watson, Rev'd J. K. *War Diary.* Sunday 7 November 1943. Watson records a conversation of good advice from a Mjr Goodsir on the matter of voluntary and compulsory church parades. Underhill and Gourdie also note conversations when laymen advised them to take a particular position on religious matters.
15. Scholefield, G. H. Dr. *Who's Who In New Zealand And The Western Pacific 1925* Venables & Company, Masterton, 1924. pp.10-36.

A sampling of biographical entries of names listed under the letter B showed 74 biographies out of a total of 270 had some form of military association. They had served

in the Anglo-Maori Lands War, Armed Constabulary, The Boer War, NZ Permanent Staff, World War 1, the nursing service or the Volunteer Forces of New Zealand. 27.41% of the total listed had previous military experience.

16. The writer recalls a clear conversation between two church attending women aged in their late 30s sometime early 1944 criticizing a Presbyterian minister in his mid-thirties for not volunteering for the chaplaincy. They believed him to be "hiding inside his dog-collar". The particular clergyman was invited to enlist by the Presbyterian senior chaplain in mid 1944 and did so seeing service in New Zealand.
17. Sullivan, Martin. *Watch How You Go* Hodder & Stoughton Auckland. 1975. p91.
18. Also spelt Oecumenical.
19. Cross, F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church* Oxford University Press, London. 1963 p977. col.2.
20. *The Analysis* Theological Students Q14:11.
21. loc.cit.
22. ibid. Chaplains Q14:8\11\12
23. loc.cit. Q14:1.
24. loc.cit. Q14:6.
25. loc.cit.
26. loc.cit. Q14:11.
27. Rev'd Tom Carr. 3 (NZ) Div. Interview, Invercargill, November 5th 1960. Invercargill.

In New Caledonia the Brethren would hive off and break their own bread, there weren't that many of them mind you but it was a pity they would never really join in. They were suspicious of us.

28. *Middle East Edition NZ Baptist* Rev'd Allan H. Finlay, C.F. (ed) Printed by the Nile Mission Press, Cairo and published bi-monthly. The magazine went to four issues. (BTC)

29. The Very Rev'd Owen Baragwanath. Audio Taped Interview 18 April 1994. (GHC)
30. Underhill, M. L. Rev. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch Department of Internal Affairs Wellington, 1950 p99.
31. "A Padre Reflects" *In The New Zealand Methodist Times* January 9, 1943. p235. PAn incisive assessment of chaplaincy.
32. Four chaplains were captured in Crete in April 1941, and a further thirteen were captured on 27-28 November 1941 at Sidi Rezegh and Sidi Aziz. Of the total of 17 taken POW, five were released by Allied forces within a few days, and another after a few weeks. Bishop Gerard was released under a repatriation agreement in 1943.
33. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q14:19.
34. *ibid.* YMCA Field Secretaries Q14:2.
35. *loc.cit.* Q14:3.
36. *ibid.* Chaplains Q15:3.
37. As related, Padre Underhill wore his cassock when taken prisoner and celebrated Holy Communion for over 200 soldiers. When Padre McDowall cut the telephone wires laid by the Germans which ran through the NZ Field hospital it was probably the wearing of his clerical collar which saved him from being shot. German soldiers recognized him as the "Herr Pastor".
38. 2NZEF chaplains wore their civilian cassock, gown, bands and colours, and preaching scarf on formal occasions. Photographs exist of chaplains in the field conducting burials wearing their civilian ecclesiastical robes. By contrast the German Army chaplain wore army uniform, the tunic of which had no shoulder straps and a silver cross (crucifix for Roman Catholics) around his neck on all ceremonial occasions.
39. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q11:10.

q.v. Brigadier W.R.K. Morrison confirms from his personal experience that the greater number of chaplains, at least 70% took an active

part organizing unit sports meetings. Father Leo Spring was a keen lover of horse racing and organized a number of races with donkeys in the desert.

40. Padre Harry Taylor DSO was well known for his sudden appearance among soldiers and then shaping up to spar with individuals in the ranks as well as officers. Padre Wesley Parker represented the men of his Battalion when he discussed their discontent and falling morale with the Commanding Officer. Part of a good chaplains' role included acting as a catalyst in situations which required tact, and representing the men as the "soldier's friend" at a Court Martial or Orderly Room Disciplinary Parade.
41. Rev'd Pat Gourdie DSO. Letter - Foxton Beach 12th. Sept., 1989. (GHC)
42. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q11:10.
43. Very Rev'd O. T. Baragwanath. Letter Whangaparaoa 11 October 1993.
44. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q15:16.
45. Information provided by one 2NZEF soldier described the circumstances in which a German POW was shot by another member of his platoon in February 1945. The writer believed the act to be one of murder. It was a revenge killing for a friend who had been killed earlier in action.
46. Thornton, Guy C.F. *With The ANZACS In Cairo The Tale Of A Great Fight* H. R. Allenson, London. 1917.

The book has two pages of text deleted by the censor. The title is largely Padre Thornton's personal campaign against prostitution. He saw it affecting NZ soldiers in the Middle East 1914-17.
47. Walker, Rev'd (Willie) W. Lectures Delivered at the Chaplains School Trentham October 1942. Lecture Two p14.
48. Watson, Rev'd J. K. MC. *The War Diary*. p42. Tuesday 26 January 1943. "At tea time the O.C. told us that on account of murder and rape having been committed in Tripoli no leave would be

granted for a week. This is a bore, because I am itching to see the place."

q.v. Bell, R. A. Pte 65627. *Soldiers Diary*. Entry 4th April 1942. Private Bell notes fellow soldiers visiting the local brothel which he comments included the Battalion Commanding Officer. (QE2)

49. McDowall, R. G. Rev'd *War Diary 1941-45*. 15 September 1943

McDowall notes the loose morals of prisoners working on the local farms, thieving from German civilians and official stores. He plays cards with his fellow prisoners but will not do so for money. McDowall's refusal to gamble is perfectly consistent with church-attending Presbyterians of Otago and Southland until the early 1950s.

50. *Educational Facilities for Convalescents 1 NZ Conv Dep. Italy 29 Feb 1944*. MacKenzie Papers (QE2)

This paper outlines some suggestions for planning "recreational and cultural activities" for sick and wounded. Padre Colin MacKenzie spent his entire ministry with the sick and wounded and pioneered the welfare programme for convalescents which included those patients suffering from venereal diseases.

51. Underhill. op.cit. p70.

52. loc.cit.

53. loc.cit.

54. loc.cit.

55. Stout, T. Duncan M. *New Zealand Medical Services in Middle East and Italy* War History Branch Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1956. p684

q.v. *Medical Services in New Zealand and the Pacific* In Royal New Zealand Navy, Royal New Zealand Air Force and with Prisoners of War. Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45. War History Branch, Wellington. 1958.

p83 outlines the small number of venereal

disease cases (44) out of 17000 men in the 3 Division in the Pacific. The author indicates the low figure was low largely though lack of opportunity for social contact with females.

56. Stout. op.cit. "NZ Medical Services in Middle East and Italy. p683.
57. Rev'd E. F. Farr, Letter Auckland 26 July 1989 p4. (GHC)
58. Burchard, Waldo W. "Role Conflicts of Military Chaplains" In Yinger, J. M. (ed) *Religion Society and the Individual*. MacMillan London 1967. pp.586-599.

