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WILLIAM JELLIE

UNITARIAN, SCHOLAR and EDUCATOR

**A Thesis presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Philosophy**

in

History

at

Massey University

Albany, New Zealand

By

Wayne Arthur Pickard Facer

2012

FROM THE LIBRARY OF
THE REVEREND WILLIAM

JELLIE

1865 to 1963

WHICH HE A SCHOLAR
AND EARLY TUTOR
IN ADULT EDUCATION
BEQUEATHED TO
THE UNIVERSITY

Abstract

This thesis considers the life of William Jellie (1865-1963) and in so doing uses it as a prism with which to gain a view of history. It covers a period of ninety-eight years divided between the United Kingdom and New Zealand. His studies for the Unitarian ministry at Manchester College, removed from London to Oxford in his final year, gave him a unique education in late Victorian Britain. A course in sociology, economics and social problems which helped shape his world view. Taught by Philip Wicksteed, a Unitarian minister, economist and Dante scholar, Wicksteed would pass his passion for Dante on to William Jellie and become his friend and mentor for life.

Wicksteed's course dealt with inequality and human suffering and in doing so made it plain that a Unitarian minister was expected to address these issues and not ignore them. Consistent with his views as an ethical socialist, Philip Wicksteed supported a former class mate of William Jellie's, John Trevor, to found the Labour Church movement in Britain in response to the prevailing conditions. William Jellie worked in his first parish for six years in one of the poorest parts of London, experiencing firsthand the suffering and depredation of an unreformed capitalism. The relationship between a theology on the left of the spectrum and the accommodation of the political left becomes an important consideration in this thesis.

Arriving in New Zealand in 1900 to organise the Unitarian cause, William Jellie enjoyed friendships with Sir Robert Stout and Sir George Fowlds. He brought a cultured and intellectual view of liberal religion to colonial life. He founded a church in Auckland and was instrumental in expanding the cause to other centres. Having married in New Zealand, he returned to England just before the outbreak of war in 1914, remaining for the next seven years. There his feelings for his country of birth, Ireland, led him to publicly support the call for independence, a call not accepted by many of his congregants.

The return of peace saw the return of the Jellie family to New Zealand. Now his ministerial work was much more subscribed and William Jellie turned to a new occupation, tutor for the Worker's

Educational Association in Auckland. This in many ways proved to be his forte, he was extremely popular as a teacher and while he concentrated on English literature and Dante courses, he also included political theory. Throughout his life in New Zealand William Jellie undertook a strong defence of secular education and in so doing was aligned with the rationalist movement on this issue.

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My interest in Unitarian history was first piqued when Barbara Holt organised the Auckland Unitarian Church centennial service in 1998. Barbara also arranged for the historical records to be stored at the Auckland War Memorial Museum Institute Library, ensuring their preservation and access for future work. Since I began writing Barbara has kindly provided me with other references. I am grateful to Lini Nyenkamp who presented me with a box of 'old' church papers she thought worth preserving and they certainly were. I greatly appreciated the hospitality of John and Winifred Maindonald when I visited them in Canberra. John very kindly gave me his own files that he had used in writing a church history. Lincoln Gribble, who has played such an important role in the church, generously donated his papers and a number of books to me.

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I have been fortunate in receiving advice and support over a number of years from people, each with particular expertise. The Rev. Andrew Hill, with his long standing interest in Unitarian history, answered my many queries with knowledge and patience for which I am very grateful. The Rev. Dr Len Smith, former Principal of Unitarian College, Manchester kindly sent me information and discussed questions I had about religion and socialism for which I am very grateful. My good friend Dr Bill Cooke has been unstinting in his advice and suggestions and I am particularly indebted to him for the references he provided concerning definitions of religion (excluding those of Lloyd Geering.) Dr Peter Becroft is another friend who has kindly shown interest in my work; he loaned me copies of his father's WEA programmes which largely coincided with William Jellie's involvement in the organisation. The Rev. Dr John Nelson kindly provided information about William Jellie's uncle John Jellie and Jennifer Dickson of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland kindly assisted. The Rev. Daphne Roberts and her husband the Rev. John Roberts went to considerable effort to find information about William Jellie's time at Southport, for which I am very grateful. Mr Howard Hague, Archivist at the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches, Essex Hall, London very kindly scheduled the archival holdings relating to New Zealand and made copies of those I selected during my visit.

Many Librarians and Archivists have helped, often they are acknowledged in the relevant footnote. However David Verran and CJ Simmons at Auckland City Library were unfailing in finding reference and archival material. Thanks to a long time friend Mary Cobeldick, lately Collections Registrar at the Alexander Turnbull Library, who has been invaluable in locating information.

I have two acknowledgements to make to the University of Auckland: the donation plate in the front of this thesis has been reproduced with permission of Special Collections, University of Auckland Library. Permission was also granted to reproduce the following images:

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White, T.H., Proposed Unitarian Church, Auckland, N.Z. Thomas H. White Collection, WH2, Architecture Archive, University of Auckland Library.

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It is a pleasure to acknowledge the many debts I have incurred in writing this thesis, and only remains to say that any errors it contains are entirely mine.

Abbreviations

Alexander Turnbull Library	ATL
Auckland City Libraries	ACL
Auckland Unitarian Church	AUC
Auckland Unitarian Church Minute Book	AUCMB
Auckland War Memorial Museum and Institute Library	AWMMIL
British & Foreign Unitarian Association	B&FUA
Dictionary of New Zealand Biography	<i>DNZB</i>
Dunedin Public Library	DPL
Harris Manchester College	HMC
Independent Labour Party	ILP
Member of the House of Representatives	MHR
New Zealand Electronic Text Centre	NZETC
Oxford Dictionary of National Biography	<i>ODNB</i>
Special Collections	SC
Student Christian Movement	SCM
Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society	<i>TUHS</i>
University of Auckland	UoA
Workers Educational Association	WEA
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA

INTRODUCTION

George Bernard Shaw's idea of a successful biography was to suggest a book entitled *Queen Victoria: by a Personal acquaintance who dislikes her*.¹ This tells us the essential characteristics looked for in biography by some people, a story about the life of someone famous, preferably with some scandal and intrigue thrown in. But I much prefer to think that the cardinal purpose in writing biography is to discover and record a past that we might otherwise forget. In this regard how apposite is the following observation:

But who bothers at all now about the work and achievements of our grandfathers, and how much of what they knew have we already forgotten? I believe that people will one day be quite amazed by what was achieved in that period, which is now so disregarded and so little known.²

There is some debate about the role of the author in writing biography. While it is true that the biographer must have some degree of empathy, interest and attraction in order to be motivated to undertake research into his or her subject, research which may require patience and diligent application over some years, at the same time a degree of critical detachment must be maintained. Some would argue that the biographer should appear as little as possible, hiding "behind their subjects, inhabiting those invisible spaces between the lines of print."³ Part of the rationale in this approach is to avoid any intrusion by the author that might result in distortion, conscious or otherwise. In other words this

¹ "What we need now is a book entitled 'Queen Victoria: by a Personal acquaintance who dislikes her'...The proper person for the work would be some politically indifferent devil's advocate who considers the Queen an over-rated woman and who would take a conscientious delight in disparaging her." George Bernard Shaw quoted by Michael Holroyd, "On the Border-line between the New and the Old" Bloomsbury, *Biography, and Gerald Brenan*" in Joe Law and Linda K. Hughes eds. *Biographical Passages Essays in Victorian and Modernist Biography*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000, p.34.

² Letter dated 2 March 1944. Eberhard Bethge ed., trans. Reginald Fuller, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer Letters and Papers from Prison*, London: SCM Press, 3rd ed., 1967, p.79.

³ Michael Holroyd, *Mosaic Portraits in Fragments*, London: Little John, 2004, p.85.

puritan position is advocated to evade the charge that many biographies are merely novels with indexes.⁴

But does this approach do justice to the needs of the historian who is trying to place the subject in the context of a certain time and place? “To evoke a life in full motion with the world” it has been said “requires a broad and extensive research strategy... [and] in the process of research, nothing- not the faintest inference- is unimportant.”⁵ As a part of his or her studies the biographer has the same armamentarium of methodology and technique that are used in other areas of history. What is uniquely different, however, is the use of the prism of an individual’s life to gain our view of history. This requires an understanding to be gained of that person’s role within the larger historical process and how they were shaped or influenced by that process, while at the same time allowing their life to illuminate important events during the period in which they lived. Nevertheless that life must always be seen within its context:

A self-respecting biographer must plunge deep into the history of his subject’s period, if only to distinguish between the particular and the universal, and to evaluate testimony. In the process, he cannot help but contribute to an understanding of some aspect of the society to which his subject belonged.⁶

So where does that leave us when seeking to appreciate what is vital about our subject? Because our understanding necessitates evaluation and interpretation and at times a discursive examination of related material, it does not mean that we fall into the trap of either being so objective that we fail to

⁴ “John Updike once remarked that most biographies are just ‘novels with indexes.’” Hermione Lee, *Biography A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 7.

⁵ Nick Salvatore, “Biography and Social History: an Intimate Relationship”, *Labour History*, 87, (2004), pp. 187-192. <http://www.jstor.org/stable27516005> accessed 23 August 2011.

⁶ Stephen E. Koss, “British Political Biography”, *Political Science Quarterly*, 88, 4 (1973), pp. 713-724. This point is also made by Shirley A. Leckie, “Biography Matters: Why Historians Need Well-Crafted Biographies More than Ever” in Lloyd E. Ambrosius ed., *Writing Biography Historians & Their Craft*, Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004, p.12: “...no subject ever lived outside of human time and history.”

grasp the essential individual, or on the other hand that we have simply made up and projected an image of the subject that we want to see. In other words that we create such an unreliable story it has simply become a novel with an index.

Writing about William Jellie (1865-1963) means writing about a period of ninety-eight years, just over 40 of which were spent in the United Kingdom and over 50 in New Zealand. He grew up in Ireland before the creation of the Irish Republic and went to school at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution. The Institution as it is known, prior to William Jellie attending, had a collegiate division which taught at university level and trained ministers for the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church, the Irish version of Unitarianism. For his tertiary education he went to Manchester New College then co-located with University College in University Hall, London where he took a London University BA and studied to become a Unitarian minister. In his last year of study Manchester College relocated to Oxford as a private hall, and another century would pass before it became a full college of Oxford University. Notwithstanding this independent status Manchester College enjoyed considerable benefits over the years in participating in university life at Oxford, by virtue of some of its own well respected academic staff and the ability of its students to attend courses at other colleges. For example Estlin Carpenter, one of the College professors, was a recognised scholar of the Old and New Testaments and Sanskrit and Buddhist texts which resulted in his appointment to the Wilde Lectureship in comparative religion at Oxford University.

What were the essential beliefs of Unitarians at the end of the Victorian era? When William Jellie arrived in Auckland in 1900 one of the first sermons he gave was on the Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians, in which he said: "The seat of our religious authority is the human mind and conscience, which were given to us by God for use...Nothing is of force which does not commend itself to our mind and conscience. This is the ultimate tribunal which man can rely upon for the test of truth and right."

Individual conscience was seen as bedrock while the idea of any formal creedal test was rejected. He went on to advocate “freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry, freedom of speech, freedom of worship.” When he discussed the relationship between conduct and opinion it was clear that human deeds were far more important than systems of belief. The place of Christ within Unitarian theology he made clear did not involve beliefs in doctrines about Jesus that grew up after his death; Christ had the position of master, teacher and leader in Unitarian thought.⁷ He would also have agreed that the distinction between the sacred and the secular could no longer be maintained, a proposition shared with the Labour Churches.

Would it be helpful in understanding William Jellie to consider definitions of religion? The answer is both yes and no. Religious traditions usually share characteristics such as a founder, a book of scripture which makes various truth claims about the world, a priestly caste to teach its scriptures, and differentiation between the true believers and non-believers. However an objection has been raised if we attempt to build a definition of religion upon these features which appear to be the ‘essence’ of religion:

Not only is there no basic model to which all religious traditions must conform if they are to be judged truly religious, such as processing belief in God or in life after death, but in addition there is no permanent and unchangeable entity in each religious tradition which alone has the right to be termed true Christianity, genuine Buddhism, essential Islam etc.⁸

Another approach to this problem turns to the individual’s belief system. William James claimed that: “The pivot round which the religious life, as we have traced it, revolves, is the interest of the individual in his private personal destiny. Religion in short is a monumental chapter of human egotism.”⁹ The individual and his or her belief system is in contrast to another method which examines the place of the

⁷ William Jellie, *Our Aims and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, Auckland 1900, p. 8-9.

⁸ Paul Morris and Mike Grimshaw eds., *The Lloyd Geering Reader Prophet of Modernity*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2007, p.186.

⁹ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London: Collins/Fontana, 1968, p. 469.

individual in society and how that relationship defines his or her religion. Here it is concluded that: “Religion is cultural. People get it from other people, as they get food preferences, musical tastes, politeness and dress sense.”¹⁰ And the cultural definition of religion has been elaborated on further, with the result that it has a far greater reach than might otherwise be anticipated:

...I find a broad definition is necessary if we are to do justice to the religious diversity and confusion in today’s world.... As I see it, religion, although it has come to be expressed in many different forms, is a universal dimension of human culture. To be religious is to take life seriously, to formulate a meaningful view of reality, and to aim to get the most out of life, not only for oneself but also for others. Consequently, humanism, atheism and agnosticism are just as much expressions of religion as Buddhism or Islam.¹¹

The Unitarianism of William Jellie has some of these characteristics; it would acknowledge the cultural view of Pascal Boyer while discounting the personal destiny view of William James. So far as the true believer approach in the description goes, William Jellie’s Unitarianism accepted the equal validity of religious experiences and the failure of all so far as their claims to exclusiveness were concerned. Would his view of religion have been so broad as to accept the enlarged cultural definition which included non-theistic belief systems? The answer to that lies in his relationship with Sir Robert Stout and the rationalist movement, although it can be noted that popular Unitarian opinion of his era viewed the “hard-headed thinkers who laid hold with often ignorant eagerness of whatever appealed to their ‘reason’. Often enough this led them outside Christianity or even religion altogether.”¹² All of which leads to the conclusion that no matter however much we try it is impossible to reach a satisfactory

¹⁰ Pascal Boyer, *Religion Explained: The Evolutionary Origins of Modern Thought*, New York: Basic Books, 2001, p.47.

¹¹ Lloyd Geering, *Wrestling With God*, Wellington: Bridget William Books, 2006, p. 204.

¹² C.H. Herford, ed. *Joseph Estlin Carpenter A Memorial Volume*, Oxford: Clarion Press, 1929, p. 18.

definition of religion. It is unavoidable that “many people will feel that our definition covers too much or too little”¹³ and so the inadequacy of any definition must be accepted as a *sine qua non*.

For over 30 years William Jellie undertook ministries in both England and New Zealand and then late in life, at nearly 60 years of age, he devoted his next 14 years to adult education, becoming a tutor for the Workers Educational Association in Auckland. He had seen immense changes during his life time, but my task is to make sense of one question of primary importance: what formed William Jellie’s view of society? What was it that created his mental framework of society that served him so well during his lifetime? Understanding his intellectual development provides a key to making sense of his later conduct. The first third of my thesis is given to this task. The structure I have adopted is to create sections that allow for the examination and telling of his life’s tale in major themes which overall follow a chronological pattern. An introductory page is used at the start of each section which provides continuity material that otherwise would be omitted or awkward to insert. The first section The Origins of William Jellie’s Views on Society comprise four chapters. Seeking to understand the great influence of Philip Wicksteed (1844-1927) his teacher, mentor and friend, the first chapter explores those intellectual forces that developed Wicksteed’s interests that led him, an established Unitarian minister and recognised Dante scholar, into the study of economics in general and marginal utility theory in particular. Not surprising for his time, he stepped onto this path after reading Henry George’s treatise on single taxation.

There is particular relevance in the course that Philip Wicksteed introduced into Manchester New College during William Jellie’s final year of study, on sociology, economics and social problems. This course was probably the first of its kind to be introduced into a theological college.¹⁴ The second chapter

¹³ Leszek Kolakowski, *Religion*, London: Fontana, 1993, p. 9.

¹⁴ The Dunkin endowment enabled a lectureship in social economy to be established at the College, which was held more than once by Philip Wicksteed. Other prominent lecturers followed him. V.D. Davis, *A History of Manchester College*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932, pp. 173 and 183. J. Estlin Carpenter, when Principal of

looks at the course in detail. I was particularly fortunate in having access to William Jellie's own accounts of the course contained in two large hard bound foolscap books retained in the Library at Harris Manchester College, Oxford. An appendix contains a summary of each lecture and in the chapter they are discussed and examined within their historical context. The content of Wicksteed's course has two notable features: while it contains much descriptive information of the sort that could even be found today in introductory courses in economics and sociology, it clearly emphasises that inequality and human suffering in this world should be addressed in a principled manner by Unitarian clergymen. In proposing the later, which he sought to deduce from his teaching, there is a fluidity of ideas and concepts between what is and what ought to be: in other words the naturalistic fallacy as a concept is foreign to Wicksteed's mode of thinking.

Chapter three examines the issues around entering the Ministry in late Victorian England, which in William Jellie's case he can be shown to have taken a course of action alone among his peers. Whereas his classmates, with the exception of John Trevor (1855-1929) who left College early to become assistant to Philip Wicksteed and then went on to establish the Labour Church movement, all went to comfortable middle class appointments, William Jellie took on the most demanding task that any novice minister could face, in an impoverished part of the City of London. He spent six years working at the Stamford Street Chapel surrounded by dire human want and need while at the same time overseeing the Blackfriars Domestic Mission associated with the church. This was the area into which the university settlements would come, starting with Toynbee Hall, to be followed by the Salvation Army. William Jellie and the Unitarian mission were already working there with the immense problems in the area.

the College, said the reasons for teaching sociology included sensitivity to the "deep sores of poverty, suffering and degradation" and "the conviction that all economic questions have also a moral side" which require that "the distribution of wealth shall be brought into some closer relation with acknowledged Christian ideals..." He went on to say that following the reports of the Poor Law Commission in 1907 Mrs Beatrice Webb's lectures at the College filled the Library to overflowing and many had to be turned away. *The Inquirer*, 27 November 1909, p. 797.

Philip Wicksteed preached a gentle form of socialism in response to the need for change he saw in late nineteenth century British society. He supported his friend John Trevor's endeavour to build the Labour Churches and he supported the vision of the Fabian Society. His caution leads one to suspect that if he had been in the Garden of Eden and offered the apple he would have licked it rather than taken a bite. Nevertheless this approach had great value in gaining support for the ideas of religious socialism through thoughtful intellectual persuasion rather than delivering a strident message; a lesson not lost on William Jellie.

It was when I was working on the last chapter in this section, chapter four "Religious Socialism and Social Change" that an understanding of Wicksteed and the position of some of the other Unitarians of the period started to coalesce. This examination was significantly helped by the work of Dr Len Smith, former Principal of Unitarian College Manchester. In addition to his very useful work on John Trevor it was his book *Religion and the Rise of Labour* that proved to be particularly insightful.

The second section deals with William Jellie's twentieth century ministries, both in New Zealand and England. The question to be answered here is why he came to New Zealand? What was it that attracted a Unitarian minister who had been in Ipswich for three years following his London ministry? New Zealand at that time was known as the land of state socialism. As his old Professor Estlin Carpenter wrote to William Jellie on the eve of his departure: "Socially and politically, I imagine that you will find many interesting experiments going on in advanced democracy." It is part of the contention running through this thesis that liberal religion and the political left found accommodation amongst many Unitarians and William Jellie was no exception.

Upon his arrival in 1900 he set about building the movement in Auckland which led within two years to the construction of a church which still stands in Ponsonby Road. This in itself was no mean achievement. During the ten years in Auckland he promoted the Unitarian cause in other centres,

particularly Wellington and he developed friendships with prominent men: one was Sir Robert Stout (1844-1930) then Chief Justice who while better known for his freethought views from which he did not resile, had declared his Unitarianism during the 1896 election.¹⁵ Another was Sir George Fowlds (1860-1934) variously MP, single tax campaigner and President of Auckland University College. George Fowlds was twice chairman of the Congregational Union and tolerant promoter of liberal religion and social reform: a good ally who assisted Unitarianism and William Jellie over many years.

The three chapters in this section divide into Auckland, Wellington and Southport in Lancashire and cover a period of 21 years. It would be expected during this period to be able to study the intellectual work and development of William Jellie, not least because of his production of weekly sermons. In his case it could not be assumed that every sermon would be a homily based on a religious text: he was just as likely to draw inspiration from literature, art and science for his sermons.¹⁶ Often they would form a series on a theme such as Shakespearean plays or the poetry of Robert Browning. So you can imagine my amazement at finding only twelve sermons have survived. How many should there be? I conservatively estimated 1,200 should have been produced during his time as a working minister in New Zealand. In these circumstances it is usual for suspicion to fall on the family as the most likely culprits.

The English biographer Michael Holroyd tells a tale that is all too familiar: he was asked by a writer in his eightieth year to visit him "somewhere in the vastness of Surrey." It was a difficult place to find and when he got there the writer said he wanted Holroyd to be his literary executor and he remarked that as

¹⁵ When attacked by an opponent over his views on religion during the debate on temperance opposition to the drink traffic, Sir Robert replied that he was supported as a Unitarian by the Women's Christian Temperance Union and that "In America the people did not say that a Unitarian was not a Christian." *Evening Post*, 28 November 1896, p.5.

¹⁶ William Jellie was not alone in doing this; a study found that by the early twentieth century the use of secular literature in the Sunday lesson so presenting good literature to Unitarian congregations, was part of an overall trend of change when compared to earlier in the nineteenth century. R.K. Webb, "Views of Unitarianism from Halley's Comet", *TUHS*, 18, 4 (1986), pp. 180-195.

soon as he was dead Holroyd “had better race down and gather up his unpublished papers.” Some years later when the gentleman died Holroyd set off to meet the widow; the route down was just as difficult as it had been before, and when he was about two miles off he saw some white smoke rising up ahead. When he arrived he found the widow flinging the last of the writer’s correspondence with his first wife onto the bonfire.¹⁷ Clearly this was something the widow had been looking forward to doing for some time. Holroyd managed to save only a handful of letters.

And the William Jellie story is just about as startling. In the Mary Richmond collection of papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library I came across the following letter she received from William Jellie in 1943:¹⁸

Turning towards sunset, one gets rid of a lot of old collected stuff, to save labour for those who have one’s affairs to settle. Destroying some old papers today I came across a MS [manuscript] that may be of interest to you, if only to peruse and put in the waste basket. It is the MS of my address that I gave at the funeral of your sister, thirty years ago - so long as that – yet it seems but a little while ago, so vivid is my recollection.

Perhaps you may not be able to read it; it was hastily scribbled, if so no matter. It may as well come to an end in Wellington as in Auckland.

So there we have it. When he was in his seventy-eighth year William Jellie was tidying up, expecting he was helping his wife and children by destroying his papers. Of course he could not know that he would live another twenty years, mainly in good health, or that other people would be intensely interested in what he wrote. He was in good company committing this act of ‘self-inferno’ if I could make up a phrase borrowed in part from Dante’s *Inferno*. Dickens, Thomas Hardy and Henry James all burnt their papers before they died. Initially one thinks that someone who burns their papers or diaries has something to

¹⁷ Michael Holroyd, *Works on Paper The Craft of Biography and Autobiography*, London: Abacus, 2003, pp.10-11.

¹⁸ William Jellie letter to Mary Richmond dated 18 January 1943, ATL ref. no. 77-173-12/3

hide, and sometimes this is true. In William Jellie's case it seemed to be no more than a belief that later readers would find his work out of date and 'old hat' and he was helping his family.

Unlike many other families the Jellie family went to great lengths to preserve William's papers. His widow Ella sent all the papers she thought might be important to Manchester College, Oxford after his death. There was only one exception to the good work she did and we can forgive the vagaries of an elderly lady: Professor Winston Rhodes contacted her seeking correspondence between William Jellie and his protégée Frederick Sinclair, about whom Rhodes was writing a biography, only to find Ella had destroyed the correspondence. (I refer to "the correspondence" because William often kept drafts of letters he was writing.)¹⁹ This may seem a matter of small moment until we remember the early exhortation that "nothing - not the faintest inference - is unimportant." This is one item amongst the lacunae found as the William Jellie story unfolded.

Exchanging the Pulpit for the Lectern is the final section, in three chapters. It begins with the two years spent at the Timaru Church because during this time he became president of the South Canterbury branch of the Workers Educational Association. In that capacity he made contact with Professor James Shelley, adult education director from Canterbury University College. Upon his return to Auckland he began a new career as Tutor in the Auckland WEA; by now in his sixtieth year and at a time when many people start to think of retirement. William Jellie was by upbringing, education and inclination a scholar and this chapter called "The Poor Person's University" sets out to explore this aspect of his life and draw

¹⁹ Winston Rhodes wrote to Ella on 10 July 1969 seeking information about Frederick Sinclair, Ella replied on 23 July 1969 saying she felt upset "because only a year or two ago I had burnt some letters from him to my husband written while he was in Melbourne - Mr. Jellie had filed so many hundreds of letters dating back from 1890 & I went through them & distributed the ones I thought might be valuable - some from well known early ministers I sent to Manchester College. I pondered over Fred's letters dealing almost entirely with the Melbourne Church but could think of no one who might be interested..." Rhodes replied on 6 August 1969 saying "I am sorry that his letters to your husband are no longer available...Your few remarks and memories are quite useful to me..." The Winston Rhodes letters and draft of Ella's reply are held by the author. The biography by Winston Rhodes, *Frederick Sinclair*, Christchurch: University of Canterbury/Caxton Press, 1984 refers to "the unfortunately destroyed correspondence between Sinclair and Jellie..." at p. 43.

the threads together. (We are very fortunate that John Jellie, the youngest son of William and Ella, preserved his father's WEA papers which are now housed in the University of Auckland Library.) In those days the WEA was funded and organised through the university colleges. Tutor appointments and course approvals were made by a joint WEA-university committee and it was normal for the college to make appointments from its own staff. The WEA was an organisation set up to provide higher education to working class people who were unable to attend university. It attracted criticism from time to time because of its left leaning programmes and during the depression the government slashed its funding; this was only reversed with the election of the first Labour government.

William Jellie's most common courses were aspects of English literature, followed by Dante, then social and political change in Europe. His workbooks show an enormous amount of preparation, reading and range of sources. He worked alongside a number of fellow Unitarians, some from his Wellington days such as Norman Richmond the second WEA director, John Beaglehole, Hubert Becroft who was a lecturer at Auckland Teachers College and John Guy; the latter two were members of his Auckland congregation. Other Unitarian ministers followed him into the WEA, William Constable one half of the husband and wife (Wilna) joint ministerial team and after the war the Rev. Ellis Morris. These ministers kept their ministries while giving the WEA limited input. William Jellie appears to be the exception when it comes to leaving the ministry and going into teaching, but not quite. The only other comparable case is that of Frederick Sinclair who did the same in Australia, giving up the church and teaching at the WEA and later at the University of Western Australia at Perth, where he became Director of Extension Studies before accepting a chair in English at Canterbury University College. How fascinating it would have been to read the Sinclair-Jellie correspondence and gain an insight into their thinking about this change in their careers.

The Epilogue records a surprisingly long period, from the outbreak of World War Two until 1963. We find William Jellie physically able and mentally alert throughout most of this time, taking on the ministry again for the Auckland Church, giving adult education lectures to a variety of organisations, and pursuing a strong defence of secular education. It was only towards the end of this period that his strength declined and interfered with his desire to garden. It was also a time for him to contemplate New Zealand's Unitarian history and reflect on a long life well spent.

Two comments concerning what is found in footnotes. There are many references to entries in the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (DNZB)* in the footnotes. Originally a written publication, the DNZB subsequently went online and in the course of writing it was integrated with Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. However the DNZB link still exists but redirects to the integrated site. I have maintained the DNZB reference throughout. Equally, there are many references to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (ODNB)* in the footnotes, which were accessed via the Auckland Libraries web site.

One final thing: I think footnotes are one of the greatest literary inventions. They were developed into an art form by Edward Gibbon when he was persuaded after an early edition of *Decline and Fall* to change from endnotes to footnotes. In his *Memoirs* he complains about this as he thinks it disfigures the narrative and regrets his change. In this I think he was wrong, footnotes are convenient allowing elaboration at the point of relevance, they can give colour and texture to otherwise lifeless pages, impart information that would have been omitted and provide every opportunity to return to add new material.

PART ONE: The Origins of William Jellie's Views on Society

William Jellie was born on 25 July 1865 at Tullyhubert in Comber, County Down, Northern Ireland, the eldest of child of Robert and Letitia Jellie.²⁰ He was followed by a brother John and two sisters, Elizabeth and Jane. The family were followers of the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church, his parents having been married at that local church in Moneyrea on 4 July 1864. Robert was a farmer like his father also named William and Letitia was the daughter of John Turkington, a gun maker from Carrickfergus. At some stage Robert left the family and went to America and did not return, thus leaving Letitia to raise the four children alone. By the time William entered the Royal Belfast Academical Institution (the Institution) in 1879 his mother was on her own living in Carrickfergus. William spent the next four years at the Institution, most likely as a boarder given the distance between Belfast and Carrickfergus. William demonstrated early scholastic ability, receiving an honourable mention in Classics and a prize in the intermediate examinations. When William left the Institution he went to live with his paternal uncle the Rev. John Jellie (1824-1918) at Farm Hill House, Carrickfergus. John Jellie, a retired minister of the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church, had also been educated at the Institution and may well have been influential in William becoming a student there. He was an important male figure in the development of the young William, encouraging him in his education and future plans. It was from Farm Hill House that William wrote on 5 April 1884 to Dr James Martineau, Principal of Manchester New College, seeking admission as a divinity student. His letter stated that he had achieved a first division pass in the University of London matriculation examination. John Jellie told the College that William had been living with him for a considerable time and was "extremely studious, and most anxious to become a useful minister in connection with the Unitarian body." This application was followed a month later with examinations over three days in London, comprising Greek, Latin, English and Mathematics, with very favourable results. Manchester New College was housed in University Hall, Gordon Square, London, which it shared jointly with University College. William entered University Hall on 1 June 1884. During William's first year at College James Martineau was in his last year as Principal. Manchester New College could pay both the University College fees plus University Hall costs and given William's scholastic ability it is safe to assume he received a study and exhibition award. William Jellie spent his first three years studying for a University of London B.A. which he completed with honours in French. The next three years he studied divinity; the course included Theology, Historical and Comparative Religion, Hebrew Language and Literature and Philosophy. University Hall became the social centre of University College life and one of the students William Jellie was friendly with was William Rothenstein (1872-1945), later Principal of the Royal College of Art, who in his reminiscences described the warm atmosphere and keen mental stimulation at the Hall: "...I found everyone welcoming and helpful. I enjoyed the communal life, the keen talk and the varied interests....A familiar figure at the Hall was Dr Martineau, whose portrait by Watts hung in the library. Older students of University College were Frank Heath, Gregory Foster, Digby Besant, William Jellie and G.F. Hill...I enjoyed meeting men who had other pursuits, medicine, science, history, philosophy and theology. There was much good talk after dinner in men's rooms, and good talk is something I have always enjoyed."

²⁰ This introduction is based on Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, P.G. Dip. Arts Research Exercise, Massey University, Albany, 2009, pp. 26-40.

Chapter 1. Philip Henry Wicksteed: The Making of a Teacher

In his penultimate year as a theology student at Manchester New College, William Jellie (1865-1963) undertook an innovative course of study. The subject was new for Jellie and new for the College and covered Sociology, Economics and Social Problems. It comprised three parts: “Elements of Sociology: the Structure, Institutions and Vital Processes of Human Societies”; “Social Problems in the Light of Economic Theory”; and “Ethical and Theological Aspects of Sociology”. The lecture course began in October 1888 while the College was located at University Hall, London, and was examined in June 1889.²¹ How did such obviously secular studies come to be introduced into what was essentially a College to provide theological education to ministers of liberal churches, and what impact might these studies have had on Jellie’s future role as a Unitarian minister?

Philip Henry Wicksteed (1844-1927) was the author of this ground breaking project. A Unitarian minister who had attended London University and Manchester New College between 1864 and 1867, where one of his closest friends was Joseph Estlin Carpenter (1844-1927), (described by Wicksteed’s biographer as occupying “a unique position in his life, from this time to the end, a spiritual brother...”²²), in 1874 he succeeded the Rev. Dr. James Martineau (1805-1900)²³ as minister to the Little Portland Street Chapel,

²¹ An examination of the Synopsis of Wicksteed’s lectures contained in Appendix 1 where William Jellie has dated most of the lectures and the Sociology Annual Examination in June 1889, identifies more closely the dates of the lecture course than those given in Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p.35.

²² C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His life and Work*, London & Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1931, p. 27.

²³ James Martineau studied for the Unitarian ministry at Manchester College, York. During his Dublin ministry, 1828-1832, his support for Catholic emancipation caused some difficulty with his congregation. His Liverpool ministry 1832-1857, saw him form a friendship with the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, father of Philip Wicksteed and publish the *Rationale of Religious Inquiry, or, The Question stated of Reason, the Bible and the Church* an important philosophical examination of Christianity. In 1840 Martineau was appointed professor of mental and moral philosophy at Manchester New College, Manchester, while continuing his Liverpool ministry. His 1851 condemnatory review of *Letters on the Laws of Man’s Nature and Development* written by his sister Harriet and Henry Atkinson, which he saw promoting atheism, destroyed the close relationship between the siblings. Manchester New College had moved to London by the time Martineau was appointed Principal in 1869, a position he held until 1885. He was minister at Little Portland Street Chapel, 1859-1872. From 1870 he was involved in the Metaphysical Society, a wide ranging discussion group which included many shades of theological and scientific thought. In this context he championed religious beliefs against the scientific views of Tyndall. Martineau sought

London. His marriage six years earlier to Emily Solly (1845-1924) brought him into the family of the Rev. Henry Solly (1813-1903), a Unitarian minister active in many radical causes, including supporting Chartism, universal suffrage, the co-operative movement, anti-slavery and working men's clubs.²⁴ The publication of *Progress and Poverty* in 1879 by the American political economist and social critic Henry George (1839-1897)²⁵ was a turning point for Wicksteed: he was attracted to the idea of a single tax on land in order to share its economic value, a mechanism that could be used to redistribute wealth in society. Wicksteed imbibed the ethical underpinnings of George's theory, namely that the problem of poverty can be traced to the private property in land and the remedy is to make it a form of common ownership by collecting rent on the unimproved land value while leaving land titles exchangeable. Other forms of taxation could then be reduced or eliminated. The effect that *Progress and Poverty* had on Wicksteed "is not difficult to understand" according to his biographer: "Wicksteed's deepest interest in economic facts sprang from their relation, not as with Adam Smith, to the 'wealth,' or even to the 'welfare' of nations, but to the welfare of the individual citizen" and furthermore that "... the inequality in the distribution of wealth was the fundamental spring of Wicksteed's thinking."²⁶ Wicksteed wrote to George telling him that *Progress and Poverty* had been an awakening that had given him "the light I vainly sought for myself" and had shown him "' new Heaven and a new earth'". He also took an active

harmony between reason and faith and saw individual conscience as the ultimate authority. See Ralph Waller, 'Martineau, James (1805-1900)', *ODNB*, <http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/18229> accessed 5 Jan 2010 and Frank Schulman, 'James Martineau', *DUUB*, <http://www25-emp.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/jamesmartineau.html> accessed 6 January 2010.

²⁴ Solly was too radical for many Unitarians, so much so that after 1862 he was unable to secure another church appointment. He spent his subsequent years pursuing social reform and lecturing and writing. He died at the home of his daughter and son in law, Philip Wicksteed. Alan Ruston, 'Solly, Henry (1813-1903)', *ODNB*, <http://O-www.oxforddnb.comwww.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/37991>, accessed 5 January 2010 and Alan Ruston, 'Henry Solly' *DUUB*, <http://www25-temp.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/henrysolly.html>, accessed 7 January 2010.

²⁵ For details of George's life and ideas see Mark Skousen, *The Making of Modern Economics the Lives and Ideas of the Great Thinkers*, 2nd edition, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 2009, pp.228-234.

²⁶ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, pp. 197-198. Philip's brother Charles also adopted George's ideas on political economy; see his book *The Land for the People. How to Obtain it: How to Manage it*, London: William Reeves, 1885.

role in the Single Tax organisations that were set up.²⁷ This was a time when conventional religious opinion, in the form of the Church of England, insisted that “inequality was the natural order in society and that the existence of poverty was necessary to maintain order and carry out God’s plan”.²⁸ The theological basis for inertia was buttressed by socio-economic factors. The period following the demise of Chartism in the middle of the century until the depression of the 1880’s had been largely absent of social ferment. “Because the distress of the lower classes no longer seemed to threaten social order, the Church no longer felt any pressing need to do anything about social disorder”.²⁹ It would take the Anglican Church another ten years to overcome the shibboleth that while being poor was not a sin not being Christian was, thus giving priority to spreading the Christian religion before attending to the causes of poverty.

Wicksteed had trained in classics and was known for his work on Dante, Aquinas and Aristotle, when at the age of 38 years he was attracted to economics. He saw major deficiencies in existing economic theory because of its failure to explain the causes of economic depression and account for the anomaly in extremes of wealth and poverty. Initially thinking George had provided the explanations he sought, by 1883 he largely abandoned him as a political economist, but not as a land reformer, in favour of William Stanley Jevons (1835-1882).³⁰ Jevons came to economics after studying chemistry and mathematics and

²⁷ Peter d’A Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, p.399.

²⁸ Alexandra Wagner, ‘Rescued from Obscurity: the Impact of Henry George’s ideas on Christian Socialist Movement in England’, Robert Schalkenbach Foundation, August 2005, <http://www.schalkenbach.org/scholars-forum/RSF-Alex-Wagner.pdf> accessed 5 October 2009. The hymn *All Things Bright and Beautiful* written in 1848 by Mrs Cecil Frances Alexander, wife of the Archbishop of Armagh, expressed the divine plan of inequality in verse three:

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
God made them, high or lowly,
And ordered their estate.

By 1900 hymnals started omitting this verse.

²⁹ Cheryl Walsh, “The Incarnation and the Christian Socialist Conscience in the Victorian Church of England”, *Journal of British Studies*, 34, 3 (1995), pp.351-374. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175984> accessed 25 January 2010.

³⁰ R.D. Collison Black, ‘Jevons, William Stanley (1835-1882)’, *ODNB* <http://O-www.oxforddnb.comwww.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/14809> accessed 19 August 2009. Jevons studied

“applied many of the principles of the natural sciences to the social sciences and economics. Throughout his works, he constantly referred to empirical data, detailed formulas as well as deductive logic.”³¹ He rejected the Ricardo-Mill school of classical economics that cost determines value and proposed that value was determined at the margin. Jevons did not use the term “marginal” but talked about the “final degree of utility”, the concept of utility having been borrowed from Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832). In fact it was left to Wicksteed to promote the phrase “marginal utility”.³² Jevons appealed in other ways; he came from a Unitarian family in the north of England like Wicksteed and was also concerned with progress in improving the conditions of the working class. It is no wonder then that Wicksteed should become his great disciple.³³ (It has been suggested that Jevons and Wicksteed’s Unitarianism may have predisposed them toward a marginalist methodology;³⁴ while the same suggestion about Ricardo’s method being influenced by his Unitarianism has been rejected as “without any basis in fact.”³⁵)

Another source for Wicksteed’s social science methodology was Auguste Comte’s (1798-1857) writings. Comte had come to the fore when Wicksteed was still at Manchester New College; his *Cours de Philosophie Positive* had been translated and condensed, from six volumes to two, as *The Positive*

mathematics at University College, London, and won the gold medal for chemistry in 1853. He spent five years working at the Royal Mint, Sydney, Australia. Upon returning to London he finished his BA and completed an MA in mental philosophy and political economy at University College. He then began studying the application of mathematical theory to economics. He held a chair in economics at Owens College, Manchester and in 1876 took up a chair in economics at University College, London, which he held until his premature death while swimming in 1882.

³¹ Mark Skousen, *The Making of Modern Economics the Lives and Ideas of the Great Thinkers*, pp.199 and 200-204.

³² Mark Skousen, *The Making of Modern Economics the Lives and Ideas of the Great Thinkers*, p.179. Ian Steedman, ‘Rationality, Economic Man and Altruism,’ in Barbara Smith (ed.) *Truth, Liberty, Religion Essays Celebrating Two Hundred Years of Manchester College*, Oxford: Manchester College, 1986, p. 294 says “By early 1884, however, he was playing an active role in promulgating Jevonian theory in the Economic Circle, which met until 1888 or 1889.”

³³ Paul Flatau, ‘Jevons’s One Great Disciple: Wicksteed and the Jevonian Revolution of the Second Generation’, *History of Economics Review*, 40 (2004), pp. 69-107.

³⁴ Jeff Lipkes, “Religion and the reception of Marginalism in Britain”, *Forum for Social Economics*, 26, 2 (1997), pp. 21-42.

³⁵ Christophe Depoortère, “On Ricardo’s Method: The Unitarian Influence Examined”, *History of Political Economy*, 34, 2 (2002), pp.499-503.

Philosophy of Auguste Comte by Harriet Martineau (1802-1876)³⁶ in 1853, thus bringing them to the English reader.³⁷ While recognizing the usefulness of Comte's sociological system, a critical evaluation had been published by John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) in 1865, *Comte and Positivism*, which disapproved of his dogmatic opinions and views on the place of women in society. Comte and Spencer shared a common view of embracing all knowledge in a grand synthesis; however Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was to disagree with Comte over his methods of scientific classification and his failure to recognize psychology as a separate science. Although it is fair to say that Spencer also found it difficult "to acknowledge intellectual debts. But on the question of Comte, a mere whisper was enough to set him off."³⁸ So there could have been other factors at work than straightforward disagreements over methodology. Defenders of Comte in England and France published retorts to these criticisms. Discussion on Positivism took place in public periodicals during the time Comte was coming to Wicksteed's attention. The *Westminster Review* carried articles by John Stuart Mill, the French Positivist Emile Littré (1801-1881) and John Henry Bridges (1832-1906), translator of a new edition of Comte's

³⁶ Martineau said she translated Comte, in "the hope that the appearance of a readable English version would put a stop to the mischievous, though ludicrous mistakes about Comte's doctrine" (p.73) and gives a full account of her work in *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography* vol. 2, (ed.) Maria Weston Chapman, Boston: James R. Osgood, 1877, pp. 70-76. She was financially backed in this project by Edward Lombe, who also underwrote the *Westminster Review*. Deborah A. Logan, "'I Am, Dear Slanderer, Your Faithful Malignant Demon': Harriet Martineau and the *Westminster Review's* Comtist Coterie", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42, 2 (2009), pp.171-191. Martineau visited America in 1834-1836, a trip she approached like a sociologist. She was outspoken in her opposition to slavery, a position she maintained throughout her life and the subjugation of women. In 1837 she published the result of her tour in *Society in America*. R. K. Webb, 'Martineau, Harriet (1802-1876)', *ODNB*, <http://O-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/18228> accessed 11 January 2010 and Marvell Cleary and Peter Hughes, "Harriet Martineau", *DUUB*, <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/harrietmartineau.html> accessed 10 January 2010.

³⁷ And not just readers in the United Kingdom. "Harriet Martineau immensely aided the transportation of Comte's positivism across the Atlantic with her two-volume English abridgement of the *Cours*. Now for the first time, Comte's epistemology and three-stage theory of history, his classification of the sciences, and his social thought were available in compact, convenient form. Thereafter, nearly everyone who read Comte at all read this abridgment." Charles D. Cashdollar, "Auguste Comte and the American Reformed Theologians", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 39,1 (1978), pp.61-79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2709072> accessed 12 January 2010.

³⁸ Sydney Eisen, "Herbert Spencer and the Spectre of Comte", *Journal of British Studies*, 7,1 (1967), pp.48-67. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175380> accessed 12 January 2010. This point is discussed in detail by Paul Elliot, "Erasmus Darwin, Herbert Spencer, and the Origins of the Evolutionary Worldview in British Provincial Scientific Culture, 1770-1850", *Isis*, 94, 1(2003), pp.1-29.

Positivism. The more recent *Fortnightly Review*, established in 1865, carried more articles favourable to Comte.³⁹

Wicksteed would certainly have been well aware of this debate as one of the English promoters of Positivism was Edward Spencer Beesly (1831-1915), Professor of History at University College and Warden of University Hall during Wicksteed's student days:

It is certain that he had intimate talks with Beesly upon Positivism, and that in Beesly's presentation certain aspects of it acquired a deep attraction for him which for years remained powerful, and perhaps never entirely ceased; but it is certain, too, that he never gave it full intellectual assent.⁴⁰

A year after he left Manchester College a record of his reading shows that he read Spencer's *Auguste Comte* on 24 October 1868 and on 3 November 1868 he read articles in the *Theological Review*, Numbers VIII and IX on Mill's *Auguste Comte and Positivism* and Comte's *General View of Positivism*, translated by J. H. Bridges.⁴¹

Although Wicksteed would have seen the usefulness of sociology as the new science of society, it is most likely that he found Comte's view of religious theology as superstition, which he wanted replaced with a Religion of Humanity, in conflict with his own theistic beliefs. Other aspects of the proposed religious ritual, including sociological priests, liturgy, saints and catechism, would have struck Wicksteed as ludicrous, just as they had Mill.⁴²

³⁹ Mark Turner, "Defining Discourses: The *Westminster Review*, *Fortnightly Review*, and Comte's Positivism", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 33, 3 (2000), pp.273-282.

⁴⁰ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, pp. 42-43.

⁴¹ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, p.41, note 1.

⁴² Charles D. Cashdollar, "Auguste Comte and the American Reformed Theologians", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 39, 10 (1978), pp.61-79.

It was not many years later, in 1875, that Wicksteed wrote a review of Comte's *System of Positive Polity*, translated by John Bridges, for *The Inquirer*.⁴³ This review gives an insight into how Wicksteed's views had developed concerning Positivism. Wicksteed approved of Comte's intention of basing sociology upon a scientific foundation and of the application of sociology to "life and society". It has however been argued that while it is not easy to discern from his *Inquirer* article the exact aspects of Positivism that may have influenced Wicksteed, it is likely that Comte's notion of universal laws found appeal. "Wicksteed's predilection also to follow such an approach in his economic works may well have found inspiration in Comte." And that the "emphasis on *unifying* theory is paramount In Comte's work, as it was later in Wicksteed's".⁴⁴ Furthermore, Comte's use on mathematics was another attraction as when Wicksteed became a student of Jevons he saw mathematics as the route by which economics became a science.⁴⁵

Wicksteed was a layman in economics when he first approached Jevons' *Theory of Political Economy*, especially in the area of mathematics, and to compensate for this he arranged to take lessons in differential analysis from John Bridge, the mathematical tutor at University College. It did not take him long to master the mathematics involved and in the following year, 1884, he "appears to have been actually the first to apply the Jevonian calculus to the burning controversy between the advocates and

⁴³ This was the first of four volumes published between 1875 and 1877. Each volume was translated by one of the leaders of Positivism in England: John Henry Bridges, volume I; Frederick Harrison (1831-1915) volume II; Edward Spencer Beesly volume III; and Richard Congreve (1818-1899) volume IV. Wicksteed's review appeared in *The Inquirer*, "System of Positive Polity", 22 May 1875, pp.327-329. He concluded: "We believe that Comte's has enormous value, and that a study of his "Polity" would regenerate many of our social and political ideas. But we look upon it as a purely provisional and ideal scheme, and even as such, the sympathy we can give it, though great, is of course very limited." Elsewhere he criticizes Martineau's translation: "The clearness and vigour with which she sometimes sizes and reproduces the central thought of a long and involved passage are truly remarkable. It is all the more to be regretted that she has often read her author so carelessly as to render her translation hopelessly misleading and unsatisfactory."

⁴⁴ Paul Flatau, "Jevons's One Great Disciple: Wicksteed and the Jevonian Revolution of the Second Generation", *History of Economics Review*, 2004, 40, pp.69-107.

⁴⁵ In a review of Jevons *The Principles of Economics*, Wicksteed says Jevons "was right in declaring that certain fundamental relations and conceptions in the theory of political economy are essentially mathematical" and the only error that Jevons may have made was overestimating the extent that mathematics can contribute to the "body of Economic Science". Philip H. Wicksteed, "Jevons's Economic Work", *The Economic Journal*, 15, 59 (1905), pp. 432-436.

the enemies of Socialism which agitated England in the early 'eighties."⁴⁶ His article "Das Kapital: a Criticism" in the socialist publication *To-day*⁴⁷ was also his first venture in writing about economics. After pointing out that Marx accepted Ricardo's subsistence law of wages without accepting the Malthusian cause, the growth of population, he went on to attack the labour theory of value; that the value of goods must be determined solely by the cost of labour and that the surplus over and above the labour used in production amounted to exploitation. He argued that what was common in exchangeability of goods, was not abstract labour, but was the abstract notion of utility that is "the power of satisfying human desires".⁴⁸ He then goes on to explain how price is determined by the Jevonian law of indifference, when commodities perceived to be the same exchange equally; and the law of variation of utility, where increases in a given commodity satisfy less need and so have less value, and the last increment determines the ratio of exchange for the whole. The editors of *To-day* arranged for George Bernard Shaw to reply; a move which was more literary in its outcome than effective so far as any rebuttal was concerned. However it did produce a benefit to Shaw, who became firm friends with Wicksteed. Their friendship led Shaw into the Economic Circle formed in 1884 under Wicksteed's leadership, where he expounded Jevonian economics. The meetings moved to the house of Henry R. Beeton, a member of the London Stock Exchange, about the time Wicksteed published his critique of Marx. Both men approved of Henry George and became lifelong friends. Among those who joined were two economics professors, from London University College and King's College respectively, and Sidney Webb.

⁴⁶ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, p.201. Steedman says that Wicksteed provided "one of the earliest critiques of Marx in English." Ian Steedman, "Wicksteed, Philip Henry (1844-1927)", *ODNB*, www.oxforddnb.com.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/38802 accessed 13 July 2009.

⁴⁷ Philip H. Wicksteed "Das Kapital: a Criticism", *To-Day*, pp.388-411, <http://www.marxists.org/history/international/social-democracy/today/1884/10/wicksteed> accessed 12 January 2010. This article is also reproduced in C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, Appendix II, together with Shaw's reply and Wicksteed's rejoinder.

⁴⁸ Philip H. Wicksteed, "Das Kapital: a Criticism", *To-day*, pp.399-411.

Wicksteed meanwhile was moving toward a Christian Socialist view: the thinking of Henry George and Comte had stirred ideas about addressing inequalities in society, while at the same time Wicksteed had rejected revolutionary socialism. By 1885 his sermons began addressing these issues: “For all agree that an era of socialistic legislation is upon us; the belief has laid hold on men, whether for weal or woe, that intolerable social hardship and wrong are the issue of our present civilization, and that society, by its corporate and collective action, must, and can in large measure, make the crooked straight.”⁴⁹ In a further series of five sermons in 1885, later published under the title *Is Christianity Practical?* he concluded that “[t]here is room for all. It is not the will of our Father that one of the little ones should perish.” He went on to reject ideas that oppression could not be overcome or that poverty and social misery could not be eliminated.⁵⁰ However, Wicksteed was to find taking such a bold step came at a price:

At Little Portland Street, in particular, Philip Wicksteed found his congregation very imperfectly responsive to the sociological convictions which now began to colour his preaching. Among those who declined to follow him was his most illustrious hearer, his own former teacher, the *coryphaeus* [leader] of contemporary Unitarianism. For James Martineau, who saw the hope of human salvation in the spiritual uplifting of the individual, distrusted the claims of even the most ideal social reformers. He eventually resigned his membership.⁵¹

By now Shaw was forsaking his Marxism for Jevonian economics and in 1887 he wrote that “the law deduced by Jevons fits all conditions, actual or hypothetical, Jevons’ law would probably drive Marx’s

⁴⁹ Philip H. Wicksteed, *Our Prayers and Our Politics*, London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1885, p.10.