Burchard's study outlines the conflict of role a military chaplain experiences between his understanding of Christian behaviour and the impossibility of attaining the ideal in a military society. In his conclusions, pp.597-599, he thinks chaplains "compartmentalize" and rationalize those conflicts.

With regard to the 2NZEF chaplains attitude towards prostitution Burchard's hypothesis is not proven. The evidence points to the maintenance on the part of the chaplains the Christian position regarding promiscuity. Behaviour of this kind was unacceptable, but they made no formal judgement. Chaplains maintained this position in their pastoral interactions with the support of the 2NZEF Administration which sought their assistance in dealing with the problem.

Chaplains were civilian clergy in uniform part of a civilian army where civilian values, eg nominal Christian values were an ingredient in determining individual morality. There is room for further study of this and the related issues.

59. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q18:1-19. This section relates to the personal devotional life of chaplains.
60. Col. Norman E. Bicknell (SA) Letter - Whangaparaoa 30 September 1989.
61. McDowall op.cit. *War Diary* Wednesday 8 September 1943.

62. Canon J.S.H. Perkins, Letter Christchurch 24 October 1989.
63. *The Analysis* Chaplains Q18:3.
64. loc.cit. Q18:5.
65. loc.cit. Q18:8.
66. loc.cit. Q18:10.
67. loc.cit. Q18:6.
68. loc.cit. Q18:16.
69. ibid. YMCA Field Secretaries Q18:5.
70. The title of the official history of the Royal NZ Chaplains Department published in 1983 is the descriptive *Men of Faith and Courage*. See bibliography for details.
71. Watson. op.cit. War Diary p91. 5 April 1955. 72. Underhill. op.cit. pp.131-132.
73. *The Analysis, Chaplains, Q18:6*.
74. Barth, Karl. *The Church And The Political Problem Of Our Day*. Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1939 pp.78-79 passim. Barth writes of the necessity for the Justly elected State to defend itself. The chaplaincy is viewed within the context of supporting the state for the state also defends the church. Barth is alluding to a common ecclesial interest between church and state.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

1. See above Part One, Chapter Two. "The Beginnings of Military Chaplaincy" p27.
2. *The Church of the Province of New Zealand Proceedings Of The 30th General Synod*. 1946. p18. This situation existed throughout the war years and was only overcome when the RNZCh.D. was established in 1947. The Anglican Church bore with the frustrations. There being no Chaplains' department in our military establishment, there was a tendency for the Chaplains and others to expect of the Advisory Board more than it could possibly achieve.

The military authorities were helpful and co-operative, but in every case final decisions and appointments lay with them and not with the Advisory Board.

3. Rev'd John Walton. Audio Tape Interview Blenheim 7 April 1994. Walton was a Church Army Officer on the outbreak of war and was appointed Acting Chaplain to 18 Bn on embarkation with the 1st Echelon. The Army pre-empted the function of the Church in the appointment on the basis that the Churches were unable themselves to facilitate a proper appointment.
4. Editorial, *The New Zealand Methodist Times* Christchurch, September 23, 1939.
5. Friedman, Leon. (ed) *The Law of War A Documentary History* Random House New York 1972. (2 Volumes) Vol.1. p472 notes: "For the Dominion of New Zealand: His Excellency Mr. Claud Russell, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Britannic Majesty at Berne."
6. *ibid.* Chapter III - Personnel. Article IX., Article XII., Article XIII. pp.478-479.
7. See Appendix F.
8. Barth, Karl. *The Church And The Political Problem Of Our Day* Hodder and Stoughton Ltd London December 1939. p.40.
9. *ibid.* p40.
10. Laffin, John. "The selling of HITLER" *In The Australian Magazine*, April 22-23 1995. p24.
11. Fraser, David. *Knight's Cross A Life Of Field Marshal Erwin Rommel* HarperCollins Publishers London 1993. p193.
12. *The Book Of Common Prayer.* (1928) University Press Oxford. 1936. p560.
- q.v. McKenzie, G. M. *The Navy's Prayer Ten-Minute Talks by G. M. McKenzie B.A., V.D., R.N.Z.N.V.R. Presbyterian Bookroom Christchurch 1944.*
13. Cruse, Christian Frederick. *The Ecclesiastical*

History Of Eusebius Pamphilus. Translated from the Original Baker Book House Grand Rapids, Michigan 1981. p438.

14. Editorial "The Message of Sorrow" *The Outlook* May 21, 1941.
15. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* August 18, 1941. Report on the introduction of the chimes of Big Ben into the House of Representatives Wellington, and on National Radio for one minute of silent prayer.
 - q.v. *ibid.* September 7, 1942. National Day of Prayer called by King George VI remembering the third anniversary of the outbreak of war.
 - q.v. *ibid.* September 14, 1942 "King's Call to Prayer" p.12. This is one example of many such calls.
16. Eusebius, *The Oration*, Chapter 1. 3: "I remember that our own victorious emperor renders praises to this Mighty Sovereign...that to him alone we owe that imperial power under which we live." In Schaff, Philip and Henry Wace *A Select Library Of Nicene And Post-Nicene Fathers Of The Christian Church*. Eerdmans Publishing Co Michigan USA Second Series Vol.1. p582
17. *Church News* Christchurch. October 1st, 1939. p140. From the Editorial by H.W.M.
18. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* May 28, 1945. "Thanksgiving Services Held".
19. *2 N Z Expeditionary Force Order of Service of thanksgiving On The Occasion Of Cessation Of Hostilities In Europe*. (MEF & CMF 1939-45) p1.
 - cf. Eusebius *The Life of Constantine* Chapter 39. "Constantine's Entry into Rome." "...but, being sensible that he had received help from God, he immediately rendered a thanksgiving to him as the Author of his victory." In Schaff & Wace *op.cit.* p493.
20. Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine* Chapter 56. The desire of the bishops to engage in prayers as their contribution to the battle. In Schaff & Wace *op.cit.* p555.
 - q.v. Eusebius, *The Oration* Chapter 1. 6. "From

whom and by whom our divinely favoured emperor, receiving, as it were, a transcript of the Divine sovereignty, directs, in imitation of God himself, the administration of this world's affairs." In Schaff & Wace op.cit. p583.

21. Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine* Chapter 56. Constantine prepared a tent "of great splendor" as a portable chapel. In Schaff & Wace op.cit. p555.
22. Greenslade, S. L. *Shepherding the Flock* SCM Press London. 1967. p44.
q.v. Acts 18: 3.
23. Padre Carr indicated the notices caused a mild joke among servicemen, especially when a chaplain might be "...a bit of an old woman".
24. Stevens, W. G. Major-General. *Problems of 2 NZEF Official History of New Zealand in the Second World War 1939-45.* War History Branch Wellington 1958 pp.241-242.
25. One such Course was held from July 6-8 1943 at the Oriental Hall, American University in Cairo. Leave was granted by Battalion Commanders, and costs entailed met by the 2NZEF administration.
q.v. *Chaplains Department 2 NZEF: Course of Lectures for Chaplains & Students for the Ministry.* J. W. McKenzie, SCF 2 NZEF. (NL)
26. Stevens. op.cit. pp.235-239 passim. Stevens relates the slow administrative machinery through which welfare funding was eventually met by Patriotic Funds. Chaplaincy was a separate issue, there already existed a pay-scale before the outbreak of war for chaplains' appointments.
27. Vaughan, Terry. *Whistle As You Go The Story of the Kiwi Concert Party.* Random House Auckland 1995. pp.20-24 passim.