⁵⁰ Philip H. Wicksteed, *Is Christianity Practical?*, London: Lindsey Press, 1920, pp.92-93.

⁵¹ C. H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, p.205. Martineau began attending Rev. Stopford Brooke’s congregation at Bedford Chapel. His biographers report that in the mid nineteenth century Martineau “was in substantial agreement” with J.S. Mill’s work *Principles of Political Economy*, although he disagreed with the importance Mill gave to Malthus. James Drummond and C.B. Upton, *The Life and Letters of James Martineau*, London: James Nisbet, 1902, vol. II, p.299. Elsewhere they point out that he was “decidedly opposed to all socialistic theories” while “far from being in sympathy with the extreme *laissez-faire* school.” p.294.

dogma out of the field were it not so much easier to understand “quantity of labour” than “degree of final utility.”⁵² Although it has been pointed out, not entirely forsaking: while he relinquished the labour theory of value, his views on monopoly capitalism and rent retained their Marxist origins, possibly as late as 1890.⁵³ The Economic Circle continued until 1888 when it was transformed into the Royal Economic Society.⁵⁴ By now Wicksteed was ready to take his message to the students of Manchester New College.

⁵² G. Bernard Shaw, “Karl Marx and ‘Das Kapital’”, *National Reformer*, 14 August 1887.

<http://www.marxists.org/subject/economy/authors/fabians/earlyenglishvalue/gbs-national> accessed 22 January 2010.

⁵³ Mark Bevir, “The Marxism of George Bernard Shaw 1883-1889”, *History of Political Thought*, 13, 2 (1992), pp. 299-318.

⁵⁴ William Irvine, “George Bernard Shaw and Karl Marx”, *Journal of Economic History*, 6, 1 (1946), pp.53-72.

2. Sociology, Economics and Social Problems

The idea of addressing the problems of poverty and social inequality had been slowly taking hold in nineteenth century advanced religious thinking in Britain, but the decision to allow Wicksteed to introduce such a course involved the coincidence of three factors. First, Wicksteed was well known to and on friendly terms with the staff at Manchester New College. In particular his old friend, J. Estlin Carpenter,⁵⁵ professor of ecclesiastical history and an authority on biblical criticism and comparative religion, had been appointed vice-principal in 1885 when Martineau retired as Principal and James Drummond (1835-1918) succeeded him. "The large social intelligence of Wicksteed's friend, Estlin Carpenter, insensibly widened these horizons [of social philosophy] wherever he worked and taught.... In Wicksteed, the organised social thinking of Positivism played an analogous part."⁵⁶ And so he proposed a course of lectures to his old College. Secondly, both the structure of the Unitarian denomination, which came together in annual meeting⁵⁷ but did not exercise control over the College⁵⁸

⁵⁵ A.J. Long, "Carpenter (Joseph) Estlin (1844-1927)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.co.uk/oxforddnb/view/article/32303> accessed 11 January 2010. Wicksteed commemorated their life-long companionship in the dedication of his *The Reactions Between Dogma & Theology Illustrated from the Works of S. Thomas Aquinas*, London: Constable, 1926: "To Joseph Estlin Carpenter, most dear and constant friend, as a young man you dedicated to me the first fruits of your genius. Now I, as an old man, have offered back to you after forty years these fragments of a book. You always used to expect more of me than I was capable of. May you nevertheless graciously accept what is so much less, alas, than you hoped for." (Translated from the Latin by Arthur J. Long, "The Life and Work of J. Estlin Carpenter," in Barbara Smith (ed.) *Truth, Liberty, Religion*, p.277.)

⁵⁶ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, p.190.

⁵⁷ The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, was formed in 1825 for the promotion of Unitarian Christianity in Great Britain and overseas by assisting poor congregations, missionary preachers and protecting and extending the civil rights of Unitarians. Member congregations nominated two representatives to the general meetings. Sydney Herbert Mellone, *Liberty and Religion The First Century of the British & Foreign Unitarian Association*, London: Lindsey Press, 1925, pp. 31-36. In 1881 the B&FUA helped establish the National Conference of Unitarian, Liberal Christian, Free Christian, Presbyterian and other Non-Subscribing and Kindred Congregations, which held triennial meetings. In 1928 the National Conference and B&FUA amalgamated and became the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches. Mortimer Rowe, *The Story of Essex Hall*, London: Lindsey Press, 1959, pp. 50-51.

⁵⁸ This discussion is concerned with Manchester College which was founded as Manchester Academy in 1786 to replace the Warrington Academy. It was known as Manchester College while at York, 1803-1840; Manchester New College while at Manchester 1840-1853 and London 1853-1889; and Manchester College when it moved to Oxford in 1889, changing its name to Harris Manchester College in 1996 when it became a chartered college of Oxford

and the College itself, which was administered under an executive committee of its Trustees;⁵⁹ later the position of President was added, but kept distinct from that of Principal who was head of the College as a teaching body. Matters concerning theological education were largely in the hands of the Principal and academic staff. The advantage of this system is seen in comparison to the failure experienced by the Methodists: in 1899, some eleven years after Wicksteed's course began at Manchester College, a motion was introduced at the Methodist Conference to include the study of social problems in the training of theological students. The motion stalled in committee as the "Wesleyan organisation...was too rigid and all embracing"⁶⁰ and was not seen again. It was not until 1909 that the Methodists approved a course in social training for theological students.⁶¹ The Congregationalists on the other hand fared much better, just five years after the introduction of Wicksteed's course they were able to respond with a similar educational programme:

During the academic year 1893-94, when Bradford was host to the inaugural conference of the ILP, Yorkshire United Independent College introduced into its curriculum a course entitled 'Christian Economics'. In each of the three terms the Rev. Professor Elkanah Armitage, MA, lectured on Political Economy, Economic History and Social Reconstruction.⁶²

Thirdly, it was that particular attitude toward religious inquiry which prevailed in Unitarian belief that facilitated Wicksteed's proposal. Here was a College that stressed its "openness of faith and belief in free inquiry after religious truth" which from 1805 "was the only Dissenting academy remaining, and, indeed, almost the only institution of higher education in England drawing its students from the whole

University. In 1854 the Unitarian Home Missionary Board was established at Manchester to train ministers, it is now known as Unitarian College, Manchester.

⁵⁹ V.D. Davis, *A History of Manchester College from its Foundation in Manchester to its Establishment in Oxford*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932, Appendix Notes on the Constitution of the College, pp.203-206.

⁶⁰ K.S. Inglis, "English Nonconformity and Social Reform, 1880-1900", *Past & Present*, 13(1958), pp.73-88.

⁶¹ K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963, p. 295, n.2.

⁶² Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, Keele: Keele University Press, 1993, p.66. Armitage, a Liberal with social concerns introduced his congregation to Henry George and occasionally visited the Labour Church.

country, which did not require subscription.”⁶³ (The absence of any religious test or subscription to doctrine or creed was in sharp contrast to the requirements that existed at the time dissenting academies were established, in so far as matriculation at Oxford and degree conferment at Cambridge universities respectively, were concerned, effectively barring those with dissenting views.⁶⁴) The free inquiry so much part of the Unitarian tradition also laid stress on the importance of human reason, knowledge and individual conscience. This ensured that the Unitarian position:

...could withstand opposition, it being the end-result of reason in theology... that natural sciences, in as much as they served as a paradigm of free enquiry, were of peculiar concern to Unitarians. The Priestleyan model of man, as a knowing and worshipping being, had been central for their science and for their rational theology. It was on this central question that a ‘shift in intellectual temper’ came to interact with the growing specialization and professionalization of knowledge.⁶⁵

Wicksteed was invited to give the opening address to the 1888-89 session of the College⁶⁶ to inaugurate his course of lectures; the topic “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies,” attended by

⁶³ Ruth Watts, “Manchester College and Education 1786-1853”, in Barbara Smith (ed.), *Truth, Liberty, Religion Essays Celebrating Two Hundred Years of Manchester College*, Oxford: Manchester College, 1986, p.81.

⁶⁴ In 1854 religious tests were abolished for Bachelor’s Degrees other than divinity. Tests for taking MA Degrees were abolished in 1871 and Divinity Degrees in 1919. Raymond V. Holt, *The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England*, London: Lindsey Press, 2nd rev. ed., 1952, pp.242-243. However the University of London, established in 1836, could enroll students and confer degrees without doctrinal subscription.

⁶⁵ Jean Raymond and John V. Pickstone, “The Natural Sciences and the Learning of English Unitarians: an exploration of the roles of Manchester College”, in Barbara Smith (ed.), *Truth, Liberty, Religion Essays Celebrating Two Hundred Years of Manchester College*, Oxford: Manchester College, 1986, p.155. Nineteenth century Unitarianism has been characterized “as a more rational minority against the religious dogmas of eternal punishment, inherited guilt, vicarious atonement, the Trinity and hell-fire.” Peter d’A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968, p.394. This rational style extended to their method of persuasion, “a Unitarian Evangelical is unthinkable, a sort of *lusus naturae*, [freak of nature] for the Unitarians were and always had been since the days of Joseph Priestly and Richard Price and Mrs Barbauld of the Warrington Academy, an enlightened intellectual minority.” Donald Davie, *Essays in Dissent Church, Chapel, and the Unitarian Conspiracy*, Manchester: Carcanet Press, 1995, p.55.

⁶⁶ The course was paid for by an anonymous donation of 100 pounds. Wicksteed was later appointed to the staff of the College as a Lecturer in Social Economy, the first such appointment from outside the College staff of

all the students, was later published.⁶⁷ In addition the College provided for “occasional Students” to attend which allowed members of the public to enrol (for a fee of 10 shillings and six pence) which suited Wicksteed’s interest in adult education: the previous year was his first as a university extension lecturer, teaching a course on Dante at Wimbledon for London University. For Wicksteed there was no question “of the propriety, indeed the necessity” that students studying for the Christian ministry should examine the problems of sociology. Here Wicksteed used sociology in a sense that incorporates both the science which investigates the nature, structure and development of society as well as the study of social problems. A feature of his address, which recurs later in his lectures, is the involvement of ethics: “For human conduct - the subject of the science of ethics - everywhere rests upon and is everywhere conditioned by social relations and institutions.” And he goes on to say that in large cities where people may not be aware of personal wrongdoing “we may be complacently bearing our part in acts which, with a collective weight of gathered oppression, fall upon the helpless and the wretched.”⁶⁸ This was another theme he would often return to, the unintentional collective effect which could harm others. In stating this he also asked a fundamental question: “how far the structure and institutions of this “society” are inflexibly determined by the laws of nature, how far they may be moulded and re-moulded by man?”⁶⁹ In asking this he was able to open up the issues of reform and social change.

Wicksteed argued for an important connection between religion and sociology. He told his listeners how Jesus entered into personal relationships when he gave “his great world-renewing principles. It was his special and immediate task to preach to the poor and powerless the truth that there and then, without waiting for any outward change or revolution, they might live the life of communion with God.” The belief that soon after his death Jesus would return and so the existing order of domestic and social

Professors. *The Report of Manchester New College, In Connection with the University of London and University College, London; University Hall, Gordon Square. One Hundred And Third Annual Meeting, January 1889*, p.9.

⁶⁷ Philip Henry Wicksteed, “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies,” in J. Estlin Carpenter and P.H. Wicksteed, *Studies in Theology*, London: J.M. Dent, 1903, pp.284-300.

⁶⁸ P.H. Wicksteed, “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies,” pp.286-267.

⁶⁹ P.H. Wicksteed, “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies”, p.289.

relations would pass away was a complete mistake. This “is the very negation of the central teaching and principle of Jesus, and which has done more than anything else to cramp and thwart the beneficent influence of Christianity.” It resulted in Christians renouncing rather than redeeming the world while all the time treating as permanent the institutions of public and social life. For Wicksteed any distinction between the church and the world is “pernicious”.⁷⁰ The answer was to believe that the world was capable of being moulded “into full accordance of God’s law, and that Sociology can only be truly studied when baptized in the spirit of religion.”⁷¹

John Stuart Mill had described, in his *Three Essays on Religion*, nature as a huge slaughter house; which negated the idea of a benevolent deity. Wicksteed said the issues of scepticism and declining interest in religion had to be faced fairly and their sources examined. He thought doubt in the possibility of regenerating society was at the root cause of much scepticism.

But this is not all. We profess in our College to examine any belief that is submitted to us, not for the sake of showing that it is false, but for the sake of inquiring whether it is true. We must not shrink from the application of our principles here. “The Bible, and the Bible only...” has long ceased to be our motto. The Bible word, “God is love,” will not help us if it is contradicted by reason and experience. We have rejected the authority of the Church, and the ecclesiastical doctrine that God revealed his character and purpose when the Word was made flesh in Jesus...Where then, are we to seek the authentic revelation of God? In the utterances and the constitution of the human mind, and in the conditions of human life.⁷²

The goal Wicksteed laid out was that in studying the moral and mental condition of humanity, with the study of social life, would concurrently provide a complete course of theological studies. Comte, he

⁷⁰ P.H. Wicksteed, “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies”, pp.290-291.

⁷¹ P.H. Wicksteed, “The Place of Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies”, pp.293-294.

⁷² P.H. Wicksteed, “Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies”, p.295.

pointed out, had said religion was necessary for a fruitful study of society. “Auguste Comte saw far and deep when he denounced, as materialistic and immoral, the study of industry apart from the general structure and purpose of society...”⁷³ The relationship between the two was, he believed, paramount:

Sociology, then, bereft of religion, is without a goal, and the blight of perpetual sterility is upon it. Theology, bereft of Sociology, is remote from the actual life of men, and is smitten with unreality. On the union of these two depends the future of humanity.⁷⁴

Following this address, students attended Wicksteed’s lectures each Friday afternoon at 3 pm; it was not optional and formed part of their curriculum. There were nine students in the class, including William Jellie then in his second year of theology study, so there was ample opportunity for Wicksteed and the students to get to know each other well. The College Committee thought the students would “derive great benefit” as Wicksteed was “so deeply versed in his subject” and that “no less advantage will be gained by them from personal contact with his quickening and inspiring individuality.”⁷⁵ The first ten lectures were given under the heading “Elements of Sociology”.⁷⁶ In the first lecture he introduced ideas of Henry George’s *Progress and Poverty* and we have already noted how this publication played a significant role in Wicksteed’s development as an economist. (The topic of land tax was one he would return to in depth when he lectured on land nationalization in the next section, “Social Problem in the Light of Economic Theory”.) The class was also told to read Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer and Jellie had made a note “but make personal observations” so Wicksteed was expecting them to relate these ideas to other knowledge they had. He set a high expectation for his students’ readings in the course. As they continued to explore human social development Wicksteed relayed the significance of language, its origins and cultural characteristics: the basis for this section was the *Introduction to the*

⁷³ P.H. Wicksteed, “Sociology in the Circle of Theological Studies”, p.297.

⁷⁴ P.H. Wicksteed, “Sociology in the Circle of theological Studies”, p.299.

⁷⁵ *The Report of Manchester New College, In Connection with the University of London, and University College, London; One Hundred and Third Annual Meeting*, January, 1889, p.9.

⁷⁶ See Appendix 1.

Science of Language, published in two volumes in 1880 by Archibald Henry Sayce (1845-1933).⁷⁷ Sayce was then Deputy Professor of Comparative Philology at Oxford University and an expert in Middle Eastern languages.

Herbert Spencer's concept of society as an organism, whose parts adopted a self-regulating function, comparable to biological organisms, was seen by Wicksteed as a strong explanatory model. He refers to Spencer in three lectures subsequent to introducing him in the first lecture.⁷⁸ Various aspects of his *Synthetic Philosophy*, which incorporated evolutionary biology, psychology, sociology and ethics, are used by Wicksteed. What is interesting, notwithstanding Spencer's standing as a nineteenth century social theorist and philosopher, is the apparent lack of critique on Wicksteed's part. By the time of his course at the College Spencer was being challenged: "in the early 1880's the tide of intellectual fashion in Britain turned against Herbert Spencer; and the storehouse of ideas that he had forged out ...began to look repetitive and *passé*."⁷⁹ By then, advances in the natural sciences using scientific method were surpassing his deductive reasoning and advances in disciplines such as philosophy, sociology and economics were producing new ideas that were dating his own.

⁷⁷ Sam Addison, "Archibald Henry Sayce 1845-1933, Professor of Assyriology, Oxford". Gifford Lecture Series, <http://www.giffordlectures.org/Author.asp?AuthorID=150> accessed 3 December 2009. There was another Oxford philology expert at that time, Friedrich Max Muller (1823-1900), first Professor of Comparative Philology, who had written a book with a similar title: *Lectures on the Science of Language*. Linda Dowling, "Victorian Oxford and the Science of Language", *PMLA*, 97, 2, (1982), pp.160-178. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/462185> accessed 1 December 2009. Later Muller was a Visitor at Manchester College, 1895-1900.

⁷⁸ Appendix 1, Section "Elements of Sociology", Lecture I, Lecture III, Lecture VII, Lecture VIII. Spencer is again referred to in each subsequent Section, making him one of the most commonly referred to author's.

⁷⁹ Jose Harris, "Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903)", *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/public/articles/124927469984736208-print.html> accessed 4 August 2009. Spencer's father was a dissenter but from an early age Spencer was a skeptic, later identifying with agnosticism after T. H. Huxley invented the term in 1869. His education was undertaken by an uncle, a clergyman who was a radical reformer. Spencer initially worked as an apprenticed railway engineer. He wrote occasionally to newspapers and considered immigrating to New Zealand, until he found work as a sub-editor on the *Economist*. London provided the opportunity to meet prominent scientists and reformers and Spencer's thoughts turned to a literary career. He was interested in discovering natural laws that governed society which led to human progress. Eventually this would result in a synthesis of scientific and philosophical thought. Spencer's project to produce *A System of Synthetic Philosophy* would last 40 years and be published in five volumes. He incorporated Darwin's discoveries and coined the phrase "survival of the fittest."

Next Wicksteed deals with the social aspects of property. Unfortunately he does not differentiate between types of property; such as freehold versus leasehold real estate, buildings, or financial property. He does say that he cannot give property any "inherent absolute sanctity" but that "as an instrument of society" he says "it must claim ethical sanction". He asks if ownership of property rests on a natural right, but he does not examine the idea of how natural rights arise or how soundly based such a notion is. Does this infer that natural rights were somehow God given? Such an approach tended to be adopted to protect the property of the privileged classes against the inequalities that prevailed in society. It was Jeremy Bentham who saw that "some kind of universal principle of moral criticism was needed that could cut through the partiality of the status quo and the abstract talk of "natural rights" that supplied its moral rationale."⁸⁰ Wicksteed's answer is unhelpful: because the idea of contract, as a legal principle, can be substituted for mere possession, he concludes there is a socially directed right to property.⁸¹ Of course he was aware that property can simply mean possession or ownership irrespective of legal entitlement and that ownership of property does not always occur fairly or ethically, for example the subjugation of native peoples in colonies. However his real purpose in promoting the legal principle of contract is to marry what was seen in the later part of the nineteenth century, as the disparate views of socialism and capitalism. "Socialists *used* to say that capitalism took away from a man what was his own and demand the full enjoyment of what he had made. They differed in their methods of finding what he had made." (Emphasis added. Notwithstanding Wicksteed's claim, many socialists continued to say that.) But when the idea of contract arose "It changes the definition from what a man has made to what he is entitled to under certain conditions." Here Wicksteed is probably referring to the Marxist "surplus value" concept which he criticised in his *Today* publications. Now the problem with this

⁸⁰ Victor Grassian, *Moral Reasoning Ethical Theory and Some Contemporary Moral Problems*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1981, p.47. Bentham invented the utility concept in economics and "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" as a social maxim. As a moral principle this may well have not found favour with Wicksteed.

⁸¹ Appendix 1, Section "Elements of Sociology", Lecture VI. Bearing in mind whenever referring to the lectures, we only have the record that Jellie transcribed.

argument is that it has nothing to do with the origins of contract law in the legal system, and the ideas of socialism that arose in the nineteenth century in a society where the law of contract was already the norm. He did see the risk of a “moral weakness and social danger” arising “when there is a strong feeling that it is unjust that a large number of people live on interest”;⁸² perhaps he had in mind interest from land or was it ‘gilts’, British government fixed interest securities that could be traded on the stock exchange? We don’t know. Wicksteed returns to property when he examines the issues around land nationalisation, and we will see what he presents in those lectures.

Darwin had shown that family life occurred generally among higher animals and the maternal instinct, according to Wicksteed, was the basis for altruism. The term “altruism” was coined by Comte and derived from the Italian *altrui* meaning to or of others. Wicksteed does not appear to identify the importance of altruism beyond the family to the general level in society.⁸³ Somewhat surprisingly he includes a segment on what in modern parlance would be called human sexuality. “Efficiency of civilization is gauged by its power in transforming the sexual life...literature, romance, poetry, which stirs feelings is built upon the relationship of the sexes.” He then refers to the work of Dr Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910)⁸⁴ who he says “attempts to direct this passion in positive ways.” Blackwell, upon her return to England from America in 1869 spent much of her time promoting the health and hygiene of women,

⁸² Appendix 1, “Elements of Sociology”, Lecture VI.

⁸³ “Auguste Comte, often regarded as the founder of modern sociology, is sometimes credited with originating the concept of altruism, and certainly the shift from domestic attachment to universal benevolence was an important preoccupation in his effort to sketch the dimensions of cultural evolution.” Robert Wuthnow, “Altruism and Sociological Theory”, *Social Service Review*, 67, 3 (1993), pp.344-357. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30012503> accessed 14 February 2010.

⁸⁴When she was eleven Elizabeth Blackwell left England with her family to settle in New York. In 1849 she graduated MD from Geneva Medical College, New York, the first woman doctor in America. She organised a hospital for poor women and children in New York. In 1858 she visited London and was registered with the General Medical Council under a clause that recognised doctors with foreign medical degrees practicing in Britain. Thus she became the first woman doctor in Britain. During the American civil war she worked on the provision of nursing services for the United States army. At home again in England she advocated the case for women doctors, prevention through hygiene and the spread of public health. Her rejection of aspects of modern medicine put her off side with the medical establishment. M.A. Elston, “Blackwell, Elizabeth (1821-1910)”, *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/31912> accessed 3 December 2009.

health education in schools and sex education and moral issues, especially in her publication *The Human Element in Sex*. This modern side to Wicksteed's character continued. The subjugation of women by men was, he thought, the "most awful form of human tyranny". He pointed out that women's inferior status was based on the notion of property: "woman is the property of the father, next given [literally during the wedding service by her father] to the husband. No claim of chastity is laid on the man, only the woman as [sex outside marriage] is a breach of property rights." And he then observed that "these ideas of property do not satisfy modern people."⁸⁵

Government, Wicksteed recognizes, must have sufficient ability to regulate its members and enforce its laws, which ultimately rests on physical force. It must protect the person and property; but how much government is needed beyond that? Here Wicksteed refers to the work of Thomas Hill Green (1836-1882).⁸⁶ Writing about the legislative programme of the Liberal Party he first recounted the liberal's struggle "for political freedom against aristocratic privilege", and secondly their "struggle for economic freedoms against protectionism" and the current phase he saw was "one characterized by social freedoms." Green defined this type of freedom as a positive power, freedom with rational and moral purpose. It involved genuine citizenship and the progress of society was to be measured in the growth of this freedom. It would allow members of society to make the best of themselves: "State involvement in the regulation of drink, housing conditions, land ownership, employment conditions, and education is justifiable on these grounds." In undertaking these activities the state should have the intention of

⁸⁵ Appendix 1, Section "Elements of Sociology", Lecture VIII.

⁸⁶ Green had been a student of Benjamin Jowett's at Balliol College, Oxford. He had early dissenting views and only signed the Thirty-nine Articles after much doubt, probably in order to gain his degree. He became Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Balliol College. He supported university education for poor students and working men and the university extension movement. He developed an ethical and political philosophy in response to the complexities of industrial society. His ideals of citizenship, freedom and social duty were still influential in the twentieth century. His religious ideas were unorthodox for the time. He was forty-five years old when he died. Andrew Vincent, "Green, Thomas Hill (1836-1882)", *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/11404>, accessed 26 August 2009.

“removing barriers and providing the conditions for the realization of citizens’ powers.”⁸⁷ Green was an Oxford professor of philosophy of the idealist school and a critic of empiricism and naturalism. His political philosophy aimed at providing a cogent theory to underpin Liberalism; in doing so it has been seen as an early theory of the welfare state.⁸⁸ However this view is not universally held, as it has been pointed out that “Green was a man of his time...He applied his principles to the society as he saw it and made recommendations accordingly.”⁸⁹ His friends included leading dissenting clergymen such as James Martineau and Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902), the founder of the *Methodist Times*. To the consternation of some orthodox “Green believed that England’s national faith cut across denominational boundaries; its national religious character was pluralistic. This was a particularly important progression for English (and British) liberal intellectuals and political leaders to make in an age of democracy.”⁹⁰ In the same lecture Wicksteed asks if it is a function of government to protect the moral sense from outrage. He acknowledges that in doing so there is a great danger that the state, becoming involved in censorship, will act in a tyrannical way. The illustration he gives is that of George William Foote (1850-1915),⁹¹ the well known freethinker, who had recently experienced “the suppression of anti-religious polemics.” Foote was editor of the *Freethinker*, which he had established in 1881. Incensed at the refusal to allow fellow rationalist Charles Bradlaugh (1833-1891)⁹² take his seat in

⁸⁷ Andrew Vincent, “Becoming Green”, *Victorian Studies*, 48, 3 (2006) pp. 487-504.

⁸⁸ This idea is discussed in Mark Bevir, “Welfarism, Socialism and Religion: On T.H. Green and Others”, *The Review of Politics*, 55,4 (1993), pp.639-661 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1407610> accessed 21 January 2010.

⁸⁹ Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2003, p.50. Carter goes on to say that what was important was Green’s break with the ideas behind classical Liberalism replacing them with ideas about equality and freedom, which contributed to the development of ethical socialism.

⁹⁰ Denys P. Leighton, “T.H. Green and the dissidence of Dissent: On Religion and National Character in Nineteenth-Century England”, *Parliamentary History*, 27 (2008), pp.43-56.

⁹¹ George William Foote left the Anglican church of his mother and became Unitarian as a teenager. When he went to work in London he joined the Young Men’s Secular Association. After rising to prominence in the secular movement he followed Bradlaugh as President of the National Secular Society. He published under the Pioneer Press imprint. He was a literary scholar and friend of George Meredith. Edward Royle, “Foote, George William (1850-1915)”, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/41002>, accessed 19 August 2009.

⁹² Charles Bradlaugh was an articled solicitor’s clerk in London, although he practiced as a solicitor. A noted radical who supported extension of the franchise and republican causes; he published the *National Reformer* and was

the House of Commons when he wished to affirm and not take an oath, Foote launched an attack on Christianity in the form of a series of cartoons depicting Biblical scenes, published in various editions in 1882. Charged with “wickedly and profanely devising and intending to asperse and vilify Almighty God, and to bring the Holy Scriptures and Christian Religion into disbelief and contempt”⁹³ he was found guilty on a retrial (the first jury failing to agree) and sentenced to one year’s imprisonment for the crime of blasphemous libel. A subsequent call for a reduction in his sentence was signed by many illustrious scientific, literary and men in public life, including eleven clergymen, one of whom, the Rev. Stopford Brooke (1832-1916) was a prominent Unitarian.⁹⁴ A third trial occurred, while Foote was still in prison, with Bradlaugh also a defendant but tried separately. Bradlaugh was acquitted and Foote’s jury could not reach a verdict.⁹⁵ These trials were to have far reaching consequences so far as the law of blasphemy was concerned; the Lord Chief Justice Coleridge changed the definition of the crime, namely: “I now lay down as law, that, if the decencies of controversy are observed, even the fundamentals of religion may be attacked without a person being guilty of blasphemous libel.”⁹⁶ So the manner of expression now became the test, not the subject matter. The trials had a galvanizing effect on Unitarians other than Stopford Brooke: the Rev. William Sharman (1841-1889) became secretary of the Society for the Repeal of the Blasphemy Laws.⁹⁷ In 1887 the Unitarian MP and jurist of some note, Courtney Stanhope Kenny

President of the National Secular Society, which he formed. Together with Annie Besant, they published Charles Knowlton’s pamphlet on birth control which resulted in an obscenity prosecution. The sentence of six months imprisonment was later quashed. Bradlaugh was elected MP for Northampton in 1880 and after being ejected from parliament was re-elected in 1881, 1882, 1884 and 1885. He took his seat in 1886, but it was not until 1888 that a law change permitted parliamentary affirmations. Edward Royle, “Bradlaugh, Charles (1833-1891)”, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/3183>, accessed 19 February 2010.

⁹³ Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1914*, London: Constable, 1967, p.63.

⁹⁴ G.W. Foote, *Prisoner for Blasphemy*, London: Progressive Publishing, 1886. Online edition no page references.

⁹⁵ Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1915*, pp. 65-66.

⁹⁶ Joss Marsh, *Word Crimes Blasphemy, Culture, and Literature in Nineteenth-Century England*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1998, p. 160. The ruling was highly controversial. “A blasphemy law so interpreted was unworkable, as the failure to reach a verdict in the third *Freethinker* trial implicitly suggests. Even commentators who approved the ruling could not find the chain of precedents convincing.” p.160-161.

⁹⁷ David Tribe, *100 Years of Freethought*, London: Elek Books, 1967, p.157 and G.W. Foote, *Prisoner for Blasphemy*. The B&FUA general meeting called for a change in the law so that no one could be prosecuted for publishing any

(1847-1930) introduced his Religious Prosecutions Abolition Bill, which sought the repeal of laws restricting the expression of religious opinion.⁹⁸ Whatever these Unitarians may have thought about the subject matter published by Foote they saw a greater principle involved, that of freedom of thought and the publication of ideas concerning religion. The on-going publicity surrounding this cause célèbre could not have been lost on the students of Wicksteed's class.

In his following lecture Wicksteed examined the relationship between education and the spiritual power. "Human beings", he said, "were only human in society and learning is required to associate with other human beings": language is needed for the transmission of culture, technical education allows workers to produce what others want, artistic and literary people contribute to the higher life. Further, he recognised that education can lead to change, "every change in education should leave the way to further change,"⁹⁹ Of note, given the comments in his previous lecture about the danger of the state enforcing laws against "moral outrage" and the iniquity of censorship, he concludes this lecture by raising the question of the separation of the church and state.

The final lecture in this section¹⁰⁰ looks at the place of economics in sociology. Here, in looking at ideas about how wealth arises in society, students were introduced to the work of Nassau W. Senior (1790-1864) a classical economist who argued that governments were responsible for human welfare, while economics studied the creation of wealth, and the two spheres were separate. The ideas of the American economist Francis Amasa Walker (1840-1897) were presented: an opponent of Henry George,

opinion about religion and notified the Home Secretary that Foote should be released from prison. It also supported moves to allow affirmations instead of oaths in Parliament. *The Times*. 18 May 1883, p.3.

⁹⁸ A.L. Goodhart, "Kenny, Courtney Stanhope (1847-1930)," rev. Richard A. Cosgrove, ODNB. <http://www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/34287>, accessed 28 February 2010. Educated at Cambridge University where he became a Fellow of Downing College, Kenny was an MP from 1885 to 1888, when he retired to become a Reader in English Law at Cambridge. He was appointed Downing Professor of English Law in 1907. See also D.W. Bebbington, "Unitarian Members of Parliament in the Nineteenth Century A Catalogue," *TUHS Supplement*, 24, 3 (2009).

⁹⁹ Appendix 1, Section "Elements of Sociology", Lecture IX.

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 1, Section "Elements of Sociology", Lecture X.

he rejected the wage fund doctrine which said that the amount set aside for labour costs was predetermined; and his theory of profits showed that labour benefited from innovation and that gains of the employer are not at the workers expense. Jevons is quoted as saying that the political economy “deals with wealth of nations and aims at teaching what should be done that the poor may be as few as possible”; and students are then referred to Wicksteed’s own text, *Alphabet of Economic Theory*. The book starts with an introduction to calculus so that readers without an adequate background could understand marginalist theory. It introduces the marginal utility concept before moving to a discussion about labour theory. In doing so it includes opportunity cost in labour supply theory by including leisure as an alternative to work. Important differences emerge between Jevons’ labour supply theory and Wicksteed’s model, which directly includes labour time and considers production between multiple products. Turning to wealth, Wicksteed argues that a redistribution of wealth would ensure better conformity between price and marginal want, which would produce “economic harmony” of inestimable importance. Finally he returns to the argument he took up in his *To-Day* article without naming Marx, rejecting the idea that labour determines the value of exchange.¹⁰¹

Between December 1888 and May 1889 Wicksteed delivered the remainder of his course. He began by giving the students the tools to understand the political economy around them: his section on “Social Problems in the light of Economic Theory” provided an introduction to the mathematics needed to understand the economics involved. This was followed by three lectures on the problem and solution to economic value. Students were directed to an article in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*¹⁰² which provided a Jevonian critique of Ricardo’s doctrine of value and a general description of the marginal economics of the Austrian school. The laws of diminishing and increasing returns were covered in the

¹⁰¹ This summary of the *Alphabet of Economics* is based on Paul Flatau, “Jevons’s One Great Disciple: Wicksteed and the Jevonian Revolution in the Second Generation”, *History of Economics Review*, 40 (2004), pp.69-107.

¹⁰² James Bonar, “The Austrian Economists and their View of value,” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 3, 1 (1888), pp. 1-31.

following lectures.¹⁰³ The latter lecture also presents the case for labour specialization and argues for free trade. The theme of free trade is continued, with the view that free trade helps maintain peace between countries.¹⁰⁴ He next turned to the contentious topic of population.¹⁰⁵ Will two men working with the same abilities get more or less if there are ten men working, he asked, a reference to Ricardo's wage fund theory. He talks about survival of the fittest, the Spenserian term, which is not swayed by altruism and conflicts with notions of co-operation. He turns to Malthus's argument that doubling the population does not result in doubling food production rests on the laws of decreasing returns. Excess population growth, he argued, implied a readiness to immigrate.¹⁰⁶ The next issue Wicksteed considered was low wages.¹⁰⁷ He argued that a "wrong distribution of labour" by both occupation and locality causes overproduction which results in trade depression. If not trade depression Wicksteed would have his students accept that overproduction of poor workers causes them to compete amongst each other, which results in depressed wages. This form of contemporary economic theory has the worker as the cause of his or her own suffering. Wicksteed suggests however that public opinion would not accept the idea of employers adopting policies that would assist worker welfare. Some of the causes he sees as the granting of refugee asylum in London which results in cheaper labour competing with English workers, but he says that "Jewish clothing firms are [not] the worst." His solution to low wages is for workers to leave low wage industries, just how he does not say. And while it is women and children who are worst paid "their employment often deprives men of work." So poor women and children make life difficult for poor men!

¹⁰³ Appendix 1, Section "Social Problems in the Light of Economic Theory", lectures IV and V.

¹⁰⁴ Appendix 1, Section "Social Problems in the light of Economic Theory", lecture VI.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 1, Section "Social Problems in the light of Economic theory", Lecture VII.

¹⁰⁶ "The 'surplus' workers shipped to the colonies rose exponentially. Malthus sanctioned such an escape in his sixth edition, which differed strikingly from the unrelentingly bleak first edition." Adrian Desmond and James Moore, *Darwin*, London: Michael Joseph, 1991, p.265. Malthus's theory was also instrumental in helping Charles Darwin formulate his ideas about natural selection and it is Harriet Martineau, a close friend of Charles' brother Erasmus, who is credited with bringing it to his attention. "Darwin knew the theory. With Martineau his dinner guest, how could he not?" p.264.

¹⁰⁷ Appendix 1, Section "Social Problems in the Light of Economic Theory", Lecture VIII.

Three more lectures followed on land, the cases for and against nationalization.¹⁰⁸ Agriculture, Wicksteed postulated, was “the natural equilibrating industry” in society, so it is important to keep it open to as many workers who wish to be in the industry. But why he asked, were men leaving the land and swarming into London? The answer he gave was private ownership of land. (He could have looked back to another contributor, the various Enclosure Acts beginning in the eighteenth century.) Private ownership can drive tenant farmers off the land when uneconomic rents are charged. And so he asks, who is the primitive proprietor of the soil? This fundamental question leads to a series of arguments for public ownership: the land premium belongs to the community; public ownership of land would allow other taxes to be abolished; it would remove the need for public debt. All points that would have been discussed when Wicksteed introduced Henry George to the class in his first lecture. In turning to the case against nationalisation Wicksteed quotes Arnold Toynbee (1852-1883)¹⁰⁹ who said: “I agree with George that it has been a mistake to sell land to private individuals instead of keeping it for the use of the people.” Toynbee, who made his name as an economic historian of the “industrial revolution”, a term he was credited with coining, thought George was one-sided in his approach. The greatest objection to land nationalization policies was the creation of injustice if there was no full compensation. Here Wicksteed referred his students to the work of his brother Charles Wicksteed (1848-1931)¹¹⁰ who proposed full compensation by borrowing against the security of the land and paying current interest rates until the principal had been paid in full.

¹⁰⁸ Appendix 1, section “Social Problems in the Light of Economic Theory”, Lectures IX, IX continued and X.

¹⁰⁹ Arnold Toynbee was a disciple of T.H. Green, active in the co-operative movement and adult education, he believed in trade unions, friendly societies and state welfare to improve the standard of living for the working classes. A Tutor at Balliol College, Oxford, his important work, *The Industrial Revolution*, was published posthumously. Alon Kadish, “Toynbee, Arnold (1852-1883),” *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/27646>, accessed 1 March 2010.

¹¹⁰ Charles Wicksteed, *The Land for the People How to Obtain it How to Manage it*, London: William Reeves, 1885. He continued campaigning for land nationalization; see Charles Wicksteed, *Our Mother Earth: A Short Statement of the Case for Land Nationalization*, London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.

The last two lectures in this section concerned socialism. After traversing some popular arguments for and against socialism, such as “we are all socialists nowadays” and “socialism gives equal rewards for unequal sacrifice”, Wicksteed turns to a contemporary author whom he regards as the most intelligent writer about the labour system of the future. That man was Edward Bellamy (1850-1897), an American socialist who had published the first nine chapters of Marx’s *Capital* under the title *Marx’s theory of Value Complete*, in 1893.¹¹¹ Marx’s *Capital* “did not seize the popular imagination as Henry George’s *Progress and Poverty* had done”¹¹² and we can add, as Bellamy’s novel *Looking Backward 2000-1887*, was destined to do. The book’s principal character, Julian West, finds he has gone to sleep for 113 years. When he awakes in 2000 he finds a new society which guarantees the needs of all its citizens; the unequal economic and class structure of the nineteenth century has been eliminated. Citizens work toward the benefit of society as a whole and the nation’s wealth and industrial organisations are held in a single national trust.¹¹³ What did Wicksteed’s students make of their lecturer’s endorsement of such a utopian future? If it was a view they shared, we do not know.

The final section in Wicksteed’s course, “Ethical and Theological Aspects of Sociology” comprised three lectures.¹¹⁴ Wicksteed recognizes that there is no one political economic model which represents the entire world, although his lectures thus far have proceeded as though the English model is the only one of importance. Wicksteed claims there are moral and emotional reasons why people desire wealth. What these motives are removes the study of economics to the ethical area. Ministers of religion, he believes, have a responsibility to be a transforming influence on others. Material well being is to be the basis of building a higher life. Protestantism in his view is in harmony with the morals of individualistic capitalism. This is unacceptable so far as religious ethics are concerned. Some wants and desires are

¹¹¹ Kirk Willis, “The Introduction and Critical Reception of Marxist Thought in Britain, 1850-1900”, *The Historical Journal*, 20, 2 (1977) pp.417-459.

¹¹² Kirk Willis, *Ibid.*

¹¹³ *Looking Backward* sold over 100,000 copies in America in 1888 its first year of publication, and went on to sell over a million copies worldwide. It was the third best selling fiction book in the nineteenth century.

¹¹⁴ Appendix 1, Section “Ethical and Theological Aspects of Sociology”, Lectures I, II and III.

immoral. There is collective responsibility and guilt regarding the material products of civilization. Evolutionary theology recognizes the strain arising from unequal progress. It is wrong to confound the evolution of the fittest with that of the best. The idea that happy and pure homes come at the price of degrading other homes or pushing competitors over the edge is unacceptable. It is in investigating these issues that sociology and economics bear on theology. He raised a prescient question: Is there enough room on the planet for all of humanity? What of human reproduction (that is growth in numbers)? Can selfish motives be socialized? For a ministry to be helpful he said it must have a real and vital connection with everyone.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁵ Students were referred to an article in *The Christian Reformer* by Dr Philip Herbert Carpenter (1852-1891) a brother of J. Estlin Carpenter. Philip Carpenter had replied to an anonymous article, written by an Anglican Clergyman, "Evolution and the Existence of Satan", *The Christian Reformer*, April 1886, pp.223-235, whose principle argument against evolution without a deity appears to be how did evil arise? Carpenter demonstrated the eons involved in laying down rocks and limestone, the waste in both animal and plant kingdoms throughout time, and how pointless it was to attribute such natural phenomena to the agency of a good or bad deity; see "Evolution and the Existence of Satan II", *The Christian Reformer*, May, 1886, pp. 269-276. The same issue had a further article on this topic (pp. 277-282) by the Unitarian minister, the Rev. Dr. Charles Hargrove (1840-1918) who advanced a theological argument: why is there sin, sorrow and suffering if there is a good God? There can be no final triumph of evil, he argued, because *omne ens est bonum*, or every being is good. And he wished there was life after bodily death. It is noteworthy that Wicksteed directed his students not to the theological controversy but to the scientific defense of evolution by Philip Carpenter. Carpenter was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge University where he studied geology and biology, receiving an MA degree and Doctor of Science. T.G.Bonney, "Carpenter, Philip Herbert (1852-1891)", rev. V.M. Quirke, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.comwww.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/4735>, accessed 11 December 2009.

3. Entering the Unitarian Ministry in Late 19th Century England

William Jellie graduated from Manchester College, Oxford, in June 1890. His next step was to obtain a ministerial appointment, but where? Jellie, along with his fellow students, had been exposed to the work of the Unitarian Domestic Mission in London; they worked during the long vacation in London's East End. Spicer Street in the Spitalfields area was one of the early missions begun before the London Domestic Mission Society was established in 1835 by the B&FUA. It was a mile and a half to the east of St Paul's Cathedral in an area other churches had not ventured into. The London Domestic Mission Society extended its work from here to other parts of the city. The missionaries worked amongst people in extreme poverty, but what made these activities so unique was visiting the homes of the impoverished¹¹⁶ so missionaries came into direct contact with the actual living conditions of the "neglected poor".

In the event it was to the Stamford Street Chapel, with its associated Blackfriars Mission, that Jellie accepted as his first charge. The Chapel had been built in 1823 and was well established by the time Jellie arrived in 1890. It was not common to find a domestic mission associated with a chapel in this way,¹¹⁷ over which Jellie had sole charge as both minister and missionary. But it was a role he embraced. It is recorded that Blackfriars Mission had been established before the London Domestic Mission Society began its work, although just when is uncertain.¹¹⁸ Located near Blackfriars Bridge in the London

¹¹⁶ Alan Ruston, "London's East End Domestic Mission-Spicer Street, Buxton Street and Mansford Street", *TUHS*, 21, 2 (1996), pp.117-135. The student vacation work began when Rev. John James Taylor (1797-1869) was Principal of Manchester New College, London, 1853-1869, and during the period Rev. Charles Corkan (1813-1901) was missionary.

¹¹⁷ The Mission was amalgamated with the Chapel in 1880 when a number of organisations were brought together. See W.A.P. Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p.42. The Mission was located at 33 New Cut and had a resident Warden, James Westwood Tosh. *Post Office London Directory*, Part 6, London: Kelly, pp.2710 and 2726.

¹¹⁸ "January 14, 1835, is the date of the foundation of the Society, but the work had been going on for some years before that, on the initiative of the recently established British and Foreign Unitarian Association...and of the Stamford Street congregation in Southwark." V.D. Davis, *The London Domestic Mission Society Record of A*

Borough of Southwark, Charles Dickens (1812-1870) had set at least one of his novels *Little Dorrit* in the old Borough. *Little Dorrit* was described by George Bernard Shaw as a more seditious book than *Das Kapital*¹¹⁹ but beneath the criticism of Victorian society it is an account of suffering that afflicted Dickens when his father was incarcerated in Marshalsea Debtors' Prison, Southwark. Dickens was later to join the Unitarians in reaction to sectarian fighting over public education.¹²⁰

By the time Jellie took up his appointment there had been over thirty years experience in training ministers to work in domestic missions. What made Jellie's choice all the more surprising was this training was undertaken by the Unitarian Home Missionary Board. The Board was established in Manchester in 1854 for the training of home missionaries, an area not being addressed by Manchester New College, which was also failing to produce enough ministers for the vacancies occurring. "Our Institution aims at training those who shall be fitted to labour among the poor, to speak to 'the common people' and to bring Unitarian Christianity to the hearts and homes of the great mass of society,"¹²¹ the Board proclaimed.

Although the Unitarians had seen the need to establish a college in 1854 dedicated to training ministers to work among the poor, which was in itself a unique move among the non conformists, their responses to the poverty, deprivation, destitution, ill health and social neglect of a large proportion of the British population began much earlier. Outbreaks of typhus fever in Manchester in the 1790's, associated with the large cotton spinning factories and the workers' dilapidated, unsanitary and overcrowded dwellings,

Hundred Years 1835-1935, London: Lindsey Press, 1935, p.9. "...what was done there [Stamford Street Chapel] remained an independent undertaking as it still is at the Blackfriars Mission, connected with the chapel." p. 15.

¹¹⁹ Michael Slater, "Dickens, Charles John Huffam (1812-1870)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.co.uk/oxforddnb/view/article/7599>, accessed 13 March 2010.

¹²⁰ Dickens associated with Unitarians for the remainder of his life. Wesley Hromatko, "Charles Dickens", *DUUB*, <http://www25-temp.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/charlesdickens.html>, accessed 13 March 2010. Although it is often claimed that he later adopted Broad Church Anglicanism John P. Frazee, "Dickens and Unitarianism", *Dickens Studies Annual*, 18, 1989, pp.119-143, has shown that he retained his Unitarian beliefs throughout his life.

¹²¹ From the first annual report of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, quoted in David L. Wykes, "'Training Ministers suited to the wants of the less educated Classes'; The establishment of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board," *TUHS*, 23,3 (2005), pp. 615-624. The Board was renamed Unitarian College Manchester in 1926.

was a cause for action. The campaign for an extension to the infirmary, which culminated in the founding of England's first fever hospital, the Manchester House of Recovery, had been led by John Ferriar and his colleague Thomas Percival.¹²² Although the campaign was also affected by considerations other than wellbeing for the poor, as "fear that Manchester fever would prove so virulent, and would extend its reach from the poor to rich, was an obvious component of the response."¹²³ Not quite so obvious was the radical notion that the poor, when sick, should have access to medical care as well as the rich.

Some forty years later in 1831 Manchester had its first cholera epidemic. James Phillips Kay, Secretary of the Manchester Board of Health, worked in a dispensary "where he gained an experience of the sick poor and their homes comparable to that of Ferriar forty years earlier."¹²⁴ He used his position to advocate better conditions for working classes. These examples of Enlightenment medicine were led by three men who were Dissenters with strong Unitarian connections. Two years later, on 1 January 1833, the Manchester Ministry to the Poor, renamed the Manchester Domestic Mission in 1836, was founded by Unitarians.¹²⁵ The Rev William Gaskell (1805-1884) was on its committee from 1833 until he died in 1884; from 1841 he also acted as Secretary. His wife Elizabeth Gaskell (1810-1865) used material from the annual reports of the Society; whole sections are reproduced in her novel *Mary Barton* which gave a radical account of the hardship faced by workers. "In view of the criticism Gaskell incurred on the publication of *Mary Barton* for having drawn an exaggerated picture of the problems harassing industrial

¹²² Thomas Percival was a staunch Unitarian active in the anti-slavery campaign. Audrey Burrell, "Dr Thomas Percival, MD: Eighteenth Century Pioneer in Medical and Social Reform", *TUHS*, 23, 4 (2006), pp. 649-662.

¹²³ John V. Pickstone, "Ferriar's Fever to Kay's Cholera: Disease and Social Structure in Cottonopolis", *Hist. Sci.*, xxii (1984), pp. 401-419.

¹²⁴ John V. Pickstone, "Ferriar's Fever to Kay's Cholera: Disease and Social Structure In Cottonopolis", *Hist. Sci.*, xxii (1984), pp. 401-419. In later life Ferriar and Kay attended Anglican churches. Dr Thomas Percival was a member of the Cross Street Chapel, which from 1839, together with the Mosley Street Chapel moved to a new building on Upper Brook Street. See John Steed, "Unitarianism, Political Economy and the Antinomies of Liberal Culture in Manchester, 1830-50", *Social History*, 7, 1 (1982), pp.1-25.

¹²⁵ Edward Ryle, "Annual Reports of the Manchester Domestic Missionary Society, 1833-1908", Contents of the microfilm collection with an introduction by Dr. Edward Ryle, Publication no. R97126, Microform Academic Publishers, 1979.

Manchester, her anxiety to give a truthful account is noteworthy.”¹²⁶ Further Unitarian domestic missionary societies followed, a second London society was founded in 1835, Liverpool in 1836, Bristol in 1839, Leeds 1844, Birmingham 1844, and Leicester in 1845.¹²⁷ Belfast started a society in 1853 and the North End Domestic Mission, the second in Liverpool, began in 1859. Well into the 1880’s new societies were still being formed; Nottingham in 1883 and Croydon in 1886. The domestic mission movement had some notable features: despite the Unitarian desire to cooperate with other denominations they were usually shunned and so operated alone;¹²⁸ they were non-sectarian and many societies stated explicitly that they would not proselytise; education was usually seen as one of the most important functions, whether it was the establishment of a Sunday school which also provided secular education on week day evenings or a ‘Ragged School’ aiming to give basic education to neglected children, often delinquents with criminal parents.

Other forms of education and training, such as the Mechanics Institutes, were frequently initiated and supported;¹²⁹ there was a move from moralism to reform as “a more material analysis of poverty and domestic reform” was introduced, which led to a “critical discussion of wages and political economy and a challenge to a vision of civilisation based on machine, the factory system, commerce and labour

¹²⁶ Monica Correa Frykstedt, “Mary Barton and the Reports of the Ministry to the Poor; A New Source”, *Studia Neophilologica*, 52, 2 (1980) pp. 333-336.