Concert Party personnel were essentially soldiers and when it was necessary they became involved in the fighting. There were limits to the Unit's ability to move and maintain an entertainment programme.

- cf. Army Education Welfare Service which was a unit mainly equipped as a teaching organization. An officer of the Unit was attached to a Battalion in the later stages of the war. It concentrated on education for rehabilitation opportunities following the end of the war.
- cf. NZ Army Graves Registration Unit. (Middle East) Staff: 3 Officers and 10 other ranks. The function of the Unit was to locate the graves on the field where chaplains or others had buried the dead. This was done by way of the map references kept by chaplains who took the burial. Bodies were then exhumed and taken to a larger Commonwealth or New Zealand War Cemetery. Having a roving commission their work was dictated by time and the battle-field situation.
28. Ephesians 6: 12.
29. Germany invaded Poland on 1st September 1939.
30. Throughout this thesis reference has been made to the influence of the work of Karl Barth. Ian Breward hints in his history of Knox Theological Hall, *Grace And Truth* (see bibliography) pages 51, 60 and 61, that there was an awareness of Barth's theology at Knox Theological Hall. Just how influential Barthian theology was on pre-war thinking regarding pacifism and war is difficult to gauge. The following has to be kept in mind in assessing the influence of Barth's' theology on New Zealand chaplains.

(A) *The New Zealand Journal of Theology* was a Quarterly published from November 1931 to August 1935. It was edited by J. M. Bates MA, Ian W. Fraser MA. Th.D. and J. T. V. Steele MA. Karl Barth's work was considered in this Journal in the following instances.

Pre-Hitler Years

The Theology of Karl Barth. By J. Gibb. Vol.1. No.1.
The Ethical Implications and Consequences of the Theology of Karl Barth. By Ian W. Fraser Vol.1. No.4.
Which Passeth all Understanding. A Sermon From Karl Barth. Vol.3. No.1.

Post Hitler Years

The Corruption of Human Reason in Barth's Theology.
 Ian W. Fraser Vol.3. No.2.
Some Points of Issue Between Emil Brunner & Karl Barth. Vol.4. No.1.

(B) Reviews

Rev'd W. Bullock, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Wellington reviewed Barth's *The Church and the Political Problem of Our Day* under the heading of "Karl Barth and the War" in the Christchurch Diocese monthly publication *Church News* on November 1st, 1939 Bullock concludes his review, "These books, (which included Barth's review) I hold, constitute real news, however terrible, and cannot be regarded merely as propaganda to be distrusted."

The New Zealand Methodist Times December 16, 1939 advertised the title with a published passage from the book decrying National Socialism.

- (C) Rev'd John T. Gardiner was a student at the Hall from 1938-1941. In an interview on 14 April 1996 a direct question was put to him. "In your opinion, was the teaching of Karl Barth as presented in the Hall, pre-war and during the war, evidence that Christianity had to oppose National Socialism by means of war?"

Reply: "Yes - without doubt."

It is apparent that Barth was read more widely and understood rather more than has been perhaps assumed in the past. The evidence of the Barthian impact must remain the subject of further and more detailed investigation.

31. Barth, Karl. *A Letter To Great Britain From Switzerland* The Sheldon Press London 1941. p14.
32. Barth. op.cit. pp.12-13.
33. ibid. p13.
34. loc.cit.
35. ibid. p12.
36. Barth. *Political Problem of Our Day* pp.17-19 passim.

37. Barth. *A Letter To Great Britain From Switzerland*.
p13.
38. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* October 26, 1942.
39. Rev'd A. R. Witheford. Sermon 268 circa 1946.
"But if necessary, in the name of Christ, I will
alleviate suffering, check immorality, offer
protection, and use force against wrong."
40. *Last of The World Wars* Broadcast 3 July 1994
National Broadcasting Network Radio NZ. Part
of the transcript of Prime Minister Peter
Fraser's address to the Canadian Parliament
(Senate & House of Commons) 30th June 1944.
41. Finlay, Rev. A. H. (ed) *Middle East Edition N.Z.
Baptist*. Victory Number, May-June 1945. p3.
42. Folio: Photographs WW2. Archives (KTC)
43. Burges-Short, George. *The Records And Badges of
Every Regiment and Corps in The British Army*
Gale & Polden Aldershot 1900. p915. From the
history section of the British Army Chaplain's
Department.
44. *A Memoir Of Fergus Blair McLaren* By His Friends A.
H. and A. W. Reed Dunedin. 1943. p117.
45. Landwehr, Richard. *Britisches Freikorps British
Volunteers Of The Waffen-SS, 1943-45* Siegrunen
Publications Brookings USA 1992. This title
is the best available for detail on the
subject.
46. Rev'd Ian Ryburn Audio Taped Interview,
Christchurch, 8 April 1994.
When I arrived back at the rehabilitation camp in
England after being flown from Europe at the end of
the war I was taken aside by an officer and shown a
pile of letters this high, (he demonstrated about
110mm in height) from other prisoners who had been
at Genshagen and thought that I really was a Nazi
collaborator. I was collected by a chap from the
British Intelligence and looked after by them and
later repatriated back to New Zealand.
47. *ibid*. His quiet and emphatic response is firmly

asserted in his interview response to the question.

48. *Church News* May 1st, 1940 p371.
49. Gourdie. Rev'd Pat. *The War Diary* p65.
50. Bradford, Ernle. *The Sword And The Scimitar* Victor Gollancz London 1974 pp.14-15.
51. ANZAC (Australian And New Zealand Army Corps) Established as a combined command of Australian Imperial and New Zealand Expeditionary Forces in Egypt before the Gallipoli landing of 25 April 1915. The first memorial to the failed landing was held in New Zealand and Australia on 25th April 1916 as well as being remembered among the forces of both nations on active service at the time.

The day has now come to be remembered on both sides of the Tasman Sea as ANZAC DAY, when the dead of WW1 and all wars subsequent are remembered. The day is celebrated with memorial dawn services, civil religious services and speeches. Marches and military displays and the closure in NZ of all commercial activity until after midday. This enshrines the day in the category of a National Holiday. The Australian Federal Government legislated the Day into its National Constitution in 1995. It has become a symbol of a powerful alliance of both a military and political nature between New Zealand and Australia to this present time.

To be known as an ANZAC is to be identified as either an Australian or a New Zealander. In NZ the Day continues to increase in its importance in which the dead of all wars are immortalized in making their sacrifice for the freedom of the country. Over 30,000 New Zealanders have died on Active Service from 1860 until the period of the present UN Peace Keeping Operations (1996).

52. *The Analysis*. Theological Students, Q16\10.
53. Late Jack Melrose, 2NZEF former tank crew-man who served in Italy. Interview, Invercargill, November 18 1957.
54. Finlay. op.cit. p6.
55. Underhill, Rev. M. L. *New Zealand Chaplains in the Second World War* War History Branch,

Wellington 1950 p113.