¹²⁷ V.D. Davis, *The London Domestic Missionary Society Record of a Hundred Years 1835-1935*; Alan Ruston, “London’s East End Domestic Mission-Spicer Street, Buxton Street and Mansford Street”, *TUHS*, 21,1 (1995), pp.117-135; Brian A. Packer, “The Founding of the Liverpool Domestic Mission and its Development under the Ministry of John Johns”, *TUHS*, 18,2 (1984) pp.39-53; E.A. Elton, “A Victorian City Mission: The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in Holbeck and New Whortley, 1844-78”, *Publications of the Thoresby Society*, 19,4 (1977) pp.316-332; H.G. Wilson, “One Hundred Years of Religious and Social Work in Birmingham”, *TUHS*, 8, 3 (1945) pp.113-121; Jack Simmons, “A Victorian Social Worker: Joseph Dare and the Leicester Domestic Mission”, *Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society Transactions*, 46, (1970-71), pp.65-80.

¹²⁸ A detailed account of the origins of the missions is provided by David Steers, “The Origins and Development of the Domestic Mission Movement especially in Liverpool and Manchester”, *TUHS*, 21.2 (1996), pp.79-103.

¹²⁹ H.W Schuff, “Education for the Neglected: Ragged Schools in Nineteenth-Century England”, *History of Education Quarterly*, 12, 2 (1972), pp.162-183. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/366975> accessed 8 March 2010.

discipline.”¹³⁰ Paid male missionaries were introduced, increasing numbers of whom were trained ministers, often replacing volunteer visitors; savings schemes were set up to help the poor to budget; individual families were befriended and help was given to find employment.

Three years before William Jellie took up his responsibilities as missionary at Blackfriars domestic mission a new venture to help the poor of Southwark Borough had begun: a non-sectarian Women’s University Settlement. This is discussed as part of the university settlement movement below. He had only been in his job a few years when another organisation, the Salvation Army, decided to undertake work in Blackfriars. They opened lodging houses and shelters for homeless men in 1892 in Blackfriars Road.¹³¹ Their accommodation provided a place to sleep, wash and a slice of bread each night for upward of 800 men, but it was not without controversy. Some accused the Army of unhealthy over-crowding¹³² which was denied, and the medical officer of health for Southwark objected to the numbers of paupers admitted to the shelters who then became a charge on the rates. In 1893 the cost had reached over 837 pounds “so this so-called philanthropic enterprise entails a heavy and indirect tax upon the ratepayers.”¹³³ The introduction of yet another mission in Blackfriars after thirty years of Unitarian work must have been welcomed by Jellie. The immensity of the task in that area is reflected in the numbers so readily catered for by the Army in its first year of operation and the cost to the ratepayers.

When the choices of pastorates of Jellie’s contemporaries are examined we find that John Trevor (1855-1930)¹³⁴ had already left College by the time Wicksteed commenced his course and was working as Wicksteed’s assistant at Little Portland Street Chapel in November 1888. There he was able to study the

¹³⁰ Alison Twells, *The Civilising Mission and the English Middle Class, 1792-1850*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, pp.172-173.

¹³¹ *Paul Mall Gazette*, 29 October 1892.

¹³² *The Times* 23 November 1895, p.9; *The Times* 26 November 1895, p. 7; *The Times* 28 November 1895, p. 7; *The Times* 3 December 1895, p.3.

¹³³ *The Times*, 15 August 1896, p. 4.

¹³⁴ R.K. Webb, “Trevor, John (1855-1930)” *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/38078>, accessed 24 February 2009.

social problems that so obviously interested Wicksteed; their discussions no doubt increased Trevor's drive to undertake changes in society which first found expression while at his next charge, Upper Brook Street Chapel, Manchester, June 1890 to November 1891, when he set about founding the Labour Church.¹³⁵ Another class mate was Daniel Rees (1865-1938), who went from Oxford on a Hibbert Scholarship¹³⁶ to the universities of Berlin, where he completed an MA, and Leipzig, where he completed a PhD. Upon his return he took up a ministry at Strangeways Unitarian Chapel, Manchester.¹³⁷ The remaining student in Jellie's class, Salomon Csifo, came from Transylvania and no follow up is possible. In the year Wicksteed's course began there were four final year students¹³⁸ who would have completed his course: Arthur William Fox (1863-1945) whose first ministry was at the Longsight Unitarian Chapel, Manchester, 1889-1894; E.D. Priestley Evans went to the Loughborough Unitarian Chapel in Leicestershire 1889-1890, although he had had earlier ministries in Wales before coming to Manchester New College;¹³⁹ Thomas Nicholson went to Birmingham as an assistant minister at the Church of the Messiah, 1889-1892; and the remaining student who attended the first year of Wicksteed's lectures, Frank Parnell, was also in his final year. No trace can be found of him after he left College.¹⁴⁰ Of all the students who attended Wicksteed's first year's lectures about whom information is available only William Jellie was motivated to undertake a pastorate with a mission. His class mate John Trevor was already thirty-two years old when he entered College for a year's study, and Wicksteed had "recognised

¹³⁵ "I have so many causes to feel grateful to him [Philip Wicksteed]-perhaps this the chief-that, from the first, he understood what I meant by the Labour Church. Long before anyone else understood, the knowledge of his sympathy with my work cheered and sustained me through many a dark hour." John Trevor, *My Quest for God*, London: Labour Prophet, 1897, p.219. The Labour Church was opened on 4 October 1891 and Trevor left Upper Brook Street a month later. pp. 244-245.

¹³⁶ *The Report of Manchester New College, 90, High Street, Oxford. One Hundred and Fifth Annual Meeting, January, 1891.* p.8.

¹³⁷ Alan Ruston, "Obituaries of Unitarian Ministers 1900-1999 Index and Synopsis", *TUHS*, 22, 2 (2000), p.219.

¹³⁸ *The Report of Manchester New College, 90, High Street, Oxford. One Hundred and Fourth Annual Meeting, January 1890.* P.6.

¹³⁹ Fox and Evans have been identified through W. Copeland Bowie (ed.), *The Essex Hall Year Book for 1904*, London: B&FUA, 1904, pp.13-14. Richard Thomas Nicholson was identified in Alan Ruston, "Obituaries of Unitarian Ministers 1900-1999; Additions, Corrections and Extended to the end of 2004", *TUHS*, 23,3, (2005) Supplement.

¹⁴⁰ Frank Parnell does not show in the *Obituaries of Unitarian Ministers* 1850-1899 or 1900-1999, the *Essex Hall Year Books* 1903, 1904 and 1905, nor the Index of Obituaries of Unitarians at HMC, Oxford.

a man who, otherwise frail and ineffectual, possessed something of poetic and prophetic power".¹⁴¹ He did not need Wicksteed's lectures to inspire him.

¹⁴¹ C.H. Hereford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, p. 99.

Chapter 4. Religious Socialism and Social Change

For the ideas of socialism and social change to flourish new ideas had to take hold: the most important of these that pauperism with its attendant dirt, disease and destitution, was the consequence of poverty and not its cause. The cause had to be sought in the social structure of society and ways had to be found to introduce profound changes to society. For this shift in thinking to occur in a religious context a new view or re-interpretation of theology was required. In examining these issues this chapter will concentrate on Unitarian developments, though not at the exclusion of other influences,¹⁴² as it seeks answers to the question what was the Unitarian contribution to religious socialism and social change?

The Unitarian Home Missionary Board was established the same year that the results of the religious census of 1851 were published. The report by Horace Mann, *Census of Religious Worship England and Wales*, was published in January 1854 and documented what many who worked in the domestic missions had found from experience, namely, that the working classes were largely indifferent to religion. It has been suggested that this report may have been a catalyst that led to the Board's foundation.¹⁴³ Two inaugural sermons were preached on 4 December 1854, one by Rev. John Relly Beard (1800-1876) the new principal, the other by the Rev. William Gaskell, who supported the

¹⁴² For example, the social gospel of the Wesleyan Methodist minister Hugh Price Hughes (1847-1902) arguably had little influence, especially among those Unitarians seeking a more radical reconstruction of society: "He did not involve himself with secular or religious socialist organisations. Instead, he used the vocabulary of the socialist and the policy of the social-mission worker." Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.408. Nor would his well known loathing of Unitarians and moves, largely successful, to exclude them from Free Church Councils, have endeared him. D.W. Bebbington, *The Nonconformist Conscience Chapel and Politics, 1870-1914*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982, p.72. Often overlooked is the episode extending over five years which mired Hughes' reputation. In 1890 he published in book form *The Atheist Shoemaker: A Page in the History of a West London Mission* which purported to be a death bed conversion story. George W. Foote exposed it as a fake and identified the anonymous "shoemaker" and his family as lifelong believers and pointed out that Hughes' West London Mission had financial problems which were helped with publication of this story. The damaging controversy surrounding the affair led the Baptist divine Charles Spurgeon, among others, to urge Hughes to reveal the source of his story, which Hughes never did. Diane Lee Grosso, *Hugh Price Hughes: Late Victorian Nonconformity and the Kingdom of God*, MA Thesis in History, Florida Atlantic University, 2004, pp. 146-156.

¹⁴³ Leonard Smith, "The 1851 Religious Census and the Unitarian Home Missionary Board 1854", *TUHS*, 23, 3 (2005), pp. 625-628. See also Geoffrey Head, "The Founders: John Relly Beard and William Gaskell" in Leonard Smith (ed.) *Unitarian to the Core: Unitarian College Manchester, 1854-2004*, Manchester: Unitarian College, 2004, pp.30-51.

venture and became Literary Tutor.¹⁴⁴ Beard had a history of bringing education to the masses and had founded a Unitarian Village Missionary Society in Manchester.¹⁴⁵ Six years later at the second annual conference of ministers educated at the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, held in Manchester on 24 January 1861, Rev. William Binns, one of the first graduates, presented his paper “Unitarianism, its Mission and its Missionaries”. In it he argues that:

The working class history of the last fifty years will be more helpful to us in missionary enterprises than will the classical histories from the first landing of the Roman legions, or the earliest traces of the Cymri [the Welsh race]. Chartism, Socialism, and the different phases of religious unbelief, strikes, Luddite riots, trade unions, and the co-operation movement, are all fraught with deep significance, and represent popular dissatisfaction with what is conceived to be injustice, and attempts to make what is harmonise better with ideas of what ought to be.¹⁴⁶

He then went on to say how the great social problems of the day must be dealt with. The missionaries must understand that in working class unwritten history they will find warfare, patriots who have toiled in vain for the workers, periods during which utopian experiments have been tried and failed and many lost all their savings. Furthermore, he said:

We must apply Christianity to the solution of great questions. If its intensely human spirit be fairly exhibited, it will win allegiance from multitudes who now regard it as a mere priestly creed, offering a doubtful heaven, but powerless to lessen the sorrows of earth. Messrs. Maurice and Kingsley, the Christian Socialists, and the managers of Working Men’s Colleges, have done a world of good by their enterprises. They have shown that religion is not

¹⁴⁴ C. Gordon Bolam, “John Relly Beard and the New Function of Unitarianism in the 1850s”, *TUHS*, 12, 4 (1962), pp. 155-162.

¹⁴⁵ Alan Ruston, “John Relly Beard”, *DUUB*, <http://www25.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/johnrelybeard.html>, accessed 15 March 2010.

¹⁴⁶ William Binns, “Unitarianism, its Mission and Missionaries” in *Unitarian Missionary Papers*, London: Edward Whitfield, 1861, p.71

divorced from life; and have secured a respectful hearing for their faith by the practical Christianity of their works.

This endorsement for the socialism of Maurice should come as no surprise; it would sit well with the ethos of his listeners. Although Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) was an Anglican clergyman, his was Broad Church Anglicanism. The Broad Churchmen “were interested in science, in Biblical criticism, in a rational approach to religion, and were leaders in the attempt to relate the Church’s teaching to the new thought and conditions of the nineteenth century.”¹⁴⁷ The influence and ideas between the Unitarians and Broad Churchmen spread in both directions. Maurice can be regarded as the spiritual leader of the first wave of nineteenth century Christian socialism. He attracted a group of followers, including another Anglican clergyman Charles Kingsley (1819-1875), who went to the Chartist demonstration at Kennington Common in 1848 with John Ludlow and later referred to himself as a Chartist; Edward Vansittart Neale (1810-1892) who spent a life time working for the co-operative movement, especially in the North of England; Thomas Hughes (1822-1896) worked for co-operatives and supported trade unions; and John Malcolm Forbes Ludlow (1821-1911) who had been in Paris during the 1848 revolution, had knowledge of French co-operatives and for many years was chief registrar of friendly societies. These last three had read for the bar at Lincoln’s Inn where Maurice, as Chaplain, had encouraged the discussion of social questions and work amongst the poor.¹⁴⁸ They gave concrete content to Maurice’s theology of social change: providing working class education, establishing co-operative workshops for tailors and other oppressed trades and agitation for social reform. Henry Solly, who we have seen was the father in law of Philip Wicksteed and founder of working men’s clubs, “derived not a little inspiration for his work in this connection from

¹⁴⁷ Dennis G. Wigmore-Beddoes, *Yesterday’s Radicals A Study of the Affinity between Unitarianism and Broad Church Anglicanism in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge: James Clarke, 1971, p.15.

¹⁴⁸ Norman Vance, “Kingsley, Charles (1819-1875)” , *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/15617>, accessed 6 February 2010; Matthew Lee, “Neale, Edward Vansittart (181-1892)” , *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/19820>, accessed 6 February 2010; Charlotte Mitchell, “Hughes, Thomas (1822-1896)” , *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/14091>, accessed 6 February 2010; E.R. Norman “Ludlow, John Malcolm Forbes (1821-1911)”, rev. H.C.G Matthews, *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/37696>, accessed 6 February 2010.

his friendship with F.D. Maurice".¹⁴⁹ Solly had attended the initial meeting establishing what became the Working Men's College in London. Furthermore Maurice and Solly exchanged sermons gaining ideas from each other and on occasion Solly sent one of his sermons to Kingsley, who praised him for it. "For Solly Maurice was 'one of the greatest Englishmen of this century', and the Unitarian minister was pleased to call himself a 'disciple' of the great Anglican".¹⁵⁰ This congeniality between the two men would have been strengthened by Maurice's Unitarian background. The son of a Unitarian minister and raised a Unitarian, his family harmony was disrupted when two of his seven sisters changed their religious views, followed by their mother. Maurice entered Cambridge University which had no religious test for matriculation and studied law. Because he would not subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles he left without a degree. When his own religious views changed to Anglicanism he decided to become a Church of England clergyman and entered Exeter College at Oxford University.¹⁵¹ The Unitarian influence never left him and has been described by one biographer thus: "Maurice built his own understanding of the Christian faith on Unitarian foundations. Throughout his life, he consistently affirmed the unity of God and the universality of love. His theological tree received fresh grafts and new branches, but none the less its Unitarian origins remained substantially recognizable."¹⁵²

The second wave of Christian Socialism (sometimes called the "revival" of Christian socialism) was more gradual, had multiple initiatives and emerged even while much of the first wave continued, particularly in the form of educational initiatives.¹⁵³ Concern about the dangerously widening gulf between the poor and the well off classes led to discussion at Oxford University on ways to address the issue. Suggestions included the need for educated middle class men to spend time among the

¹⁴⁹ Dennis G. Wigmore-Beddoes, *Yesterday's Radicals*, p. 104.

¹⁵⁰ Dennis G. Wigmore-Beddoes, *Yesterday's Radicals*, pp. 104-105.

¹⁵¹ Bernard M.G. Reardon, "Maurice (John) Frederick Denison (1805-1872)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/18384>, accessed 6 February 2010.

¹⁵² David Young, *F.D. Maurice and Unitarianism*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, p.96.

¹⁵³ In the 1880's and 1890's attention was diverted from the co-operatives by the growth of Fabian collectivism, state socialism and the ILP according to Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.445. Although the author points out that later "the cooperative ideal again became dominant - in the new form of Guild Socialism."

poor if they were to have credibility and acceptance and advance practical solutions. There was a mood of dissatisfaction with existing social and religious institutions. Samuel Barnett (1844-1913),¹⁵⁴ an Anglican clergyman, proposed a peaceful solution (he was well aware of the revolutionary alternatives) in his speech at St John's College Oxford, in November 1883, just after publication of *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*,¹⁵⁵ which had focused much attention on the problem. In London, the settlement movement as it became known began when Barnett established Toynbee Hall in 1884.¹⁵⁶ Named after Arnold Toynbee, the economic historian who had died the year before, the Hall was organised on a non-sectarian basis, "creedless" to its critics. The intention was for university graduates and undergraduates to reside at Whitechapel where they could "be active in charitable activities, clubs, local government and university extension teaching."¹⁵⁷ The next settlement, established by Keble College in 1885, was Oxford House in Bethnal Green. Here, in contrast to Toynbee Hall, was a settlement with a distinctive Christian flavour. At 44 Nelson Square, located on the east side of Blackfriars Road, the Women's University Settlement founded in 1887 was in the heart of Jellie's domestic mission area and was his close neighbour, his residence being 20 Nelson Square, Blackfriars.¹⁵⁸ Women were drawn from Girton and Newnham Colleges at Cambridge, Lady Margaret and Somerville Colleges at Oxford and Bedford, and Royal Holloway Colleges at London to work at the non-sectarian settlement.¹⁵⁹ Its focus was on activities to improve the welfare of women and children, initiatives that would have been underway by the time Jellie arrived at Blackfriars domestic mission to which he would have been welcomed. The Unitarians had a connection to this

¹⁵⁴ Seth Koven, "Barnett, Samuel Augustus (1844-1913)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/30612>, accessed 18 May 2010 .

¹⁵⁵ "Andrew Mearns, with two colleagues, wrote *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, which the Congregational Union published in 1883 to advertise its missionary and philanthropic work in the slums." K.S. Inglis, "English Nonconformity and Social Reform," *Past & Present*, 13 (1958), pp. 73-88. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/649870>, accessed 21 January 2010.

¹⁵⁶ The first settlement was started in Manchester in 1877 by Charles Rowley. Like Toynbee Hall it was non denominational, had links with Victoria University of Manchester and was known as 'University Settlement'. Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, p. 64.

¹⁵⁷ K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, p.146

¹⁵⁸ *Post Office London Directory*, Part 6, London: Kelly, 1895, p. 2720. The Blackfriars Mission premises at New Cut closed at the end of William Jellie's ministry and located at the Stamford Street Chapel.

¹⁵⁹ K.S. Inglis, *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*, p. 166, gives 1893 as the foundation year which is a mistake. In 1961 the settlement changed its name to Blackfriars Settlement: <http://www.blackfriars-settlement.org.uk/index.php?r=MGYB> accessed 31 May 2010.

settlement with the honorary membership of the Rev W. Copeland Bowie (1855-1936),¹⁶⁰ who for many years was secretary of the B&UFA. In 1889 the settlement was joined by Octavia Hill ((1838-1912), a housing and social reformer who had already undertaken work in Deptford and Southwark at the behest of the Anglican ecclesiastical commissioners, “embarrassed to find the church had become a slum landlord”.¹⁶¹ Reinforcing the magnitude of the problem to be faced was the publication in 1889 of the first volume of *Life and Labour of the People of London* by Charles Booth (1840-1916).¹⁶² Booth’s massive study into poverty in London drew on the services from young men and women at the Toynbee settlement and continued over fifteen years. One of his researchers, Clara Collett (1860-1948), knew Philip Wicksteed in the 1880s and 1890s¹⁶³ which could have given him access to information as the research was in progress and may well have fuelled his responses about the conditions of the poor. The report found poverty affected one third of the people of London and was attributable to industrial depression, competition, unemployment and low wages. Booth’s cousin Beatrice Potter (1858-1943), who later married Sidney Webb (1859-1947),¹⁶⁴ worked on the project for him; her reports on dock labour and the tailoring trade appeared in the report under her own name. The Wesleyan settlement of Bermondsey followed in 1890, which had religious work as its focus. The Congregationalists opened two settlements, the first in 1890,

¹⁶⁰ Katharine Bentley Beauman, *Women and the Settlement Movement*, London: Radcliffe Press, 1996, p.222.

¹⁶¹ Gillian Darley, “Hill, Octavia (1838-1912)”, *ODNB*,

<http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/33873>, accessed 31 May 2010. She was brought up in a Unitarian family with freedom on religious matters. Through her friendship with F. D. Maurice she became an un-dogmatic Anglican for whom religion was a personal matter.

¹⁶² Booth’s Unitarianism was later replaced with Comtist ideas. He was related by marriage to Beatrice Potter (Mrs Sidney Webb), President of the Royal Statistical Society 1892-94, Fellow of the Royal Society 1899 and Privy Councillor 1904. Jose Harris, “Booth, Charles (1846-1916)”, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/31966>, accessed 25 March 2010.

¹⁶³ Paul Robert Flatau, *Essays in the Development, Methodology and Policy Prescriptions of Neoclassical Distribution Theory*, PhD Thesis in Economics, Murdoch University, 2006, pp 94-95, n. 12. Clara Collett was born into a Unitarian family; they attended South Place chapel where her father was musical director. She became one of the first women to obtain an MA degree (in political economy) at London University and after working with Charles Booth went on to become Senior Investigator in the Labour Department working with Lloyd George and Winston Churchill. Deborah McDonald, *Clara Collett 1860-1948 An Educated Working Woman*, London: Woburn Press, 2004, Introduction and pp. 2-3.

¹⁶⁴ John Davis, “Webb, (Martha) Beatrice (1858-1943)”, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/36799>, accessed 22 February 2010.

Mansfield House in Canning Town and in 1895 Browning Hall in Walworth.¹⁶⁵ Compared with these later settlements Toynbee Hall had developed a radical left-wing flavour. The residents were almost exclusively from Oxford and Cambridge; many had adopted the idealist philosophy of T.H. Green. They participated in the 1889 dock strike, helping with relief funds and providing a public platform for strike leaders.¹⁶⁶ And two years later Toynbee men supported the busman's strike. Conferences were held at Toynbee Hall on old-age pensions, friendly societies, co-operatives, trade unions, unemployment, strikes and socialism. "Thus, the Settlement was associated with the emergence of the New Unionism, which was attempting to organise the hitherto unorganised unskilled labourers and to extend Unionism amongst the skilled and semi-skilled."¹⁶⁷

Students at Manchester New College had for many years assisted with missionary work while in London and after the College moved to Oxford the Principal, Dr Drummond, asked the Unitarian London Domestic Missionary organisations to provide work for his students during the long vacation.¹⁶⁸ This project was aided when Mrs Humphrey Ward (née Mary Arnold, 1851-1920)¹⁶⁹ successful novelist and Unitarian sympathiser, decided to found a university settlement. In the autumn of 1889 Mrs Ward visited Toynbee Hall and this visit crystallized her ideas about founding a hall based on the new theology, which she envisaged would be studied and taught. She turned to the premises of University Hall, Gordon's Square, so recently occupied by Manchester New College, now the home of Dr William's Library and found they would rent the "gloomy dormitory and cavernous common rooms".¹⁷⁰ The Hall was close to Bedford Square, both squares having been built on the Duke of Bedford's estate in Bloomsbury, where the slums of St Pancras and King's Cross reached its edges. The nearby "Cartwright Gardens,....is shown on Charles Booth's map

¹⁶⁵ This settlement under the Wardenship of the Rev. F.H. Steed "rapidly became a trade-union and labor headquarters" according to Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.82.

¹⁶⁶ Emily K. "Abel, Toynbee Hall, 1884-1914", *Social Services Review*, 53, 4 (1979) pp.606-832, accessed 17 May 2010. There were forty-nine university settlements in Britain and over 400 in the United States by 1911.

¹⁶⁷ Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, p.65.

¹⁶⁸ Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 38.

¹⁶⁹ John Sutherland, "Ward, Mary Augusta [Mrs Humphry Ward] (1851-1920)", *ODNB* <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz?view/article/36736>, accessed 13 July 2009.

¹⁷⁰ John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward Eminent Victorian and Pre-eminent Edwardian*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990, p.218.

of 1890 as next to lowest in his grades of poverty.”¹⁷¹ Mrs Ward persuaded Philip Wicksteed to become warden of the Hall, despite the doubts he had about the enterprise.¹⁷² By October 1890 ten residents had been selected and during 1891 and 1892 a course of Sunday lectures was offered to the public, undertaken, mainly by Wicksteed supported by other notable Unitarian scholars, including James Martineau. Wicksteed however continued to have doubts and reported “I did not believe the hall was doing the work that it set out to do”¹⁷³ while to Mrs Ward’s daughter, Janet Trevelyan (d. 1956), he later confided that he felt uneasy all the time.¹⁷⁴ His misgivings were well founded as the Hall faced a rebellion by its residents, who rejected the role Mrs Ward gave them as students of modernism, the Christian theism she hoped to propagate.¹⁷⁵ Some of the residents moreover, who were “born in the late ‘sixties were more susceptible to Marx than to Arnold...They wanted to know what poverty was and why it existed.”¹⁷⁶ So the residents raised their own funds to rent a small building which they named Marchmont Hall, in Marchmont Street in the slum neighbourhood behind Tavistock Square. Marchmont Hall had sixteen residents, was secular and welcomed working class people. Children were entertained, boys’ and girls’ clubs organised, music provided and socialist ideas discussed. This unofficial hall was highly successful. For Mrs Ward the writing was on the wall and she decided to abandon University Hall in favour of creating a new settlement closely modelled on Marchmont Hall. Having raised the building funds from the well

¹⁷¹ Enid Huws Jones, *Mrs Humphry Ward*, p.107. Booth used an ascending scale of poverty, class A included those with no regular means of support and class B were the very poor living on casual earnings. John Brown, “Charles Booth and Labour Colonies, 1889-1905”, *Economic History Review*, 21, 2 (1968), pp.349-360. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2592441>, accessed 22 March 2010.

¹⁷² C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His life and Work*, p. 97.

¹⁷³ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, p. 97.

¹⁷⁴ John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward Eminent Victorian and Pre-eminent Edwardian*, p.230. Wicksteed’s misgivings were shared by his friend Estlin Carpenter. a member of settlement committee, who wrote to Mrs Ward that he did not understand the connection of the course of lectures with the settlement. P. 229.