56. loc.cit.
57. loc.cit.
58. Baragwanath, Rev. O. T. BA. "The Cross of Sacrifice at Bourail" In 36BN. *BULLETIN Official Organ of The 36th Battalion Association*. Vol. 2. No. 3. June 1956.
59. McQuaid, Peter. (ed) *Wartime Memories Stories from our men, women and children in World War II* Dolphin Publications Auckland 1995. p140.
60. *ibid.* End-cover poem.
61. Rev'd Ian Ryburn. Interview, Christchurch, 7 May 1996.
62. Mills, Rev'd W. *War Diary* p1-8 *passim*. See Also photo section. Mills details the basis of his co-operation with the YMCA Field Secretary.
63. The unofficial motto of the YMCA with the 2NZEF. It was never adopted formally, but used to describe in a theological sense the basis of its operations. It has its origins in the scripture found in Matthew 10:42.
64. See Potter: Biographical Appendix B.
65. Potter, B. W. *The New Zealand Y.M.C.A. With the 2nd N.Z.E.F. in Middle East and Italy* Wellington ND. Appendix D. p2.
66. *ibid.* App.D. p2.
67. loc.cit.
68. Acts 6:1 - 3.
69. *The Analysis, YMCA Field Secretaries Q14\1\3\4\cf8. Theological Students, cf. Q14\10\11.*
70. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* June 25, 1945. p7. col.2.
71. See Freyberg: Biographical Appendix B.
72. Phillips, Jock. *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male - A History* Penguin Books Auckland 1987, pp.198-202 *passim*. Phillips

evaluates the qualities of the New Zealand soldier from the outbreak of WW2 until near the end in 1944.

73. Liddell Hart, B. H. (ed) *The Rommel Papers* Collins, London 1953. p240.

74. Phillips op.cit. p200.

From Goebels's speech broadcast over German Radio shortly after the outbreak of war. His comment was treated as a derogatory remark made in the interests of German propaganda. It was difficult for Germans to accept that New Zealand, so far away from Europe could become part of the British war effort.

75. Entry, during the 1930s, into the Baptist, Methodist, Churches of Christ, Congregational and Salvation Army ministeries required candidates to publicly explain their conversion to the Christian faith. They were also expected to give a rational explanation of their "call" to the ministry of the Church. There was an expectation that they accepted the orthodox beliefs of the Christian faith.

The candidates were then questioned on their statements by the board of examiners. Such a requirement arose out of the evangelical ethos of the 19th century and remained in place in New Zealand until the mid to late 1960s. Presbyterian and Anglican candidates for ministry were subjected to a spiritual examination by a committee of clergy who sought to "test" the candidate's "call" to ministry. As academic training was generally required of Presbyterian candidate's before entering the Theological Hall a candidate's vocation was under pressure in a secular environment and one needed close association with a parish for spiritual support.

Any candidate who was unsure of a vocation within the Roman Catholic church was not encouraged to continue his training. It required great tenacity of spirit to progress through seven or eight years of spiritual and theological education till Ordination as a Roman Catholic priest.

76. The following records the vocational "call to preach" or the "call to ministry". Not all highlight the sense of the Divine touch that call

made on the life of the individual, but they mirror the spiritual experience of those who served as chaplains.

q.v. *Fergus A Memoir Of Fergus Blair McLaren* By His Friends A H & A W Reed Dunedin 1943. p20.

q.v. 'Titch' of the Div. Cav. A Memoir Of L\Sergt. P. L. Titchener 2nd N.Z.E.F. Presbyterian Bookroom Christchurch 1944 pp.17-18. A description of Titch's call to ministry while he was ploughing.

q.v. Sherburd E. F. and A. L. Silcock. *18,000 Yesterdays The Story of The N.Z. Baptist Theological College* Institute Press Auckland 1977. p6. A definition of call from the biblical experience.

q.v. Thompson, (Padre) Bill. *The God Botherer* Pumpkin Press Christchurch 1976 p34.

q.v. Schollar, Kenneth. *One Man In His Time* P.A. Drury Christchurch 1985 pp.6-7. An Anglo-Catholic perception and experience.

q.v. Falloon, Mary. Lillian Falloon and Richard Falloon. *The Day Thou Gavest, Lord An account of the life of George David Falloon OBE, MC, BA 1911-1988.* Christchurch NZ 1991. p27. Falloon tested his "call" by his desire "...to have an education".

cf. Witheford, Rev'd Arthur. In personal discussion on this subject (circa 1956-57) with the writer Witheford claimed to have been aware since the age of five years that God had chosen him for the work of Christian ministry. He entered as a student for ministry on this understanding.

77. Ryburn op.cit. Audio Tape. Ian Ryburn makes specific mention of this poem as a challenge to his return to ministerial vocation as a POW. He also believed that the theology in the book of Jonah challenged him.

78. Mention has been made of the difficulty some Anglicans had in accepting an inclusive sacramental ministry and the sectarian role of the Church Army.

However, mainstream OPDs could find no justification for denominationalism on the battlefield. Whatever traditions other protestants may have inherited from their English based origins of the colonial period, these did not survive in a New Zealand ethos.

79. Padre Underhill and Hopkins have made statements regarding the lack of identity some South African and a few English chaplains had with their soldiers. They believed their theology and status separated them. Neither would make an issue of their impressions.
80. See Kingan : Biographical Appendix B.
81. Bernie Pearce 13997, Auckland. Formerly of 26th Battalion 2NZEF.
82. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* June 25, 1945. p7. col.4.
83. A limited study of the denominational lists of officiating clergy associated with the Anglican, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic and Methodist churches of the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century reveals a strongly immigrant ministry. This is most noticeable among Roman Catholic priests whose numbers are of Irish extraction, along with a minority of French priests. There needs to be further study in this area.
84. McLeod, John. *Myth & Reality The New Zealand Soldier In World War II* Reed Methuen Auckland 1986. p96. col.2. A typical example of the community nature of relationships in the 2NZEF.

Padre David Thorpe ministered to Major Grigg in his dying moments. Grigg was his former boxing Master when Thorpe was a student at Christ's College.

Padre Falloon was attached to the NZ Scot's Regiment before he was posted overseas as part of the reinforcements. Largely made up of Otago-Southland men it contained a high percentage of active churchmen, some of whom Falloon knew from his parish in Southland.

85. Colonel Bill French. Interview, Winton April 28th 1995.
86. Brigadier W. R. K. Morrison. Interview, Thames

2nd September 1993. He was present at the action.

87. *The New Zealand Methodist Times* "The Church and The World" 9 September 1939. p145
88. Underhill, op.cit. p26.

In interview Padre Underhill admitted that the "one or two" chaplains mentioned in his book who took up arms, was an underestimate. He believed their response to fight had as much to do with their own safety as it did for the defence of wounded and companions. Padre Underhill preferred the matter to rest on his comment in the Official history.