¹⁷⁵ Mrs Humphry Ward gave the second lecture in a series initiated by the B&FUA on liberal Christianity and progressive thought. Delivered at Essex Hall in 1894, she equated the “new Christian teaching” with Unitarianism, although she personally would only take the name Christian. She thought the free development of the Christian spirit was due to Unitarianism and that Unitarian domestic missions had made real progress amongst the poor. Mrs Humphrey Ward, *Unitarians and the Future*, London: Philip Green, 1894.

¹⁷⁶ Enid Huws Jones, *Mrs Humphrey Ward*, London: Heinemann, 1973, p.104.

known philanthropist Passmore Edwards (1823-1911),¹⁷⁷ she persuaded the Duke of Bedford to provide a large plot of land on the corner of Tavistock Square. The Passmore Edwards settlement was opened in 1897, much to the relief of Philip Wicksteed who resigned as warden at University Hall.

What, we may inquire, was happening to William Jellie and his work at Blackfriars domestic mission while this was going on? The period of Wicksteed's Wardenship overlapped Jellie's years as missionary; it would have been most likely that he sought support for his work from residents at the Hall. As with Wicksteed, by the time the Passmore Edwards Settlement opened, Jellie had gone. The settlement provided adult education, concerts, debates and sporting events. Its greatest success was in early childhood education for the poor parents of the district. By the end of 1897 there were 650 children coming to each Saturday session and by the end of 1898 there were 800. This success lived on into the twentieth century.¹⁷⁸

One reason why Wicksteed would have been happy to see his role in the settlement end was the demands he felt for some time as the chief supporter of the Labour Church. "The Labour Church rested on Wicksteed's broad shoulders as long as I was connected with it" John Trevor wrote.¹⁷⁹ Wicksteed in one sense had provided a catalyst for the formation of the Labour Church. In 1891 Trevor attended the Triennial National Conference of Unitarian, Free Christian, Presbyterian and other Non-Subscribing Churches at Essex Hall in London. There he heard addresses on the subject "The Church and Social Questions" by the trade union leader Ben Tillett (1860-1943)¹⁸⁰ and Philip

¹⁷⁷ Edwards gave 14,000 pounds towards the settlement that bore his name. A humanitarian who had Chartist sympathies, active in the peace movement and political reform societies, he was attracted by ideas of education for working men. He twice declined offers of a knighthood. A.J.A. Morris, "Edwards, John Passmore (1823-1911)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/32981> accessed 24 May 2010. Edwards was the Liberal MP for Salisbury 1880-1882 and it has been suggested was probably Unitarian in outlook. D.W. Bebbington, "Unitarian Members of Parliament in the Nineteenth Century A Catalogue," *TUHS*, 24,3, (2009), p.60.

¹⁷⁸ John Sutherland, *Mrs Humphry Ward Eminent Victorian and Pre-eminent Edwardian*, pp. 224-227.

¹⁷⁹ C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed His Life and Work*, p.220 and n. 1.

¹⁸⁰ Tillett was a young trade unionist who had come to national prominence with his leadership of the dock workers strike. Duncan Bythell, "Tillett, Benjamin (1860-1943)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/36522>, accessed 31 May 2010. Tillett supported

Wicksteed. When Tillett “burst on the audience like a Titan”¹⁸¹ in his speech about the needs of the working class and the failure of the churches, it was Wicksteed who would describe the basis for radical social reconstruction:

All questions of industrial organisation are to be regarded simply and without qualification from the point of view of the worker ...all who do not in the strictest sense “make” their living must stand or fall by the simple test of whether they make life more truly worth living to the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.¹⁸²

Upon Trevor’s return to Manchester he met a working man, a regular attendee at his church, who told him he could no longer attend: “He liked me, he liked my sermons, but he could not stand the atmosphere of the Church. He could not breathe freely.”¹⁸³ Trevor told him that if he could not find a home in the Church it was no home for him as well. His next step was to form the Labour Church, which he did while still minister of Upper Brook Street Free Church. His church allowed Trevor to use a room one night a week for choir rehearsal and use of the harmonium for his Labour Church services. Support within his existing congregation came mainly from younger and poorer members and Trevor may have thought this amounted to a majority, but there was unexpected opposition from Edward Vansittart Neale. Neale, as we have already seen, was outstanding in the first wave of Christian socialism as a leader in the co-operative movement. He was a warden at the church having been “attracted there by the un-dogmatic and cultured preaching of Trevor’s predecessor, the Rev. Silas Farrington. He told Trevor he was wholly wrong. But the opposition was kindly expressed, and Trevor was free to go his own way, which says much for the toleration of the congregation.”¹⁸⁴ By

the Labour Church, speaking at it on many occasions. In 1898 he visited NZ and spoke at meetings of the Socialist Church.

¹⁸¹ John Trevor, *My Quest for God*, p. 239.

¹⁸² *The Inquirer*, 25 April 1891, p.275, quoted in Leonard Smith, *John Trevor and the Labour Church Movement*, MA Thesis in History, Huddersfield Polytechnic, 1985, p. 21. Trevor thought “both these men prophesied the Labour Church” see *My Quest for God*, p.239,

¹⁸³ John Trevor, *My Quest for God*, p. 241. Trevor also had mystical experiences which gave him feelings of peace and joy and unity with God’s purpose. See William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London: Collins, 1968, pp.382-384.

¹⁸⁴ Leonard Smith, *John Trevor and the Labour Church Movement*, p.27.

the end of 1891, after founding the Manchester and Salford Labour Church, Trevor realized he was unable to continue his Labour Church work and carry on his ministry at Upper Brook Street and decided to resign, “while his relations with his former congregation remained on the best of terms.”¹⁸⁵ The theology that Trevor advanced was that God was in the Labour movement here and now. It was a form of ethical socialism with its roots in an immanentist world view. It claimed that the divine was present in this world, so removing the distinction between the sacred and secular; it emphasized the universal brotherhood ideal of all persons; and Jesus was seen as a man whose mission was to uplift the downtrodden in society.¹⁸⁶ Trevor, it has been noted, “was and remained genuinely a Unitarian. He did not abandon or change his ideals in 1891; he merely sought a different means of giving them practical expression.”¹⁸⁷ This is an important observation as some have seen his resignation from Upper Brook Street as a renunciation of his Unitarianism; he never severed his links with Unitarianism and continued to act as a supply minister in the early 1920s.

Wicksteed was second only to Trevor in importance to the Labour Church. He provided funds;¹⁸⁸ he held a discussion group at University Hall to expound its ideals and arranged for Trevor to come and speak;¹⁸⁹ on 3 February 1892 he gave a sermon at the Labour Church in Manchester, which he subsequently wrote about in the *Labour Prophet*:

I had the rare privilege of conducting a service for the Labour Church. I was struck at once with the purposeful air with which the six or seven hundred members of my congregation

¹⁸⁵ David Fowler Summers, *The Labour Church and Allied Movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries*, PhD. Thesis in History, University of Edinburgh, 1958, p. 40.

¹⁸⁶For a detailed discussion of these points see Mark Bevir, “The Labour Church Movement, 1891-1902”, *Journal of British Studies*, 38, 2 (1999), pp. 217-245, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/175956> accessed 26 August 2009.

¹⁸⁷ I. Sellers, “Unitarians and the Labour Church Movement”, *TUHS*, 12, 1 (1959), 1-6.

¹⁸⁸ As did his friend J. Estlin Carpenter who is recorded as a donor to the first Labour Church founded in Manchester in October 1891. David Fowler Summers, *The Labour Church and Allied Movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries*, Appendix, p. 509.

¹⁸⁹ David Fowler Summers, *The Labour Church and Allied Movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries*, Appendix, p.423.

gathered. They were of all classes, but the great bulk I took to be workmen. We had, I think, the most genuine and spontaneous religious service in which I ever engaged.¹⁹⁰

This was the first of many addresses he would give. He also wrote for the Labour Church organ *Labour Prophet* which Trevor established in 1892, and contributed articles in *The Inquirer*. One of his most significant publications was *What Does the Labour Church Stand For?* in which he asserts that: “whenever the Labour Movement looks into its own principles, and formulates its own goal, it is the abolition, not the maintenance of privilege which inspires it: and we may fearlessly assert that, so far as the Labour Movement means anything, it means the organisation of society in the interests of the unprivileged producers.”¹⁹¹ He then proceeded to criticise the churches for accepting the existing social organisation of society. He pointed out the shallowness and hypocrisy of accepting my “working class brother” as religiously equal when he is alienated in all other spheres of life. “The true militant labour-democrat” he says, “cannot feed his religious life in fellowship with those whose conception of the kingdom of God is not only different from, but radically incompatible with his own,” and so he concludes: “If, then, the labour Movement is to find religious utterance, there must be a Labour Church.”¹⁹²

In 1893 Trevor became chairman of the Labour Church Union, with the able support of the New Zealander Harry Atkinson (1867-1956)¹⁹³ as general secretary. Organisation was necessary as the movement had spread rapidly across the country from Bradford to York, with the greatest concentration in the northern counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire and the midlands.¹⁹⁴ Church

¹⁹⁰ *Labour Prophet*, no. 2, February 1892, quoted in C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, p. 223.

¹⁹¹ Philip H. Wicksteed, *What Does the Labour Church Stand For?* London: Labour Prophet, n.d. (c. 1895), p.6.

¹⁹² Philip H. Wicksteed, *What Does the Labour Church Stand For?* p.8.

¹⁹³ After working for the Labour Church between December 1891 and July 1893 Harry Atkinson left to study at Cambridge for a year. Herbert Roth, “Labour Churches and New Zealand”, *International Review of Social History*, 4,3 (1959), pp.361-366. In September 1893 John Trevor married Rose Bell and Harry Atkinson. They then travelled to New Zealand and in 1896 formed the Christchurch Socialist Church based on the Manchester model. The church continued until 1905. Herbert Roth, “Atkinson, Harry Albert 1867-1956”, *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 25 March 2005.

¹⁹⁴ David Fowler Summers, *The labour Church and Allied Movements of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries*, Appendix, pp. 375-476 describes each Labour Church in Britain, Canada, United States, and New Zealand. Although there was discussion of a Labour Church in Melbourne, Australia, it does not appear to have

leadership was not limited to Unitarians: Quakers, Congregationalists and Wesleyan Methodists could all be found, although Unitarians with socialist sympathies comprised most of the ministers. As the number of Labour Churches continued to expand, especially after the involvement of Robert Blatchford (1851-1943) owner of the socialist newspaper *Clarion*, saw the growth of the ILP emulate the Labour Churches, often with common membership. Trevor soon realized that if he was to preserve the religious ideology of the Labour Church there should be a clearer separation between the two. To this end a conference was held in London in January 1893 which saw the Independent Labour Party become a national movement. It adopted the Manchester and Salford ILP constitution prepared the previous year, which came about as follows:

Although Blatchford [did] the writing, much of the inspiration came from John Trevor. He it was who had the idea that the different elements in the movement towards socialism in Manchester at that time should be got together. So we had two leading spirits from the Social Democratic Federation, Evans and Purvis, two from the Fabian Society, Settle and Dugdale, he [John Trevor] and I [Harry Atkinson], his assistant, from the Labour Church, and the great man of the day, Blatchford, of the *Clarion*. I have not seen any evidence yet which weakens my belief that the starting of the Manchester and Salford I.L.P. under such auspices and in such a manner was the true inauguration of the Third Party movement and the beginning of the British I.L.P.¹⁹⁵

Trevor suffered a period of ill health following the death of his second son, and the death of his wife Eliza Trevor in December 1894. He then married Annie Higham on 20 March 1895 and soon afterwards moved to London, looking to establish Labour Churches there. (Although it would not have been apparent then, the movement had already reached its peak. There were 54

eventuated. However a Labour Church was established in Perth, Western Australia, about 1897 by Montague David Miller (1839-1920). Eric Fry, "Miller, Montague David (1839-1920)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A100501b.htm?hilit=labour%3Bchurch>, accessed 16 April 2010.

¹⁹⁵ Letter from H.A. Atkinson to C.H. Herford, *Philip Henry Wicksteed*, p. 227. "It should be a cause for some pride that a native New Zealander was among the founders" of the British Labour Party according to Herbert Roth, "In Memoriam: Harry Albert Atkinson", *Here & Now*, June 1956, pp.18-20.

congregations in 1895 after which there was a continual decline, so by 1902 there were only 22 churches.)¹⁹⁶

A meeting of some forty friends was held in Dr Williams' Library on Friday evening 12 July 1895. It is reasonable to assume that William Jellie would have been invited and attended: his mentor Philip Wicksteed would have had a hand in the organisation; Jellie as we will shortly see was active in meetings of London Unitarians, and the meeting place was within reasonable proximity to Stamford and Blackfriars streets. Trevor thought Dr Williams' Library could form an intellectual centre for the Labour Church movement and he made a proposal to the Trustees of the Library that he hold regular Sunday meetings there on the express understanding that the Library would have no responsibility for the ideas or doctrines of the Labour Church. With this arrangement in place, at "the last minute there was some disagreement, and the Library was refused to the Labour Church, causing considerable embarrassment to Trevor and his colleagues."¹⁹⁷ London was never to be the success Trevor hoped for. Other Unitarian ministers gave considerable support to the Labour Church at their meetings. The Rev. Stopford Brooke at a London ministers' meeting on 20 November 1893 asked his colleagues to take the side of the working classes as opposed to the privileged classes.¹⁹⁸

The triennial National Conference of Unitarians, Free Christian and other non-subscribing Congregations held in Manchester in April 1894 saw a paper read by the Rev. Charles Hargrove on "The Churches and the Poor." He argued that the church had a duty to act on unemployment, bad housing and the conditions that bred vice. Charity was not effective and economic competition was rejected. What was needed was "a revolution of peaceful ideas if the Churches do their part and take a lead, and Christ heads the movement; but revolution violent and subversive if they uphold the

¹⁹⁶ Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, p. 82.

¹⁹⁷ David Fowler Summers, *The Labour Church and Allied Movements of the late 19th and Early 20th Centuries*, Appendix, pp. 425-426.

¹⁹⁸ Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.397. Stopford Brooke "made the connection between a liberal theology and Socialism, and in later years was a member of the Fabian Society. Significantly, he published a sermon on the *Life and Work of Maurice*." Warren Sylvester Smith, *The London Heretics 1870-1914*, p.314.

existing confusion and preach peace where there is no peace.”¹⁹⁹ It was reported that the speech was received with applause. John Trevor and Philip Wicksteed were among those who took part in the following discussion, nearly all of whom were “Unitarians who played an active role in supporting the emergent Labour movement.”²⁰⁰ Only one clergyman spoke against Hargrove’s ideas.

The 1894 annual meeting of the B&FUA at Essex Hall, London, saw a discussion following a paper by the Rev. James R. Beard on “Pioneer Work at Home” where the Rev. W.H. Lambelle from Newcastle said: “Attention should be given in a marked manner to Labour. (Hear.) The Labour Church was all on one side and if its upholders said they had no creed the Unitarians said that they had no creed, but were bound together by the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man.” He was followed by the Rev. H. W. Perris from Hull who said that in Hull they had a Labour Church with a congregation of 200 working men. “He felt a great disappointment that Unitarians were not elastic enough to take into their circle these men. (Hear, hear.) Personally, he had a profound belief that the work of the Labour Church would go on.” William Jellie was in attendance having conducted the devotional service that preceded the meeting.²⁰¹

The annual meeting in the following year saw a discussion on “The Social Implications of our Faith” with the Rev G. St. Clair of Cardiff maintaining that Christ was a social reformer and teacher of brotherhood rather than a socialist, a view discussed subsequently by Philip Wicksteed from a different perspective.²⁰² And H. Bond Holding, a Unitarian Lay Preacher and member of the executive committee of the Fabian Society²⁰³ who was prominent in the Labour Church, urged the Unitarian Lay Preachers Association to support the London Labour Church.²⁰⁴ William Jellie, we know from correspondence with the Rev. Brooke Herford, was active in 1896 in organising a Unitarian meeting

¹⁹⁹ Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, p. 114. Hargrove’s was the only paper set down for the afternoon of the second day of the conference and there was ample time for discussion afterwards. *Guidebook and Order of Proceedings to the National Conference*, Manchester: Manchester General Reception Committee, 1894.

²⁰⁰ Leonard Smith, *Religion and the Rise of Labour*, p. 114.

²⁰¹ *Birmingham Daily Post*, 18 May 1894

²⁰² *The Times*, 7 June 1895, p.7.

²⁰³ Edward R. Pease, *The History of the Fabian Society*, New York: E.P. Dutton, 1916, p.124.

²⁰⁴ Peter d’A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.396.

in London.²⁰⁵ He appears to have been present at more than one meeting, as the Brooke Herford letter was in March, whereas in May James Martineau wrote to Jellie saying he was unable to attend the Ministers' meeting.²⁰⁶ The meeting in question was that of the London Unitarian Ministers' held on 27 May 1896. Wicksteed, in a clever move that linked the twin evils of class and racial prejudice - "The human race is *not* born for the few" - persuaded his colleagues to vote unanimously in expressing opposition to Britain's treatment of native people. He argued that:

The history of race oppression has been still more horrible than the history of class oppression....the struggle that puts the British workman in command of his own destinies also puts him in command of the destinies of hundreds of millions of the 'subject-races'...²⁰⁷

There can be no doubt that William Jellie heard this argument and voted for it. And he went further, having read Fabian publications including those written by the Webbs. It was in the writing of Mrs Sidney Webb that he identified with a sentiment for the common good, so much so that he recorded it in his collection of quotations:²⁰⁸

In the life of the wage earning class, absence of regulation does not mean personal freedom. Fifty years' experience shows that Factory legislation, far from diminishing individual liberty, greatly increases the personal freedom of the workers who are subject to it. Everyone knows that the Lancashire woman weaver, whose hours of labour and conditions of work are rigidly fixed by law, enjoys, for this very reason, more personal liberty than the unregulated [in

²⁰⁵ Letter of 18 March 1896 from Brooke Herford to William Jellie giving suggestions to Jellie, who with "one or two more of the younger London ministers" as "hosts" of the meeting, could identify themselves with red ribbons in their buttonholes. HMC, MSS. Misc. 2, folio's 49-51.

²⁰⁶ Letter of 20 May 1896 from James Martineau to William Jellie saying he will be out of London on the date of the meeting. HMC, MSS. Misc. 2, folio 52.

²⁰⁷ Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival 1877-1914*, p.402.

²⁰⁸ Mrs Sidney Webb, "Problems of Modern Industry" recorded by William Jellie in his book of quotes. This appears under "Law, the mother of freedom" and under "Freedom" there is a cross reference to "Law". This book is the first note book, judging from the clarity of writing which is very similar to his student hand writing, whereas later writing is much more difficult to read. The book is the only one with A-Z dividers and only contains quotations; later work books contain collections of notes, quotes and drafts for sermons and lectures without alphabetical arrangement. Also this foolscap book has vellum covering, disintegrating especially on the spine and still bears the label of "Richard Flint & Co. Stationers, Account-Book Makers, Printers, &c. 49, Fleet Street, London." No other work book is in this style. The book is in the possession of the Jellie family.

Notting Hill]²⁰⁹ laundry woman. She is not only a more efficient producer, and more capable of associating with her fellows in Trades Unions, Friendly Societies, and Co-operative Stores, but an enormously more independent and self-reliant citizen. It is the law, in fact, which is the mother of freedom.²¹⁰

As the nineteenth century was drawing to a close, it was the reality of poverty and responses to that reality that determined the nature of social change. The work of the Unitarian domestic missions, which had been developed over seventy years amongst the poorest of the poor, was not restricted to soup kitchens. Rather they aimed at helping address immediate wants as well as looking to introduce skills that could help find employment, and through the provision of basic education increase the chance of another generation being lifted from poverty. The establishment of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board was a significant commitment in this area.

The settlement movement, which included many Unitarians, like other philanthropic movements, has been seen as trying to deal with a problem which really required large scale intervention by the state. Although the criticism could be fairly levelled at philanthropy generally, the movement did have some success at the local authority level, lobbying for improved public water supply and sanitation. And perhaps a greater indirect achievement: it led to awareness of the problems created through destitution by the hundreds if not thousands of young university trained people who passed through the settlements. This was an experience they carried for life and in doing so were able to influence others.

²⁰⁹ These words were transposed and should be at the end of the sentence.

²¹⁰ Jellie may have been quoting from Beatrice Webb "Women and the Factory Acts", chapter IV in Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Problems of Modern Industry*, London: Longman Green, 1898, p. 85. Nearly all the chapters in this book are reprints of previously published articles and the one in question had been read at the Nottingham Conference of the National Union of Women Workers in October 1895 and the Fabian Society in January 1896. We cannot be sure whether Jellie is quoting from the book or an earlier article. Whichever form he heard or read the article in, by July 1896 Jellie was minister at the Ipswich Unitarian Chapel. The same year the book was published the Webb's toured America, Australia and stayed in New Zealand between 3 August 1898 and 2 September 1898. During their visit they took a particular interest in the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act and local government. D.A. Hamer (ed.), *The Webbs in New Zealand 1898*, Wellington: Price Milburn, 1974, Introduction. Their main contact was a relative of Beatrice's, Richard Oliver, (1830-1910), member of the House of Representatives for Dunedin 1878-1881, member of the Legislative Council 1881-1901. Obituary, *Evening Post*, 30 November 1910, p. 5.

However, it was in the Labour Church movement that the Unitarians played their greatest part in promoting social change. While not embraced by all, and certainly opposed by many (while others saw involvement as a loss rather than a gain for Unitarianism generally), this movement for a brief period of time enjoyed a symbiotic relationship with the political Labour parties. Arguably it stimulated important ideas about social change and in doing so from a religious perspective contributed to the development of the Labour movement which would go into the twentieth century and introduce the greatest social changes seen in modern Britain, the welfare state. For this to be achieved required a revolutionary change in thinking; or as Beatrice Webb put it, there had to be a “transference of the emotion of self-sacrificing service from God to man”.²¹¹

²¹¹ Quoted in Mark Bevir, “The Long Nineteenth Century in Intellectual History”, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 6 (2001), pp. 313-335.

PART TWO: The Twentieth Century Ministries: Prelude to Public Education

As mentioned in Part One, William Jellie began his ministerial career in late Victorian England.²¹² His first settled ministry began in November 1890 at the Stamford Street Unitarian Chapel with its associated Blackfriars domestic mission. This chapel, built in 1823 and located in the poorest part of London, had a tradition of promoting public discussion and support for significant reform causes: one of its ministers the Rev. Robert Spears (1825-1899) hosted what was probably the first public meeting to support women's suffrage in Britain on 6 April 1868. Previously Robert Spears had chaired a very well attended meeting at the chapel on the subject of slavery and the American civil war: "Resolutions condemnatory of aid to the Confederates and of sympathy with Mr Lincoln's emancipation policy were unanimously voted."²¹³ William Jellie continued the tradition of social involvement, inviting the local Member of Parliament to address the congregation and speaking at public meetings with politicians discussing problems of the liquor trade. It was during this time that William Jellie became friendly with the Earl of Carlisle, George Howard (1843-1911) and his wife the Countess of Carlisle, Rosalind Howard (1845-1921) otherwise known as the "Radical Countess". The Carlisles were radical liberals who included well known socialists amongst their friends, such as Philip Webb (1831-1915) and William Morris (1834-1896). Part and parcel of the Stamford Street minister's job was missioner in charge of Blackfriars Domestic Mission. In this capacity William Jellie provided home visits to the poor and organised relief to the problems of hunger, housing, unemployment and education. The B&FUA recognised that this young minister had spent six years carrying out very good work in this crowded and poor part of London. After working in this demanding and exciting ministry William Jellie moved to the Ipswich Unitarian Chapel in 1896. The contrast could not have been greater: he exchanged the bustle and squalor of the great metropolis for a county town in the east of England. William Jellie received encouragement from a senior colleague, the Rev. Brooke Herford (1830-1903) over his Ipswich appointment: "the Eastern Co[unties] want more heart and spirit putting into them...We dreadfully need strengthening there; ...That's why I want a man like yourself who knows something of the South to go there."²¹⁴ From his arrival Jellie once again became involved in Unitarian organisation, this time as joint secretary to the Eastern Union of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches. It was at Ipswich that William Jellie began his involvement in adult education with his election in 1898 to the inaugural committee of the University Extension Society, which introduced Cambridge Extension Lectures to the town. The quiet provincial life was all too limiting and by August 1899 William Jellie was looking for another parish. It was the B&FUA who invited him in October 1899 to go to Auckland, New Zealand. It was made clear in this offer that should he so desire he could return home after three years.

²¹² This introduction is largely based on Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, Chapter Four: Two English Ministries, pp. 41-49.

²¹³ *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, 1 May 1863, p.114, Robert Spears had argued that the only reason the rebels had taken up arms was because "slavery was in danger." He had four nephews fighting for the Union cause and "he saw them destroying a rebellion whose cornerstone was slavery." Douglas Charles Stange, *British Unitarians against American Slavery 1833-65*, Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1984, p.203-204.

²¹⁴ Brooke Herford letter to William Jellie 18 March 1896. HMC, MS Misc 2. folios 49-51.