89. Potter op.cit. App D. & E. He makes comparison between the British and New Zealand Welfare Organizations highlighting the weakness of the British and the strength of the NZ YMCA.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

1. Stevens, Major General W. G. *Problems of 2 NZEF Official History of New Zealand in the Second world War 1939-45.* War History Branch Wellington p254.
2. Yoeman, Allan. Katikati - Letter 24 October 1993. The writer tells of his personal experience with three recently released POW discussing with the chaplain their fears in being re-united with wives and families. Yoeman recalls the padre's words, "What is lacking at the moment is the physical presence of the other. When that is restored the old attraction of spirit, mind and body will begin to work again. What is needed now is understanding, courage, faith and a lot of patience." (GHC)
3. N.Z. Chaplains Dept 2 N.Z.E.F. UK. *Reception Group.* q.v. Introduction: p2. SCF Report to the Ch.DAC. Wellington. circa August 1945. (QEII)
4. op.cit. p3.
5. Finlay, Rev. A. H. C.F. *When Your Man Gets Home - What?* Nile Mission Press Cairo. ND. p12.
6. ibid. p12.
7. op.cit. p2.
8. op.cit. p6.
9. See Whitelaw: Biographical Appendix B.
10. Whitelaw, Molly D. *When The Boys Come Home Marriage: Re-union And Re-adjustment After The War* H. Duckworth Blenheim Second Edition May 1943. (KTC)
11. ibid. p12.
12. op.cit. pp.18-19.
13. Report No. 4 "Report Of The Military Affairs Committee For The Triennial Period, 1943 to 1946." In *The Church of the Province of New Zealand Proceedings Of The Thirtieth General Synod 1946.* pp.132-134. q.v. Communicant's Register.

14. Letter - 6 September 1946 From The Secretary, Church of England Military Affairs, P.O. Box 1165, Wellington. Copy In Auckland Anglican Provincial Archives, (Military Affairs Committee).
15. loc.cit.
16. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in 1942 (p.167 of the *Assembly Proceedings*) encouraged the Bible Classes to maintain contact with members serving in the Armed forces.
 - q.v. "Armed Forces Sunday" *The Outlook* April 19, 1944
 - q.v. "Rehabilitation" Chaplains' letter, *The Outlook* September 20, 1944 pp.15 & 30.
17. "Armed Forces Sunday", *The Outlook* April 18, 1945.
18. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of NZ. 1944* pp.26-27. According to the Rev'd J. T. Gardiner, who was a serving chaplain in New Zealand at the time, this resolution had little impact in parishes and the effort was largely left to family and friends to carry out.
 - q.v. *The Church of the Province of New Zealand Proceedings Of The 31st General Synod. 1949.* p161. "It was not found practicable to embark on any general scheme" (for the welcoming back of servicemen into the congregation).
19. Total number killed in action (KIA) or died while on active service in the 2NZEF and the Pacific was 6839. Total deaths of all New Zealanders who served in WW2 was 11,671. Source: Kay, Robin. *Chronology New Zealand in the War 1939-46* Historical Publications Branch, Department of Internal Affairs Wellington 1968.
20. Personal Correspondence: Chaplains, Vols.1. & 2. (GHC)
 - q.v. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* October 9, 1944. Rev'd T. L. Francis formerly of the 3(NZ) Div (IP) is reported to have completed 26 pastoral visits to families of those killed in his unit on active service.
21. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* February 21, 1944 p2.

22. See Dixon : Biographical Appendix B.
 23. Dixon, Rev. Ian. "How The Army Sees The Church" *The Outlook* December 1, 1943. p19.
 24. *They Met at Christchurch Full Report of the Conference on Christian Order in New Zealand* Christ's College, Christchurch August 28 to September 4, 1945. National Council of Churches. Presbyterian Bookroom, Christchurch 1945. pp7-15.
 25. *Church News*. Christchurch July, 1942. Editorial Comment.
 26. *ibid.* p4.
 27. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* March 30, 1942. p2.
 28. *loc.cit.*
 29. West-Watson, Campbell. Anglican Archbishop of New Zealand. "Campaign for Christian Order", *Church News* Christchurch. July 1942 p4.
 30. "Resolution On The Cessation Of Hostilities And The Victory Of The United Nations". pp.10-12. In the *Proceedings Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ* 1945. A statement by a major denomination typical of most Churches.
 31. Hq 2 NZEF 30 Apr 45. *Monthly Report To The Chairman Of The Chaplains' Advisory Committee* Wellington. p2. para 7. (QEII)
 32. *loc.cit.*
 33. NZ Ch D LEADERSHIP SCHOOL. (Record for War Diary) 2 NZEF Chaplains Department 15 Nov. 1945. (3 pages) (NL)
 34. SCF 2NZEF *Monthly Report Ch DAC* Wellington 30 August 45. pp.2-3. Chaplains' Department Leadership School: (QEII)
- q.v. Rev'd Dr. J. Somerville. Audio Taped Interview, Dunedin 12 April 1994.
- q.v. Somerville, J. S. *Jack In The Pulpit* An Autobiography, John McIndoe, Dunedin 1987. pp.93-94. A personal appreciation of the work of the School, Dr Somerville emphasized the

ecumenical nature of the entire project.

35. NZ CH D LEADERSHIP SCHOOL op.cit. p2. The denominational representation of students attending was reported;

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| Church of England | 204 |
| Presbyterian | 147 |
| Roman Catholic | 3 |
| Methodist | 38 |
| Baptist | 18 |
| Congregational | 7 |
| Churches of Christ | 6 |
| Salvation Army | 5 |
| Open Brethren | 12 |
| Total of | 440. |
| (KTC) | |

36. Folio (Moral Leadership Training.) *Theology For The Troops* NZ Army Chaplains Department. Lectures, Notes, Correspondence. This has been a folio created from disparate material collected from several private sources. It contains:

Document 1. NZ Ch.D. Leadership School. Finding From Group discussions. Course No.8. OPD. (4 pages)

Document 2. NZ Ch.D. Leadership School Course No 5. CofE (8 pages)

Document 3. NZ Chaplains Department Leadership School Questionnaire to Presbyterians (4 pages)

Document 4. *Theology for the Troops* Army Backs Chaplains Department Venture. (5 pages) This document is undated and unsigned but the same type-writer has been used as letter signed by the Principal of the School, Rev'd E. O. Shields CF. MA.

Document 5. *Theology for The Trooper*. A Second Presbyterian Course. (6 pages)

None are dated or signed. All are typed and appear to have been designed for inclusion in the monthly reports to the Ch.DAC in Wellington. Copies have been sought in those records and have not been found. These surviving documents are carbon copies and were obtained from Rev'd Dr. J. Somerville.

Dunedin. Unclassified and unsorted copies of the above are located in the QEII War Memorial and Muesuem Waiouru. NZ.

37. *Theology for The Troops* op.cit. Doc 2 passim.
 38. *ibid.*
 39. *ibid.* passim.
 40. *ibid.* passim.
 41. *ibid.* p2.
 42. *Theology for The Troops* Doc. 3. p5.
 43. *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of NZ 1946.* p69 and p75. Church Extension.
 44. Doc. 3. op.cit. p5.
 45. *ibid.* pp.5-6.
 46. *loc.cit.*
 47. *ibid.* p3.
 48. *Theology for the Troops.* op.cit. Doc. 1. p1.
 49. *ibid.* pp.1-4 passim.
 50. *ibid.* pp.1-2.
 51. *ibid.* p3. NCOs, Q\3.
 52. For example Prison Chaplaincy established in the Department of Justice 1952, Marriage Guidance Counsellors, full-time and part-time employed as trainers 1958. Both were Government funded through the National Council of Churches. Government funded repatriation for all theological students who were former 2NZEF servicemen. Anecdotal evidence suggests co-operation on the part of schools for continuation and support of Bible In Schools in the decade following WW2.
- q.v. Davidson. Allan. *Christianity in Aotearoa A History of Church and Society in New Zealand.* Education for Ministry Wellington 1991.

Davidson touches upon areas of political association between the Churches and the Government of the day as well as denominational and collective disagreement with Government policy in chapter 15. He by no means exhausts the areas of Church and Government co-operation.

53. Archbishop of New Zealand, Opening Synod Remarks In *The Church of the Province of New Zealand. Proceeding Of The Thirtieth General Synod 1946.* p22 "The National Council of Churches": p27 "The Church in the World", and p29 "Evangelism". The Archbishop is aware the end of WW2 is a period of transition.

q.v. *Proceedings Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ 1946.* p70. Early legislation foreshadowed preparing an Act of Union for parishes including Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregational participant Churches.

54. *N.Z.E.F. TIMES* reports the *Campaign For Christian Order* in New Zealand for the dates as below.

March: 30th 1942.
 September: 21st 1942.
 December: 7th 1942.
 May: 17th 1943.
 November: 15th 1943.

55. Among those who were elevated to the leadership of their denomination were the following:

Bishops of the Anglican Church.

Theological students: Norman and Pyatt, chaplains: Warren and Bennett. (4)

Moderators of the Presbyterian Church

Chaplains: Baragwanath, Falloon, McKenzie and McDowall. YMCA Field Secretary: Perry. (5)

Presidents of the Methodist Church

YMCA Field Secretary: Stead, chaplains: Witheford and Francis W. (3)

5% of 2NZEF chaplains (not including the YMCA Field Secretaries and students) attained top leadership responsibility within their denomination, a higher proportion from among 2NZEF chaplains than clergy who had not served overseas.

q.v. *Proceedings Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ.* 1946. p55. Rev'd A.D. Horwell former Middle East chaplain was appointed Assistant director of Home Missions for the Presbyterian Church and the Director of the New Life Movement was a former YMCA Field Secretary Mr Norman Perry (Later Sir Norman).

q.v. *They Met At CHRISTCHURCH.* Conference on Christian Order The National Council of Churches August 28 - September 4, 1945. Presbyterian Bookroom Christchurch 1945. pp.221-224.

Of the 199 delegates present there were two Home Service chaplains, one former WW2 Middle East chaplain, four former WW1 padres, three visiting American military chaplains. At least two laypersons were then serving members of the forces.

The Conference is an indication of the transition period within the Church in New Zealand independent of the thinking within the 2NZEF.

56. Davidson. op.cit. "Church Union" Index references p218. These generally refer to the Union Movement and development in the New Zealand situation since early this century as detailed in Davidson's account. This is a good concise record.

57. *Proceedings Of The General Assembly Of The Presbyterian Church of NZ* 1948. pp.285-287. An agreement reached with the Methodist and Congregational Churches for the establishment of Union Parishes

CHAPTER TWENTY

1. Rev'd. Dr J Somerville Dunedin - Letter 25th January 1994. (GHC)
2. See: Cross, F. L. (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church.* Oxford University Press, London. 1963. pp.684-685.
3. loc.cit.
4. Stauffer, Ethelbert. *New Testament Theology.* SCM Press London English Edition 1955. p119

5. Gourdie, Rev'd Pat. 18th NZ Battalion and Armoured Regiment 2 N.Z.E.F. *"We Will Remember Them"* Offset Publications Palmerston North 1986.
6. Rev'd E. F. Farr *Recollections* Auckland 26 July 1989. (GHC)
7. Rev'd Ian Ryburn Audio Taped Interview Christchurch 8th April 1994.
8. McDowall, Rev'd R. G. *War Diary*, Sunday 5th August 1944 (One of many examples of fellowship with Groh)
9. *ibid.* Various references June - December 1944.
10. Bicknell Papers (SAA) Wellington. (Letter Box 1\2)
11. Dillenberger, John and Claude Welch. *Protestant Christianity* Students Edition. New York 1968 p295.
12. Rev'd David Thorpe. Hanmer Springs. Letter - 11 November 1989.
13. Bicknell Papers. *op.cit.* The text of Bicknell's sermon for the last Sunday of 1939.
14. **Rev'd Keith Harper** (CofE) (2NZE) KIA Italy 22 February 1944.
Rev'd Wilfred Parker, (CofE) Royal Navy Chaplain's Department of Paeroa, KIA 10 December 1941 on the sinking of the HMS *Prince of Wales*.
Rev'd Jim Irwin (CofE) RCh.D. Black Watch Regiment KIA Arnhem August 1944.
15. Casualty List: YMCA and Chaplains Department Nominal Roll.
16. Haigh, J Bryant. *Men of Faith and Courage* The official history of the Royal New Zealand Chaplains Department. Word Publishers Auckland pp.158-159.

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- (ii) Reminiscences and Biographical.
- (iii) Church Archives.
- (iv) Soldiers Diaries and Journals 2 NZEF.
- (v) Unpublished Books.
- (vi) Lectures, Sermons and Liturgical Records.
- (vii) Respondents to Questionnaire.
- (viii) Contributing Letters and Interviews.

B. Chaplains Department Archives. 2 NZEF.

- (i) From Senior Chaplain 2 NZEF. Reports to the Ch.DAC Wellington.

Reports: Department of Internal Affairs: War History Branch Wellington Chaplains Records.

C. Audio and Oral Information.

- (i) Tape Recorded Interviews.
- (ii) Historical Replay Radio New Zealand WW2 Recordings.
- (iii) Oral history sources.

D. Visual History.

- (i) Video Record.
- (ii) Photographic Record Chaplains 2 NZEF 1939-45.

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B. Chaplains Department Archives 2 NZEF.

- (i) **From Senior Chaplain 2 NZEF.** Reports to Ch.DAC. Wellington. This material made available in 1957. It must be kept in mind that the Chaplains' Dominion Advisory Council (Ch.DAC) was constituted rather late in the war: September 1942.

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Letters Correspondence from SCF Rev'd G. A. D. Spence

- (a) Theological Students early release from 2NZEF following ending of hostilities - to HQ. 2NZEF.
- (b) Rehabilitation of 2NZEF chaplains into the civilian Church. To Convener Presbyterian Assembly Chaplaincy Committee.
- (c) Welfare Funds and chaplains allowances. From HQ 2NZEF.

C. AUDIO AND ORAL INFORMATION.

(i) Tape Recorded Interviews.

These interviews were recorded on tape and used as reference material. The content is briefly described and

the approximate time noted.