Chapter 5. In New Zealand: Auckland 1900-1910

What was it that attracted Jellie to the Colony of New Zealand and caused him to travel half way round the world, leaving behind all the people and places so familiar to him, to start a new venture in a new land? He would have known that the absence of an established church had allowed all dissenting opinions to be freely held without legal disabilities, which had until recent times not been the case in England. It was certainly a factor in the minds of some who migrated from England:

...whatever other prejudices or civil disabilities the colonists have left behind, religious differences have not been lessened by any larger-minded uniformity induced by change of life and scene. Possibly, starting as they did on an altogether fresh basis, the several sects exercise more toleration towards each other than they used to do at home. The principle is fully recognized that every individual possesses a right to enjoy the perfect freedom of his religious convictions.²¹⁵

The absence of inherited power and privilege with its attended class structure could have been another consideration for William Jellie. Despite the attempts by the New Zealand Company to import the British class structure into New Zealand it did not succeed and the colonising elite were

²¹⁵ John Bradshaw, *New Zealand As It Is*, London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1883, p.309. This view may have been imperfect so far as the Crown Colony period was concerned. Then the Governor could and did act capriciously in penalizing views on religion he disliked, see Wayne Facer, "The Governor, Voltaire and the Nelson Magistrate," *The Open Society*, 80, 3(2007), pp.15-17. Furthermore, it is arguable that for a time the offense of antitrinitarianism would have applied in New Zealand. It was not until the passing of the Dissenters' Chapels Act on 19 July 1844 which, in order to allow Unitarians to hold property in their Chapels on the same basis as other dissenters, had to negate part of the Act of Toleration so to remove the crime of denial of the Trinity, because "such denial nevertheless remained a criminal offence under the common law. As a consequence, the Unitarians lost control of Wolverhampton Chapel and Lady Hewley's Charities, which were given over to orthodox Dissenters." Frank Schulman, *'Blasphemous and Wicked' The Unitarian Struggle for Equality 1813-1844*, Oxford: Harris Manchester College, 1997, p.1. From the establishment of the Crown Colony on 21 May 1840 Unitarians in New Zealand may have been subject to the common law penalties for antitrinitarianism. "When New Zealand came under British sovereignty in 1840, it acquired, as a colony of settlement, the law of England - that is, the common law, together with those statutes applicable to the circumstances of the colony at the time." A.H. McLintock (ed.), *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 2, Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, p.291. The Lady Hewley's Charities case was reported in the *New Zealander*, 12 July 1849, p.3; the litigation taking 18 years. Fifty years on the ramifications were still being felt in New Zealand: when the Dunedin Presbytery debated the issue of union with the northern church in 1897, one objection was the proposed change to doctrine could mean that "Unitarianism might become the creed of the Presbyterian Church" with the resultant "risk to which they were exposing their property" because of such a departure from their constitution. *Otago Witness*, 13 May 1897, p. 11.

prevented “from creating the class structure of their dreams.”²¹⁶ This was not to say that elite groups did not emerge from time to time in pastoralist areas, commercial centres as well as politics. Importantly from the viewpoint of social opportunity, “class distinctions in urban or rural New Zealand were never prescriptive.”²¹⁷ The position regarding inherited titles in New Zealand was less advantageous to the egalitarian minded; legally these titles and honours were recognized and validly transmitted²¹⁸ although they did not provide the special status that they enjoyed in Britain. But perhaps what was more attractive to William Jellie was the reputation New Zealand had in the minds of many regarding its progressive social reforms. “He knew the early days of the Fabian movement...”²¹⁹ wrote one who knew William Jellie well, and this was not surprising given the influence of his mentor and friend Philip Wicksteed, an influence that spread to George Bernard Shaw, the Fabian Society and support for the Labour Church.²²⁰

The moral dimension that Wicksteed brought to bear in his discussions about socialism would have chimed with William Jellie’s worldview, training and experience. Although we do not know how deeply William Jellie’s sympathies ran it is reasonable to assume that he would have looked favourably on the New Zealand developments.²²¹ Most of the labour and industrial reforms so proudly promoted at the end of the nineteenth century have the hallmark of William Pember Reeves

²¹⁶ Erik Olssen, “Social Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,” in David Pitt (ed.), *Social Class in New Zealand*, Auckland : Longman Paul, 1977, p. 25.

²¹⁷ Erik Olssen, “Social Class in Nineteenth Century New Zealand,” p. 34.

²¹⁸ Mr. Newman, Member of the House of Representatives for Manawatu, introduced the Hereditary Titles Prevention Bill in 1911 which would have prevented any title or honour held by a New Zealand resident from being an incorporeal hereditament. The Bill lapsed. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Fourth Session, Seventeenth Parliament, July 22 to August 25, 1911, pp. 7 and 681.

²¹⁹ “Notes from New Zealand The Passing of a Pioneer,” *The Inquirer*, 25 May 1963, p. 6. This obituary is based on that written by Kenneth Thomas (1903-1978) in the Auckland Unitarian Church *News & Views* May 1963. Thomas was Lay minister between 1939 and 1948, sharing the pulpit with Jellie.

²²⁰ Philip Wicksteed was one of the Christian ministers who wrote approvingly about socialism according to Sidney Webb, “Socialism in England,” *Publications of the American Economic Association*, 4, 2 (1889), pp.7-73.

²²¹ The favourable perception of New Zealand’s ‘socialist experiments’ should not be underestimated. Even a generation later they were the focus of attention when John Mulgan (1911-1945) lectured a WEA class at Kidlington near Oxford, on “Social Legislation in New Zealand.” “They wanted to know about pensions, unemployment rates etc-the most interesting things to them. Given those and they are much better here [in New Zealand] they want to know how they can get there.” John Mulgan letter to Marguerita and Alan Mulgan 26 February 1938 in *A Good Mail: Letters of John Mulgan*, Peter Whiteford (ed.), Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011, pp.132-134.

(1857-1932),²²² Minister of Labour in the Liberal government of John Ballance (1839-1893)²²³ which came into power on 24 January 1891. It was a Liberal government that enjoyed Labour support inside and outside Parliament for its reforms. When it came into power the country was still in the grips of the long depression which had begun in 1880 and would not be ameliorated until 1895. There had been increasing unemployment, especially among casual and seasonal workers, and real per capita income had declined between 1886 and 1893.²²⁴ Mindful of the agitation that surrounded the Royal Commission into “sweating” which reported in 1890 recommending extensive workplace regulation,²²⁵ Reeves ensured that a comprehensive review was made of labour legislation. The Factories Act of 1891 was one of the first pieces of legislation passed by the new government. It was extended in 1894, forbidding the employment of children less than 14 years, maximum hours of work and registration of factories and an inspection regime. The Shops and Shop Assistants Act 1894

²²² William Pember Reeves had intended to study law in England but a breakdown in his health forced his return home to Christchurch. He qualified as a barrister and solicitor but soon gave it up for politics, having adopted the radical view of society expounded by the English Fabians. Initially appointed Minister of Education and Minister of Justice in the Ballance cabinet, in 1893 he was appointed Minister of Labour, the first in the British Empire. He married Maud Robison in 1885 and they had two daughters, Amber and Beryl and a son Fabian. Keith Sinclair, “Reeves, William Pember 1857-1932”, *DNZB*, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 3 September 2010.

²²³ Born in County Antrim, Northern Ireland, he came to New Zealand with his first wife Fanny (née Taylor) in 1863. He gained prominence as a newspaper publisher in Wanganui before entering politics in 1875. Minister of Education and Colonial Treasurer in Sir George Grey’s ministry and in the Stout-Vogel ministry he was Minister of Lands, Native Affairs and Defence. During his Premiership he not only supported labour reforms but also introduced moves to enfranchise women, a cause promoted by his second wife Ellen. Ballance had the misfortune to be the first New Zealand premier to die in office. Tim McIvor, “Ballance, John 1839-1893”, *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 18 September 2010. Ballance was a prominent freethinker as was his friend Robert Stout. Ballance published the *Freethought Review*, which became the successor throughout the Colony to Stout’s *Echo*. Timothy McIvor, *The Rainmaker*, Auckland: Heinemann Reed, 1989, pp.115-117.

²²⁴ For income data see G.R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand An Economic History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, pp. 76-79. There was another feature to employment during this period:

“...unemployment largely took the form of chronic structural underemployment that was widespread and was particularly marked in the rural economy and associated primary industries. It was also found in particular urban industries such as the building trade.” John E. Martin, “Unemployment, Government and the Labour Market in New Zealand, 1860-1890”, *NZJ History*, 29, 2 (1995), pp 170-196.

²²⁵ Sweating Commission. Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into Certain Relations Between the Employers of Certain Kinds of Labour and the Person Employed. *Appendix to the Journal of House of Representatives*, H.5, 1890. The commission was set up following publicity given to the Rev. Rutherford Waddell’s (1850-1932) sermon on the “sin of cheapness” concerning exploitation of Dunedin workers. Ian Breward, “Waddell, Rutherford”, *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2w1> accessed 14 February 2011. Waddell had been attracted to Unitarianism when a theology student in Belfast: “The high character and literary quality of great Unitarian leaders made a strong appeal to him,” but he felt they had “an inadequate conception of Christ.” J. Collie ed. *Rutherford Waddell Memoir and Addresses*, Dunedin: A.H. Reed, 1932, pp.35-36.

controlling hours of work; earlier the Employers Liability Act 1891 enabled workers to obtain compensation for injuries received from operating dangerous machinery or because of employers' carelessness. Trade Unions were given legal status with the ability to incorporate. It was in the area of industrial reform that much attention was directed. Writing in 1898 Reeves declared in an endeavour "to settle Labour disputes between employers and Trade Unions by means of public arbitration" instead of the strike and the lock-out,²²⁶ the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1894 had been passed. Most of these Acts were administered by the new Department of Labour organised by Reeves' ally and right hand man Edward Tregear (1846-1931).²²⁷

A number of the labour reform measures had been frustrated in the Upper Chamber, the Legislative Council. As a consequence the life term of appointment was changed to seven years, the Council was allowed to elect its own Speaker, but continued to be a nominee chamber.²²⁸ However when Ballance sought to appoint a dozen more Councillors the Governor, William Hillier, fourth Earl of Onslow (1853-1911) "antipathetic to the Ballance régime, refused, and would accept only eight appointments, saying the Liberals had no right to 'swamp' the Council." Ballance refused to accept Onslow's decision or that of his successor Lord Glasgow and had the matter referred to the Colonial

²²⁶ William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud Ao Tea Roa*, 4th edition, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1950, p. 317.

²²⁷ Edward Robert Tregear was a surveyor working in the public service, with broad humanitarian and socialist sympathies. He had become friendly with Ballance, Stout and Reeves and published in the *Freethought Review*. He had interests in Maori origins and worked on a Maori dictionary. As secretary of the Department of Labour he helped Reeves plan and draft legislation which he ensured his Department, expanding as its role grew, faithfully administered. Tregear achieved an international reputation for publicizing New Zealand's labour reforms. After Reeves went to Britain in 1896 Tregear was influential in getting Seddon to introduce the Old Age Pension Bill just before the 1896 election, which was passed in 1898. K. R. Howe, "Tregear, Edward Robert 1846-1931", *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 9 September 2010. Tregear "was keen to employ a woman inspector of factories: Grace Neill held the position from 1893." K.R. Howe, *Singer in a Songless Land A Life of Edward Tregear 1846-1931*", Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1991, p.90. Elizabeth Grace Neill (1846-1926) a Scots born trained nurse, transferred from the Department of Labour in 1895 to join Dr Duncan MacGregor as Deputy Director at the Department of Hospitals, Asylums and Charitable Institutions. She was influential in achieving a world first, the registration of nurses in 1901. Margaret Tennant, "Neill, Elizabeth Grace 1846-1926", *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 12 September 2010. Grace Neill was a lifelong Unitarian attending the Wellington Unitarian Free Church and at her request Mr. J. Rushden Salt, lay minister, conducted her funeral service. *The Inquirer*, 22 January 1927, p. 60.

²²⁸ A. H. McLintock and G. A. Wood, *The Upper House in Colonial New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1987, pp.120-121.

Office who ruled in Ballance's favour.²²⁹ Thus a further blow was struck, which would aid the progressive reforms sought by the Liberal government. Following the death of Ballance, Reeves found Seddon, the new Premier, less enthusiastic about his labour law reforms; when he was offered the post of Agent General for New Zealand he accepted and left for London in January 1896.

The expectation that he would find a progressive society looking after its members in a much fairer way than one infused by class and poverty, which he would leave behind, was also in the minds of William Jellie's colleagues. Professor J. Estlin Carpenter (1844-1927) from Manchester College, who as we have seen was an early supporter of the Labour Church, wrote to him just before he left for New Zealand saying: "I imagine that you will find many interesting experiments going on in advanced democracy."²³⁰ For an observer in England during the last decade of the nineteenth century reports about New Zealand's 'experiments' would have been plentiful. An address on "State Socialism and Labour Governments in Australasia" to the Royal Colonial Institute in 1893 by the former Governor, the Earl of Onslow,²³¹ claimed the developments in the colony were "in the direction in which the spirit of the age is everywhere tending" and should be followed when shown not to be harmful to Britain's commercial interests.²³²

²²⁹ W.B. Sutch, *Poverty and Progress in New Zealand*, rev. ed. Wellington: A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1961, pp.123-124. It was not until 1914 with the passing of the Legislative Council Act that there was provision for an elected Upper House, a provision that was never used. Earlier, Reeves had supported Earl Grey's proposal to elect members to the Legislative Council from the Provincial Councils, which would have made abolition of the Provinces difficult. A.H. McLintock, *Crown Colony Government in New Zealand*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1958, pp. 357-358.

²³⁰ Joseph Estlin Carpenter letter to William Jellie 23 December 1899. HMC, folio 52-74, MS Misc 2.

²³¹ *The Illustrated London News*, 18 March 1893. Lord Onslow was seen to align himself with the conservative government and had agreed to appoint Atkinson's nominees to the Legislative Council in the event that Atkinson lost the election. On returning to England Onslow became parliamentary under-secretary for India in 1895 and for the colonies in 1900. Ross Galbreath, "Onslow, William Hillier 1853-1911", *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz> accessed 15 September 2010. The Australian states did not introduce compulsory arbitration until after New Zealand, with Western Australia being the first in 1900, a move strongly influenced by the New Zealand Act. David H. Plowman and Genevieve Calkin, "The Origins of Compulsory Arbitration in Western Australia", *Journal of Industrial Relations*, 46, 1 (2004), pp. 53-83.

²³² Pat Moloney, "State Socialism and William Pember Reeves: A Reassessment" in *On the Left: Essays on Socialism in New Zealand*, eds. Pat Moloney and Kerry Taylor, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, p.50. Onslow also quoted from a Parliamentary speech by Sir Robert Stout saying that as New Zealand was not encumbered by privilege or prejudice it was free to undertake various social experiments. Peter J. Coleman, "The Spirit of New Zealand Liberalism in the Nineteenth Century", *Journal of Modern History*, 30, 3, (1958), pp.227-235, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1872837> accessed 21 February 2011. Stout had already been active

When William and Maud Reeves (1865-1953)²³³ arrived in London they publicly promoted New Zealand's reforms. Forming close friendships with Fabian luminaries such as Beatrice and Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw and H.G. and Jane Wells, Maud promoted women's suffrage, achieved in New Zealand in 1893. William meanwhile was active in writing and speaking about the New Zealand reforms. The Fabian Society published his tract *The State and its Functions in New Zealand*,²³⁴ in which he laid out land reforms in the form of perpetual lease schemes, national life insurance, a public trust office, compulsory secular education, compulsory acquisition of estates for subdivision and resettlement, as well as all the labour reforms previously mentioned. This "Socialistic policy" had succeeded he said because the Liberals had the support of the Trade Unions. (His later lectures and publications made reference to the old-age pension legislation, the first state pension in the English speaking world.²³⁵) One lecture he gave about industrial arbitration on a Fabian platform in 1897 drew an audience of five hundred.

He was inundated with invitations to give lectures, free or paid, to all sorts of organisations...Most of them, naturally enough, were about New Zealand and his own reforms. Altogether he contributed a great deal towards reducing the general ignorance about New Zealand. His lectures were not his only addresses. His wit, clarity, brevity and

in describing these reforms in some detail, see Sir Robert Stout, "State Experiments in New Zealand", *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 55,3, (1892), pp.388-414. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2979464> accessed 21 February 2011.

²³³ Maud Reeves attended Canterbury University College where she led a women's movement dedicated to women's suffrage; in 1890 she was president of the women's branch of the Canterbury Liberal Association. In England she joined the Fabian Society and was elected to the executive in 1907. She gained fame for an investigation she organised into the effect of poverty among mothers and children living in Lambeth; and in 1917 she was director of women's services at the Ministry of Food. Ruth Fry, "Reeves, Magdalene Stuart 1865-1953", *DNZB*, <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/> accessed 3 September 2010.

²³⁴ William Pember Reeves, *The State and its Functions in New Zealand*, Fabian Tract No. 74, London: Fabian Society, 1896. Another publication, *State Arbitration and the Living Wage*, Fabian Tract No. 83, compared the systems in England, New Zealand and Australia, and concluded that despite the success in New Zealand "it is doubtful whether it is applicable to this country." (That is England.) p.13.

²³⁵ Margaret McClure, *A Civilised Community A History of Social Security in New Zealand 1898-1998*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1998, p.23. The English popular press reported how "happy old people" went to New Zealand Post Offices on pension day, p. 18. The pension was far from universal, only applying to the qualifying 'deserving poor', and excluding people of Asian descent. The members of Parliament for Christchurch, G.W. Russell and W.W. Collins supported universal coverage, which Richard Seddon had opposed. David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, pp.146-148.

apparently inexhaustible fund of amusing stories, always appropriate made him an admirable after-dinner speaker. In 1898 an English periodical described him as one of the best in London.²³⁶

It was into this society, emerging from the long depression, that William Jellie arrived in February 1900 to build the Unitarian cause. By the time he arrived he had a repertoire of skills that were surprisingly wide for a man of thirty-four years: a variety of organisational and administrative experience, politically savvy with an ability to engage politicians over social causes, working amongst the slums of London and soirees of the upper classes, Shakespearean acting, adult education, as well as the usual expertise found in a minister of religion - delivering sermons and addresses, officiating at services and providing pastoral care. In his first public address, at two Unitarian services held in the Oddfellows Hall in Pitt Street, Auckland on 4 March 1900, William Jellie stated “at the very beginning what it is we set ourselves to do.” First and foremost he said:

We want to build a church. Not an organisation that shall arrogate to itself supernatural privileges, or exclusive powers from God, but a place of worship, a place for prayer and praise, a place for the study and practice of religion, a place for the promotion of good-conduct, a place for the study of truth, a place for the education of men and women in the ways of righteousness, as individuals, as members of a state, and as members of the human brotherhood of all races and nations. That is our idea of a church.²³⁷

He made it quite clear that the views of heaven and hell held by the orthodox churches were rejected. “We have a different meaning of the phrase” he said, “this Heaven and Hell are not postponed to some other life. They begin in this life.” The purpose of Unitarianism lay in “helping men and women escape evil and misery in this life, and to attain good and happiness here and now.”²³⁸ His idea of escaping misery in this life and obtaining happiness here and now was congruent with the goal

²³⁶ Keith Sinclair, *William Pember Reeves New Zealand Fabian*, pp. 248-249.

²³⁷ William Jellie, *Our Aims and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, Auckland 1900, p.3.

²³⁸ William Jellie, *Our Aims and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p.5.

espoused by the Labour Church and the sentiments expressed by Philip Wicksteed. It was certainly a view that Beatrice Webb wanted to see the churches embrace. However Jellie did not describe just how he thought this aim should be achieved. He went on to expound another aim: “Though only one little church, standing alone, we shall endeavour to hold up an ideal of a true Catholic Church, that shall be tolerant to all, and able to rejoice in the good of all true workers for humanity.”²³⁹

This ideal of tolerance was to sit alongside the concept of a rational theology, so that the facts and discoveries of modern research would be accepted and science and religion “may no longer be opposing forces.”²⁴⁰ But it was in the following sermon that he dealt with the Principles and Doctrines of Unitarianism clearly and forcibly:

The seat of our religious authority is the human mind and conscience, which were given us by God for use, and wherein we recognise the voice of God. Nothing is of force which does not commend itself to our mind and conscience. That is the ultimate tribunal which man can rely upon for the test of truth and right.²⁴¹

He saw a strong link between freedom, upon which he believed human progress depended, and the Unitarian position: “We advocate freedom of thought, freedom of inquiry, freedom of speech, freedom of worship.” Freedom was practiced in Unitarianism by not requiring members of the congregation or ministers to subscribe to any particular set of beliefs or form of worship.²⁴² Another principle he discussed was the relationship between conduct and beliefs; Jellie stated that human conduct was far more important than human opinion. It was, he elaborated, the belief that God’s attitude towards humanity does not depend on whether our views are correct so much as the life we lead. “A man cannot help his opinions,” William Jellie said, “but he can help his conduct.”²⁴³ The

²³⁹ William Jellie, *Our Aims and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p.6.

²⁴⁰ William Jellie, *Our Aims and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p.5.

²⁴¹ William Jellie, *Our Aim and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p. 8.

²⁴² William Jellie, *Our Aim and the Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, pp. 8-9. Jellie argued that science, art and “all other branches of human endeavour” have won themselves a free position, which was a “prime necessity of human progress.”

²⁴³ William Jellie, *Our Aim and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p. 10.

position of Christ within Unitarian theology was covered: Christ is seen as our master, teacher and leader and it is “in essence and spirit, Christ’s conception of religion” that Unitarians hold. Jellie said there was no need to believe doctrines about Jesus which he never taught and which grew up after his death. “...it is the religion of the Lord’s Prayer, the Sermon on the Mount, the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, which Unitarians accept as most fully and clearly expressing that which they hold.”²⁴⁴ Both services were well attended, Jellie recording in his *Diary* that there were 40 people in the morning and 75 in the evening. Publication of the sermons in booklet form became the springboard to launch the church building fund in the following month.²⁴⁵ Sold for one penny, with the sales going towards the fund, they proved so popular that a reprint of a further thousand copies was issued with a request for donations from friends and sympathisers throughout the Colony. He did not undertake this task alone. There were talented and generous people in the congregation who helped raise donations for the building fund, design the building and acquire the land. An accountant, Charles Newland (1863-1946), was Treasurer on the on the committee throughout William Jellie’s Auckland ministry, providing financial advice and support.²⁴⁶ He and William Jellie formed a legal committee, working with the church solicitor to draft a new set of Church Rules and a Trust Deed. Upon completion of their work a decision was made to incorporate the church under the Religious, Charitable and Educational Trust Boards Incorporation Act 1884.²⁴⁷

In terms of the main goal to get a church building erected, perhaps no one was more important than Thomas Henry White (1843-1923); a musician and architect, he originally came to the fore as leader of

²⁴⁴ William Jellie, *Our Aim and The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, p. 11. Beliefs about Christ was a topic William Jellie would return to, particularly on 21 September 1902 when he claimed Christ was “the highest and noblest specimen of mankind” but denying he was God, which drew a published response critiquing his heterodox opinions. Chas. Watt, *The Deity of Christ. A Review of a Lecture by the Rev. W. Jellie, B.A. (Unitarian Minister)*, Auckland: Wilson and Horton, n.d., p.4.

²⁴⁵ AUCMB, minutes of committee meeting 4 April 1900. A more detailed account of the development of the church during Jellie’s early years is found in Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*.

²⁴⁶ Charles and Annie Newland (née Ockenden, 1868-1942) moved into 55 Ranfurly Road, Epsom, in April 1901. “There is even documentation of Newland House in Ranfurly Road serving as a gathering [place] for Unitarians.” Graham W.A. Bush (ed.), *The History of Epsom*, Auckland: Epsom and Eden District History Society, 2006, p.167. I am grateful to Barbara Holt for drawing this reference to my attention. An obituary for Charles Newland appeared in *The Inquirer*, 7 December 1946, p.366.

²⁴⁷ AUCMB, minutes of a special meeting of the congregation 29 September 1901.

the church orchestra, being an accomplished violinist. Born and educated in Birmingham and later in Paris, he came to New Zealand via Melbourne in 1863. He took up farming at Taupiri, while practising architecture in Hamilton and Auckland, where he designed impressive buildings for both cities.²⁴⁸ He was also a fine water colour painter as the pictures of the buildings he designed for the Auckland Unitarians and the replacement Admiralty House attest.²⁴⁹ He had already designed a number of churches in New Zealand by the time he was asked to undertake the Auckland Unitarian Church project. There is no evidence he designed churches other than in New Zealand.²⁵⁰ It was Thomas White and William Jellie who searched for suitable building sites around Auckland and settled on the city council leasehold site in Ponsonby Road. When Thomas White was elected chairman of the committee on 27 March 1901²⁵¹ it certainly made for easier planning and organisation so far as the building project was concerned, the committee often met in his office in Victoria Arcade.

Following the resignation from the committee of Hugh McCready (1853-1933)²⁵² in October that year the vacancy was filled by Joseph Cochrane Macky (1855-1915), which proved to be a portentous decision for the church and William Jellie. In the last year of his term as mayor of Devonport (1896-

²⁴⁸ T.H. White File W588t, School of Architecture Library, University of Auckland.

²⁴⁹ The original Admiralty House was taken over by Auckland University College. "All the College received in 1884 as a result of its representations was Admiralty House, another two-storey wooden building nearly twenty years old..." Keith Sinclair, *A History of the University of Auckland 1883-1983*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1983, p.29. See Appendix 2 for copies of these two paintings.

²⁵⁰ Frank Castle has claimed that White's design was "based upon one he had constructed in Johannesburg, S.A." *Annals of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, Auckland: Auckland Unitarian Church, 1981, p.7. This claim is repeated in John Maindonald, *A Radical Religious Heritage*, rev. ed., Auckland: Auckland Unitarian Church, 1993, p.16. These claims are wrong. There no evidence that Thomas White was ever in South Africa, and there was only one Unitarian Church, the Free Protestant congregation founded at Cape Town in 1867, until 1911 when the Johannesburg church started. Eric Heller-Wagner, *The Unitarians of South Africa: A Socio-Historical Study*, Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation, University of Stellenbosch, 1995, pp.127-166.

²⁵¹ See Appendix 3 for a list of officeholders of the Auckland Unitarian Church.