- Baragwanath, Owen Rev'd. OBE. ED. BA. (Pres) Comments on Chaplaincy with the 3.(NZ).Div. with reference to action on Mono Island and ecumenical co-operation. Orewa 18. April 1994. (Approx 30 minutes)
- Brown, George A. "N" Force Norfolk Island October 1942. Reminiscences of the garrison duties and personalities. Special notes of 36 Battalion. 1942-43. Prepared for the 50th Celebrations of "N" Force on Norfolk Island 1992. (1 hour)
- Borrie, John Dr. Reflections on his experience as a POW 1941-1945 with some biographical comment of Rev'd J. Hiddlestone MBE. ED. (Bapt) and Rev'd Ian Ryburn. Discussion on impact of capture upon the human mind. Some outline of the double agent network Ryburn and Staff\Sgt George Brown were involved with at Genshagen. A comment on Holy Communion in the 2 NZEF as opposed to a civilian understanding. University of Otago. Dunedin. 12 April 1994. (1 hour 30 minutes.)
- Fielder, Thomas. Ex RAAF as a 21 year-old POW and a member of Rev'd R G. McDowall's Bible class, discussion group and parish participation in 1942-45. Special mention of McDowall's association with the German administration and escaping. Thames 17 March 1996. (1 hour 45 minutes.)
- Falloon, Mary Mrs. Some reflections on the memories of her late husband Very Rev'd George Falloon MC. BA. (Pres) Chaplain in the Middle East and Pacific, 1943-1945. Christchurch 18 April 1994. (1 hour 30 minutes.)
- Hopkins, H. I. Rev'd. OBE (CofE) An account of his capture and work as a POW chaplain 1941-45. A varied ecumenical ministry including the hardships of the great march to freedom (April 1945) at the end of the war. Interesting relationship with the Greek Orthodox Church. Some serious background noise owing to proximity of builders. Christchurch. 9 April 1994 (2 hours.)
- Morrison, W. R. K. Brigadier DSO (Retd) Company Commander (24 Battalion) and Staff Officer 2 NZEF. Regular Army Officer. His reflective response to a discussion paper on Battle-Field Skills and morale in 2 NZEF. Thames 31 August 1994. (1 hour 30 minutes.)

Comments on individual chaplains listed on the Nominal Roll of the 2 NZEF Middle East Chaplains Department 1940 - 1945. (2 Tapes total of 3 hours.)
Thames 24 September 1993.

- McNeur R. Miss Recollections of conversations with her father Rev'd A McNeur (Pres) Chaplain on Hospital ship 1941 to Middle East. McNeur arrived in Egypt at the time of the abandonment of Crete. Miss McNeur recalls the impressions of her Father on the morale of the 2 NZEF at that time. Padre McNeur remained in the Middle East for three weeks before returning to NZ with wounded. He had been a WW1 soldier, a Territorial Army chaplain and was in a position to comment. Miss McNeur has limited recollections of her Fathers impressions. Dunedin. 15 April 1994. (45 minutes.)
- Parker, Rev'd Wesley MA. (Meth) Interview by news-reporter from 1ZB circa 1988. Discussion regarding the work of a Pacific chaplains and wading ashore under fire. Burial of the dead on the beaches. An appreciation of a team -chaplain and YMCA worker. (35 minutes.)
- Ryburn, Ian Rev'd BA. (Pres) His reasons for enlisting while still a theological student in 1939 and a graphic account of capture in Crete. His theological pilgrimage whilst a POW and eventual Ordination in Genshagen Prisoner of War camp in October 1944. His account of being a double agent in association with S\Sgt John Brown who was the POW MI5 agent. A summary of theological concepts considered against the background of war and captivity. Christchurch. 8 April 1994. (2 hours)
- Somerville, Jack Rev'd Dr MC (Pres) His experiences in Italy with the 2 NZEF and the background to the establishment of the Chaplain's Department Leadership School in 1945. Some considerations on Compulsory Church parades and his opinion on chaplaincy from a theological perspective. Dunedin. 12 April 1994 (2 hours)
- Stone, Pat. Mrs. (Nee Boulton) Nurse and Matron 2 NZEF. 1st General Hospital Egypt and Italy. Her comments in general are a response to the questions put to her regarding the morale following the defeats in Greece and Crete. Comments on the overall social impact of WW2 on New Zealand and the early recognition (1944-45) by the Senior Medical Staff that WW2 would make deep inroads into the national

character and family life. Significant social and national changes could be expected according to the medical staff. Thames. 22 November 1994. (1 hour)

Tagg, Mary MA. Daughter of Very Rev'd R. G. McDowall. ED. MA. (Pres) A biographical outline of his ministry and early life and her impressions of his military service. Auckland. 1 March 1993. (1 hour)

Underhill, Michael Dean. CBE. (CofE) A general overview of the Chaplains Department of the 2NZEF in the Middle East and Italy 1941-45. Dean Underhill was the Official Historian of the Department 1939-1945. He supports the concept of a "nominal" Christian society within the 2 NZEF. He recognizes that the secular society developed post WW2. Discussion of individual chaplains. Rangiora. 28 February 1995. 2 Tapes (3 hours 20 minutes)

Tape 3. Rangiora. 19 May 1995. Further discussion on one or two specific questions relating to this thesis. Specifically his understanding of his function when he celebrated the Holy Communion while a POW in a NZ Field Hospital. (2 Hours)

Walton, John Rev'd. (CofE) Former Church Army Officer 2 NZEF. His POW experiences and work as an acting Chaplain 1939-45 and his work as secretary to Senior Chaplain 2 NZEF Bishop G. V. Gerard. MC. Walton contributes some significant insights. Blenheim. 7 April 1994. (2 hours.)

Witheyford, Mrs A. R. Recollections of her husband, Rev'd A. R. Witheyford BA (Meth) and his reasons for enlisting. His recollections to her on his service in the Pacific and reference to some preaching about the justification of war. Comment from a women's perspective left with one child and no home while her husband went into the army. Christchurch. 8 April 1994.

White, Sir John. Former ADC, General Sir B. Freyberg. 1940-45. Interview regarding the appointment of Rev'd G. A. D. Spence as SCF 2 NZEF 1944, following the departure of Rev. McKenzie. Sir John comments on Rev'd Father Spring as being the most "ecumenical" of RC chaplains. Sir John concedes the notion that Freyberg was disposed to the non-sectarian Unit chaplain concept. Comment also on Bishops Gerard's concept that the Greek campaign of 1941 offered the Kiwis a chance to hold "till the last man." (35 minutes.)

Whitten, Bert Rev'd. (Bapt) His account of enlistment as a private soldier after Ordination to the Baptist ministry and the theological considerations this decision involved. His capture and work as an acting chaplain as a POW in Germany 1941-1945. Thames. 29 August 1989 (1 hour 30 minutes)

Yearberry, George Mr. (Former British Imperial Forces) His experiences and reflections as a POW 1940-1945 with reference to Rev'd Ian Ryburn. Comments on attending Ian Ryburn's services and as a sportsman. Will not be drawn on delicate matters regarding Ian Ryburn of Padre Hiddlestone. Timaru. 10 April 1994. (1 hour.)

(ii) *Historical Replay Radio New Zealand WW2 Recordings.*

Davin, Dan. *Comments on 2 NZEF Italian Campaign. 1944.* On Replay Radio Broadcast 14 August 1994. Includes Davin's biographical account of *Brigadier J Hargest's* life. 10 minutes

Falloon. Padre George. (Pres) *The First Battle.* An account of the first battle 2 NZEF IP. Recorded 28 October 1943. His outline of the troops morale and account of the events of September 1943. Replay Radio Audio Tape. Wellington 1995. (20 minutes)

Liggett, K Rev'd (CofE) *Message to New Zealand. From SCF 3 (NZ) Div. The First Battle. NZFIP.* Recorded in Pacific Theatre of Operations 28 October 1943. Replay Radio Audio Tape. Wellington 1995. (20 minutes)

(iii) *Oral history sources.*

These were provided by individuals in interview or by telephone and were noted during or written immediately following the conversation.

Anon. Christchurch. 7 October 1993. Reference an unnamed chaplain with whom the caller "thrashed" in May 1945 for not admitting he had gone to Rome to see the sights in preference to visiting his sick and dying brother.

Botting, Norman. Invercargill April 1995. Medical Orderly Middle East. Attended Brethren Services in Cairo Information regarding Brethren Assemblies among members of 2NZEF.

- Brown, F. E. S. Auckland. 6 October 1993. Ref Chaplain Wesley Parker (Meth) 36 Battalion.
- Burns, Rev'd Percy. 5/2 Short Street, Papakura. Former batman to Padre George Falloon. On the Vella Levella landings and subsequent battles.
- Campbell, Pastor Douglas. Thames regarding his experience in the Pacific and ecumenical celebration of Holy communion 1943-44.
- Carr, Rev'd Thomas. Snippets of his experience with the 3rd Division. Discussed and interviewed November 1961 at the Methodist Conference Invercargill.
- Francis, Rev'd William (Bill) discussion on front-line chaplaincy. Especially Cassino 1944.
- French, Bill. Former Colonel. 2NZEF. Winton Southland. April 1995. Chaplains in Italy during closing months of the war.
- Judkins, Mr Trevor. Shirley, Christchurch. Information regarding Middle East compulsory Church parades. His impressions of chaplains in general.
- Lewis, Rev'd Dr J.J. Auckland. His knowledge of pre-war SCM and student life, including first hand accounts of several students who enlisted.
- MacKenzie, Colin Rev'd ED. (Pres) Comments from his daughter on ill health as a result of war service. 27 January 1994.
- Mitchell, Keith. Nelson. Regarding the landing on Green Island and the first action with Japanese opposition. His measured comments on the function of his Unit chaplain
- Morrison, Kim. Brigadier (Retd) Thames. Over various occasions from September 1993 until April 1996. General information of chaplains, incidents and Church Parades.
- Melrose, Jack. 2NZEF Italy. Interviews: 1960. Invercargill
- North, Allan. Driver, 2NZEF Italy. Interview regarding his experiences Egypt and Italy. Kennington Southland 1977.
- Payne, Keith. VC. Former Instructor Australian Regular Army.

Insights and discussions on the role of the front-line chaplain. Norfolk Island. November 29th 1993.

- Peat, Dr A. W. L. Auckland. Regarding his father Rev'd H. T. Peat (Meth) and experience with Forces in Fiji.
- Perry, Stewart. Rev'd. Katikati. August 4 1995. Interview regarding his position as a theological student 2NZE 1940-45.
- Pyatt, Dean Allan. (Latter Bishop of Christchurch) His impressions of religious life in the army from a theological students background. He rose through the ranks to become a Major and 2nd in command of his Regiment as the war ended. These impressions given to the writer in 1966.
- Silvester, Ngaire. 23 McBreen Ave, Auckland 9. Regarding the experiences of her father, Rev'd A. E. W. Silvester MM (USA) (Meth) as a coast watcher in the Solomon Islands 1943-44.
- Stewart, Bill. 188 Ocean Beach Rd. Mount Mongonui 15th October 1993. Ref. Pastor Wally Harford (ChofCh) 37 Battalion.
- Suckling, Mr Len. Christchurch. YMCA Field Secretary. General background of the active service duties while serving with the YMCA.
- Thornton, General Sir John, Selwyn Toogood, and John Crawford. *An account of the Cassino campaign.* 5 March 1994. Broadcast over National Radio. Spectrum Productions/
- Turua, Mr Ti. Of the Coromandel Iwi Authority. Backgrounding the traditional role of the Tohunga from an Iwi perspective.
- Watts, Mr Edgar. Papanui, Christchurch. Mr Watts served in Italy and recounted his experiences of visiting religious buildings and worship in Rome, an activity which was encouraged by chaplains.
- Walker, Robert. Corporal HQ 2NZE. Otautau. A pupil of the Leadership School and Methodist layman. He was interviewed in 1959. Mr Walker died circa 1986.
- White, Mr Doug. Temata. Coromandel. Regarding a soldiers experiences landing on Mono Island with the 3rd Division.

Witheford , Rev'd A R. From his reminiscences while serving with the 3rd Division 1944. Invercargill and Christchurch interviews 1956 and November 1972 at Christchurch.

Witheford, Mrs E. Sumner. Regarding the impact of clergy wife's having to fend for themselves while their husbands were serving as chaplains. Evidently not all wives' of chaplains were supported well by the denomination in which their husband was a minister of religion.

Winmill, Mr Harry (Pop) of North Otago. Information regarding his experiences in the final actions in Northern Italy late April 1945.

Not all contributors wished to be listed under this heading where attention is drawn to their contribution, and their wish has been respected, however, their information is noted in the appropriate chapter footnote.

D. VISUAL HISTORY.

(i) Video Record.

Thorpe, Canon David. (CofE) *A Padres Story*. A visual record by Padre Thorpe of the Middle East campaigns until 1943. Interviews with several soldiers with whom he served. Reference to Rev. Harper later killed in Italy. Television NZ. Screened by NZ TVI Anzac Day 25th April 1991. (Copy GHC)

New Zealand At War. A Series of eight programmes, in a four series televised May-June 1995 Channel 1. TVNZ. This was part of the "New Zealand Remembers" 50 years after the ending of WW2 in Europe. Produced by TVNZ. Wellington. 1995.

El Alamein. Video presentation TV3. November 1995. On the celebration of the 53rd memorial of the battle of El Alamein. The 1 hour programme followed the fortunes of one veteran who returned to visit the grave of his brother killed in the action.

(ii) Photographic Record Chaplains 2NZEF 1939-45.

Berge, Mr Clarie, Photograph collection in a series of 72 photographs of the operations on Mono Island following the invasion units of 3 (NZ) Div.

McDowall, R. G. Rev'd. MA (Pres) Scrap book of photographs

collected during WW2 illustrating the work of the Presbyterian Chaplains. (KTC)

Mills, W. (Bill) Rev'd (Meth) Series of photographs and official photographs of chaplains conferences taken in the Middle East 1943\44. Also visual evidence of YMCA and chaplains accommodation close to fighting position in the desert campaign of 1943. Haigh Bryant. Series of unpublished photographs of 2NZEF Chaplains in the Middle East circa 1942-45.

Whakatane District Historical Society. 2 volumes undated and no credits, photographs of the 2NZEF in the Middle East 1940-43. Some 200 photographs.

Queen Elizabeth War Memorial and Muesuem. Waiouru. Series of 10 dated and title photographs of chaplains, YMCA Secretaries and others associated with their work in the 2NZEF and the Pacific 1942-45.

SECONDARY SOURCES.**(A) General, Historical, Military and Religious Studies**

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- (ii) Selections From Published Books.
- (iii) Selections: Religious Studies.
- (iv) Books Religious Studies.
- (v) Reference Works.
- (vi) Liturgical Publications.
- (vii) Proceedings, Minutes, Articles And Monograms.

(B) Military History Publications.

- (i) Official Military History.
- (ii) General War Histories.
- (iii) German War Histories.

(C) The International Welfare Agency Publications.

- (i) International Red Cross.
- (ii) International & NZ YMCA.

(D) Media Record.

- (i) The Religious Press of New Zealand.
- (ii) 2 NZEF Publications.
- (iii) Newspapers and Other Publications.

(E) Thesis.

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