²⁵² Hugh Clyde McCready was secretary and treasurer of the committee formed in 1898. He appears to have been a mainstay in the congregation, especially after the chairman Edward Russell Shawcross (1838-1899) and his wife Annie (1848-1927) went to farm at Cambridge where Edward died in 1899. McCready came from Larne, County Antrim, in Northern Ireland. For many years he lived with his family in Whangarei where he was in business as a tailor. By 1896 they had moved to Auckland. When he was involved with the Auckland Unitarians he had a prosperous business as a master tailor at 398 Queen Street, Auckland. Unfortunately, while having enthusiasm for the cause he lacked tact. It appears he may have resigned from the committee because he was unable to work harmoniously with his colleagues. He retired in 1918 and moved to Hamilton in 1932 where one of his sons lived and died there a year later. There is a short obituary in *The New Zealand Herald and Daily Southern Cross*, 29 July 1933.

1901),²⁵³ Joseph Macky came from a family which adhered to the Presbyterian tradition and had migrated from Northern Ireland around the middle of the nineteenth century. In his late forties when he joined the Unitarians, his life had had measures of success and sadness. Joseph enjoyed his political and commercial success; he was chairman of directors of a large trading enterprise, Macky, Logan, Caldwell Limited which included the oldest men's clothing manufacturer in the Colony.²⁵⁴ He married Isabella Campbell Kennedy (1849-1887) on 25 September 1878. They had four children of whom three survived childhood, their eldest child was Thomas Hugh Macky (1881-1965), followed by Archibald Cameron Macky (1883-1884), Isabella Wilson Macky (1885-1981) and John (Jack) Macky (1887-1977). His wife Isabella died on 7 August 1887 aged 38 years, just three years after Archie.²⁵⁵ A little over a year later Joseph married again, to Mary Birrell (1858-1915) on 11 October 1888. In the interim it is likely that Joseph received help from his family in caring for the children, his brother Thomas Lindsay Macky (1858-1936) and his wife Elizabeth were living in Hepburn Street, Ponsonby, at the same time as he was. By 1892 both families had settled in Devonport. Joseph and Mary had four children of their own, Stewart (1890-1946), Frank (1891-1975), Dorothy Mary (1894-1990) and Joseph Cecil Douglas (1899-1970). Mary was a caring and affectionate mother to all her children and the emotional bond between Mary and the children of Joseph's first marriage was the same as their step siblings for their mother.²⁵⁶

²⁵³ Macky Avenue in Devonport was named after Joseph Macky in 1926; see Auckland City Libraries, North Shore Street Names, <http://www.aucklandcitylibraries.com/populartopics/resourcespages/localhistory/> accessed 27 July 2009.

²⁵⁴ Due to the depression Macky, Logan, Caldwell Limited went into voluntary liquidation in 1933, by then Thomas Hugh Macky (1881-1965) was Managing Director following his father's death. However six separate companies were formed from sections of the old firm's businesses including the Cambridge Clothing Company organised by Thomas Macky as Managing Director, which continues to this day.

²⁵⁵ The Symonds Street Cemetery tombstone records: "In loving memory of Isabella Campbell, the affectionate wife of J.C. Macky, who departed this life August 7th 1887 aged 38 years, also of our little Archie taken from us July 14th 1884 aged 13 months, to be with Jesus which is far better."

²⁵⁶ It is incorrectly stated in Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church* that all Joseph's children were from the first marriage, p.53. This overlooked the children from his second marriage. The emotional bond between Mary and the children is clearly recorded in the Darlimurla Letters. Neil Macky records that Mary "became a real mother to his children and a wonderful helpmate in the difficult years immediately following." *The Macky Family in New Zealand 1845-1969*, unpublished manuscript, 1969, p. 19.

What was it that drew Joseph to the liberal religion of the Auckland Unitarian Church? Was it, as has been suggested,²⁵⁷ simply intellectual doubts about the orthodox creed or did it also involve personal factors, the tragic loss of his young wife and child? Joseph Macky fell out with his church over the celebrated heresy trial of the Rev. Samuel James Neill (d. 1918). On 22 July 1874 Neill had been ordained by the Presbyterian Church in Ireland as a missionary to New Zealand, never having been ordained by a congregation in Ireland.²⁵⁸ Shortly after arrival in New Zealand he was inducted into the Presbyterian Church in Cambridge, Waikato on 2 May 1875. Two years later he became minister to the St James Presbyterian Church at Thames, where he enjoyed a ministry for the next 17 years. However when he became involved with the Theosophy Society in 1893 problems soon emerged: he was initially charged with bringing a woman into the Thames district to promote Theosophy; when this could not be proved he was found guilty of improperly removing four members of his church committee and in case this was insufficient to remove him he was also declared by the Auckland Presbytery to have departed from the teaching of the Church. Throughout Rev. Neill's ordeal Joseph Macky was his stalwart defender, appearing at all the hearings. Declaring at one hearing that "Mr Neill's life was beyond question"²⁵⁹ when the decision was made to remove him from his ministry on 14 February 1894 Joseph Macky, "a gentleman who is and always has been a moral example to every young Presbyterian in New Zealand" stated that "he for the first time in his life was ashamed of his Church."²⁶⁰

The Rev. Neill then organised his own non-sectarian Church, holding services in the Choral Hall at Auckland city on alternate Sundays to those held in Thames for the next three years, which he

²⁵⁷ Frank Castle, *Annals of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 12.

²⁵⁸ Valerie Adams, Librarian, Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, Belfast, Northern Ireland, personal communication 22 November 2010.

²⁵⁹ "The Latest Heresy Hunt", *Observer*, 14 October 1893, p.2.

²⁶⁰ "Death to the Heretic", *Observer*, 24 February 1894, p. 2. Following Rev. Neill's suspension there was a public meeting of support at which Joseph Macky gave an address which was later presented to Rev Neill signed by 1335 sympathizers, 700 from Thames and the rest Auckland city. *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 February 1894.

abandoned for greener pastures following the Australasian tour of American Theosophists in 1897.²⁶¹

What is not clear is whether Joseph Macky came to the defence of Rev. Neill because he was attracted to the idea of a liberating universalism *vis-à-vis* the constricts of Calvinist Presbyterianism, or whether he thought the procedure used to try him was unfair. Whatever his motivation he became a key figure in the fledgling Auckland Unitarian Church and was to become a person of great significance in the life of William Jellie.

By 4 December 1901, when the new church building was officially opened, Joseph Macky presided over the evening event, a public meeting at which the Rev. George Walters from the Sydney Unitarian Church and George Fowlds, Member of the House of Representatives, were the speakers, interspersed with musical items. Joseph Macky continued to serve on the committee throughout the period of William Jellie's ministry, being elected chairman 1902-03 and again 1909-10, as well as being a Trustee of the Church. In August 1903 he suggested to the committee that an organ be purchased. Prior to this he had for some time been making his own inquiries to determine what would be a suitable organ and in doing so had involved William Jellie. From May that year the two men had gone to other churches to listen to organs and judge their performance. One that impressed them was built by George Croft (1871-1955) and installed in the Mt Eden Congregational Church.²⁶² Joseph Macky went to Croft's workshop in Eden Terrace and "was very much impressed with him and his work."²⁶³ When the time came Joseph Macky recommended a Croft organ to the

²⁶¹ Emmett A. Greenwalt, *The Point Loma Community in California 1897-1942 A Theosophical Experiment*, Berkeley: University of California, re. ed. 1979, p. 33. Rev. Neill became Dean of the College of Divinity at Point Loma and a director of the Raja Yoga Academy, established by the Theosophists near San Diego, California, where he died on 22 June 1918. *Evening Post*, 2 August 1918, p.6. The Rev. W.F. Kennedy (1864-1945), founder of the Dunedin Unitarian Church, wrote to Tom Macky (1881-1965) on 21 August 1926 saying the widow Mrs Lillie Neill was living in San Diego in difficult circumstances, that he had tried to help sort out her affairs, but "she would think a lot of even a five pound note to help her along." ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box 4/F3.

²⁶² Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p.59.

²⁶³ Joseph Macky letter to Tom and Ella dated 24 May 1903, Volume 1 of the Darlimurla Letters, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional". I am grateful to Barbara Holt for telling me about this collection of letters compiled by Helen Kominik (née Macky) in 1993.

committee that August,²⁶⁴ its style to be an “unusual double pipe facades divided on either side of the building facing across and down the church.”²⁶⁵ This was the first example in the Colony of the application of a tubular pneumatic action to a divided instrument. The detached console was of solid figured oak.²⁶⁶ At some £400 the cost of the organ was more expensive than the one Croft built for St. Barnabas Anglican Church in Mt Eden for £300, but Joseph Macky considered the money well spent and entered into a bond with the Trustees of the Church to cover the sum involved.²⁶⁷ By May 1904 the organ was installed, much to the delight of the congregation and was declared “one of the best in the colony.”²⁶⁸ Its inauguration was marked with three Recitals which filled the Church to capacity at each occasion which was followed by a programme of regular recitals: “its tone enhanced by the fine acoustic properties of the church, drew music lovers from all over the city: the monthly organ recitals were packed to the doors, gallery included and on one occasion many were turned away.”²⁶⁹

William Jellie had arrived in the colony a gentleman aged 34 years of handsome appearance, dark haired with a dark moustache, bespectacled with an agreeable if slightly serious mien. Mary Macky

²⁶⁴ AUCMB, minutes of committee meeting 5 August 1903. “That a letter of approval [of Mr. Macky’s proposal and specifications for the new organ] and thanks be sent to Mr. Macky in connection forthwith. The Treasurer reported that the loan for the organ would be available from the same source as soon as the Church debt was extinguished.”

²⁶⁵ Organ Historical Trust of Australia, *Indigenous and Exotic Some Organs of the Upper North Island, New Zealand*, 29th Annual Conference 30th September - 5th October 2006.

<http://www.ohta.org.au/confs/NZ/NZconf.html> accessed 31 January 2011.

²⁶⁶ Auckland Unitarian Church, *Dedication of Organ and Opening Recital*, 2 April 1904. The organist at the opening recital was Mr. T.E. Midgley, who played at the Anglican Church of All Saints, the next week it was Arthur Towsey from St Matthew’s Church, and the week after that Mr. W.T. Sharp previously organist at the Napier Cathedral.

²⁶⁷ AUCMB, minutes of committee meeting 13 January 1904. “Mr. C.J. Macky reported that he had entered into a bond with the Trustees in connection with the installation of the organ for £400 and further that the arrangements in progress were satisfactory.” In today’s values the £400 equates to about £32,000 or approximately \$60,000 using the Economic History Association online calculator, based on the retail price index. How Much Is That? Economic History Services, <http://eh.net/html> accessed 20 February 2011. One of the reports of the dedication states that the organ was presented to the Unitarian Church by Joseph Macky. *Auckland Star*, 4 April 1904, p.4. His son Jack Macky became seriously ill with typhoid in February 1903 and did not recover until May. Writing to Tom and Ella, Joseph Macky said: “I would like the organ, which is to be put in the church, to be regarded as a thanksgiving offering and a commemoration of Jack having been spared to us all.” Joseph Macky letter 24 May 1903 to Tom and Ella Macky, Darlimurla Letters Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family NZMS 935, Box “Additional.”

²⁶⁸ Auckland Unitarian Church *Calendar*, May 1904.

²⁶⁹ Frank Castle, *Annals of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 18.

described him as being “such an unaffected straight forward man, that he never beats about the bush.” Elsewhere she said: “He reads so beautifully, I never heard anyone give an author’s meaning as he does.” And after observing his pastoral work: “he is, I should think from what I saw that day, a skilful visitor of the sick.”²⁷⁰ By the time the two men were working closely over Church affairs, Joseph Macky knew that William Jellie had already formed a romantic attachment with his daughter Ella (Isabella). The Mackys had often invited William Jellie to visit and stay with them at their Devonport house *Darlimurla* and William and Ella had many opportunities to meet on these occasions. Shortly before Ella left for a trip to Europe and study at the Royal Holloway College on 9 March 1903, William had made his feelings known to her parents.²⁷¹ The couple kept in touch, writing to each other on a weekly basis and much of their correspondence has survived. The Mackys meanwhile maintained constant social contact with William Jellie; he was a regular visitor to their house and attended numerous social engagements as their guest, this in addition to the work he undertook with Joseph Macky on Church business. Within a week of Ella’s return the couple became engaged on 18 January 1905 and a year later, on 30 January 1906 they married at *Darlimurla*.

William Jellie showed political nous as well as seeking ideological compatibility in the friendships he formed with two outstanding political figures of the day. It appears that he met George Fowlds (1860-1934) and Sir Robert Stout (1844-1930) in the first week in March 1901.²⁷² These two men had backgrounds with some similar strands: both were born in Scotland, George Fowlds in Ayrshire and Robert Stout in the Shetland Islands; both their families followed Scottish Presbyterianism. At home both men enjoyed the open and liberal discussions about current topics that prevailed, but with a difference, in the Stout household theology was more likely to be debated whereas in the Fowlds house it was radical political ideas. Both men left the religion they were raised in, Robert

²⁷⁰ Mary Macky letters to Tom Macky dated Easter Monday 1901, 1 September 1901 and 26 September 1901, *Darlimurla Letters Volume 1*, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box “Additional.”

²⁷¹ For a more detailed account of these events see Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, pp.53-63.

²⁷² William Jellie *Diary* 1 March 1901 has an entry for Sir Robert Stout and on 7 March an entry that he made calls on both George Fowlds and Robert Stout.

Stout became a notable free thinker and helped form the Dunedin Freethought Association in 1880,²⁷³ becoming its President, while George Fowlds became Chairman of the Congregational Union in 1899. One significant difference was in the relative wealth and position of their families; whereas Fowlds' father was a handloom weaver²⁷⁴ and George was apprenticed to a clothier, Robert Stout's father was a merchant and landlord which gave him an educational advantage to his start in life. However when he went into politics in New Zealand he denounced the landlord system which "resulted from witnessing some of its crueller aspects, such as the eviction of crofter tenants."²⁷⁵ His political views were of the Liberal left in sympathy with the labour bloc.²⁷⁶ Sir Robert had publicly called for a Royal Commission following the exposure of the "evils of sweating", and had joined in support of the workers when he became a Trustee of the Tailoresses' Union²⁷⁷ which had Rev. Waddell as President and Harriet Morison (1862-1925) as Vice-President and within six months Secretary.²⁷⁸ Stout had been Premier twice before resigning from politics in 1898. The following year

²⁷³ The Dunedin Freethought Association included theists, agnostics, Unitarians, pantheists and spiritualists, which Stout found acceptable because "we have recognised that the deeper questions of life can never be solved by all men alike; and we have united to discuss them freed from creeds and to teach our children their duties to themselves and their fellows." Jim Dakin, "New Zealand's Freethought Heritage Chapter 3: The rise and decline of Freethought in Dunedin, 1880-90", *NZ Rationalist & Humanist*, 74, 2(2001), pp.8-12.

²⁷⁴ In 1908 George Fowlds donated the loom used by his father, Matthew Fowlds (1806-1907), to the Auckland War Memorial Museum, The loom is well over 200 years old and there is a painting in the Auckland Art Gallery of Mathew Fowlds weaving blankets on it in his 100th year. I am grateful to Finn McCahon-Jones, Associate Curator Arts & Design, Auckland War Memorial Museum, for this information.

²⁷⁵ David Hamer, "Stout, Robert", *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s48/print> accessed 14 February 2011. Robert Stout immigrated to New Zealand arriving in Dunedin in 1864. He qualified in law and adopted a strong interest in Herbert Spencer's philosophy. Elected to the House of Representatives within a few years he held cabinet rank. There were six children to his marriage to Anna Logan (1858-1931). Both Stouts favoured abolition of the liquor traffic. A strong proponent of secular education, between 1884-87 he was premier. Sir Robert was Chief Justice 1899-1926 and appointed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in 1921. An active rationalist and Unitarian, he was President of the Wellington Unitarian Free Church at the time of his death. Wayne Facer, "Sir Robert Stout", *DUUB*, <http://www25-temp.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/robertstout.html> accessed 13 February 2011.

²⁷⁶ D.A. Hamer, *The Law and the Prophet: A Political Biography of Sir Robert Stout (1844-1930)*, MA Thesis, University of Auckland, 1960, pp.341-366. Robert Stout's rationale of the social legislation was: "The great organisation of the State is being used to give an equal chance to all." Sir Robert Stout and J. Logan Stout, *New Zealand*, Cambridge: The University Press, 1911, p.177.

²⁷⁷ J.D. Salmond, *New Zealand Labour's Pioneering Days*, Desmond Crowley ed., Auckland: Forward Press, 1950, p. 63. The first president appears to have been Rev. Waddell although David Pinkerton (1836-1906), a trade union friend of Sir Robert's from the Dunedin Freethought Association is also claimed for this position, which possibly reflects a timing difference. Pinkerton was certainly on the executive. Erik Olssen, "Pinkerton, David", *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2p17> accessed 14 February 2011.

²⁷⁸ Harriet Morison was an ardent trade unionist, suffragette, and Unitarian. Following her appointment as Factories Inspector for the South Island in 1906 she was transferred to the Women's Branch in Auckland in

he was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; this was the same year George Fowlds entered Parliament as a representative for Auckland City. Who could have effected the introductions or suggested that William Jellie made contact with these men? One answer in the case of Sir Robert Stout could be his old friend John Gammell (1836-1913), a former Unitarian minister and retired educationalist, who visited William Jellie a year earlier in March 1900.²⁷⁹ In the case of George Fowlds it is possible the mercurial Mr McCready may have helped with an introduction: he had his tailoring business in Queen Street while George Fowlds had his more extensive premises manufacturing and selling clothes on the corner of Fort and Queen Streets and extending into Victoria Arcade. In any event the meetings were propitious and William was to find these friendships would be rewarding over many years. As we will see both new friends would help in the development of the Unitarian movement, Sir Robert in particular with Wellington²⁸⁰ and when William entered into a new career in education some 20 years later the friendship he forged with George Fowlds was to prove valuable. In the meantime as George Fowlds found his political feet took him to more radical positions,²⁸¹ the three men had some fundamental positions in common:

1908. She resigned from the public service in 1921 after a turbulent career. Melanie Nolan and Penelope Harper, "Morison, Harriet Russell", *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt/en/biographies/2m57> accessed 14 February 2011. She joined the Auckland Unitarian Church following her transfer north in 1908: in 1918 she became a member of the management committee and in 1923 chairwoman.

²⁷⁹ Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 10. Their friendship spanned 40 years and it is most likely that John Gammell introduced Sir Robert to Unitarians in Wellington. Wayne Facer, "John Gammell", *DUUB*, <http://www.25-temp.uua.org/uuhs/duub/articles/johngammell.html> accessed 13 February 2011.

²⁸⁰ From the beginning of his involvement with William Jellie Sir Robert also provided support to the Unitarian cause in Auckland. The Auckland Unitarian Church *Calendar* for December 1901 records his donation of one guinea toward the building fund. While in Wellington Joseph Macky met with Sir Robert Stout to discuss the proposed visit of Rev. Richard Acland Armstrong (1843-1905) and Sir Robert agreed to take part in promoting and welcoming the visitor. AUCMB minutes of committee meeting 1 July 1903. Rev. Armstrong was the brother-in-law of Philip Wicksteed and in 1902-1903 was President of the B&FUA. For many years he had been minister at the Hope Street Unitarian Church in Liverpool but his health began failing in 1903, and so his trip to New Zealand was put off. "In Memoriam Richard Acland Armstrong", *The Inquirer*, 14 January 1905, pp. 27-30.

²⁸¹ George Fowlds was in the left wing of the Liberal Party and was a disciple of Henry George, the single tax proponent. In 1906 he became Minister of Education and Minister of Public Health, but resigned in 1911 to promote his own radical views. The following year he joined the United Labour Party. Subsequently his main activities were in education, as a member of the Senate of the University of New Zealand and chairman of Auckland University College and Massey Agricultural College. He also had a strong interest in the Workers Educational Association. Herbert Otto Roth, "Fowlds, Sir George", *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966/F/FowldsSirGeorge/en> accessed 10 December 2008.

belief in secular education and its defence from sectarian inroads;²⁸² belief in the importance of education as the vehicle to provide opportunity in society; and a desire for a just and fair society that rejected the inequities of the Old World. But how well did William Jellie's political opinions sit with his new friends? Once again an insight is gained from Mary Macky writing to her eldest son Tom in England:

I am exceedingly glad to find you taking up the Capital Labour problem. I think you would find one thoroughly in sympathy with Dr [Charles] Strong. More so even than Mr. Jellie. Because the latter is content to stand aside, it seems to me, and patiently wait the results of the forces he so firmly and brightly believes to be working towards the settlement of all problems. Dr. Strong suits my temperament more in that he does. [Emphasis in original.] He has taken part in every movement in Victoria towards breaking down the barriers you feel so keenly about. But he is an older man than Mr. Jellie. I remember well how great a turmoil Henry George's books threw us. I don't remember much of them now only that his views were lofty and sadly above the practices of the world.²⁸³

Both Mary and Joseph Macky had followed Dr. Strong, reading his pamphlets and visiting his Australian Church when in Melbourne. Charles Strong had rejected Calvinist Presbyterianism and formed a free religious fellowship ministering to a liberal religious congregation. He was an active reformer involved in the anti-sweating movement; he founded the Working Men's Club and was

²⁸² Robert Stout's views are well known and documented in footnote 61 above. William Jellie's position will be the subject of later discussion. Less well known are the views of George Fowlds, who "supports the colony's present system of free, secular, and compulsory education." *NZETC*, The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand [Auckland Provincial District] Auckland City and Suburban Members of the House of Representatives. <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc02Cycl-tl-body1-dl-d9.html> accessed 16 July 2009. He became president of the Auckland branch of the National Schools Defence League when it was formed in 1913. Ian Breward, *Godless Schools?* Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1967, p.60.

²⁸³ Mary Macky letter dated 14 December 1902 in Volume 1 of the Darlimurla Letters, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional". Joseph Macky held advanced views for a "captain of industry", Neil Macky reports "he was a strong believer in Unionism for workers in factories" and "he was a believer in taxation on unimproved values and a Liberal in his political views." *Macky Family in New Zealand 1845-1969*, unpublished manuscript, 1969, p. 20.

active in many other social reforms.²⁸⁴ Nonetheless William Jellie it seems while not seen as so active a participant in social reform was taken as having the sympathies of a reformer. There could have been further considerations in his mind. He may have thought the reforms achieved to date and others spoken about by the Liberals placed New Zealand in a class that did not warrant vigorous agitation. The popular view of progress as a moral force for good in society may be what Mary Macky is attributing to William Jellie. And perhaps he was aware that provocative views in this area could be divisive and inhibit the growth and development of his Church, which was his primary mission.

In the first decade under William Jellie's leadership the Church became known not only as a place of cultured liberal theology. It also achieved a high musical standard with its organ, employing organists of quality and its choir, for many years under the leadership of William Gribble (1858-1939). The Library William Jellie oversaw included books on religion and many general topics as well. By the end of his time in Auckland there were over a thousand books and subscribers paid a penny a week to enjoy them. Jessie Heywood (1852-1947) was librarian for 25 years between 1906 and 1930 and her contribution to the intellectual life of the Church was immense. She was the youngest daughter of Abel Heywood (1810-1893) and his first wife Ann Pilling (1809-?), the eldest was Jane (1834-1925), Elizabeth (b.1837), Abel (1840-1931) and George Washington (b.1842). Following the death of his first wife he married Elizabeth Salisbury, the widow of Thomas Goadsby, in 1868. Abel Heywood had risen from a poor background to one of relative wealth and influence in Manchester. With little education at Prestwich and the Bennett Street Sunday School, for children whose parents could not

²⁸⁴ "Strong's earnest and strenuous advocacy of unpopular economic and social views was a factor in the decline of the Australian Church." C.R. Badger, "Strong, Charles (1844-1942)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Online Edition, <http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A060227b.htm> accessed 3 March 2011. In comparing the extent of each man's involvement in social action Mary Macky overlooks that William Jellie devoted considerable effort in this sphere while at Stamford Street, which she recalled in another letter to Tom: "Mr. Jellie came over and had dinner with us and stayed a long time. He is very interesting and well read. He is doubly interesting to me now for he knows Stamford Street well, worked 6 years there in connection with the Unitarian Church...He feels as you do about the children on the streets. He says he used to have a happy evening for them once a week and have 200 children regularly." Mary Macky letter dated Easter Monday 1901 in the Darlimurla Letters, Volume 1, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional".

send them to day school,²⁸⁵ he was one of the first members of the Mechanic's Institute. He went into newspaper distribution and subsequently became a successful publisher; in doing so ran afoul of the authorities, first by refusing to pay the stamp duty on *The Poor Man's Guardian* newspaper he sold, for which he was imprisoned for four months.²⁸⁶ Then he was prosecuted for selling blasphemous material, to which he pleaded guilty and received a suspended sentence. The firm he established, Abel Heywood and Son, continued for three generations and produced a wide range of titles including town and city guides, plays and dramas, including the local periodical *Ben Brierley's Journal*.²⁸⁷ By the time Jessie decided to follow her elder sister Jane to New Zealand Abel Heywood had been Mayor of Manchester twice.²⁸⁸ One son, Abel junior went into the family publishing business; the other, George, became a High Court Judge. It was in this stimulating family environment Jessie Heywood imbibed books, politics and religion.

Arriving in New Zealand in 1880, Jessie Heywood was a saloon passenger aboard the clipper *Waimate*. She landed at Lyttelton and soon made her way to Taranaki to join her sister. Jane Heywood had married a fellow Unitarian Robert Trimble (1824-1899) in 1856 and they had settled in

²⁸⁵ Ian Shaw, "Rev. William Nunn and the Bennett Street Sunday School Manchester, 1817-24", *Manchester Region History Review* 2(1998), 27-33.

²⁸⁶ "There can be no doubt that the government used the Newspaper Stamp Tax as an excuse for persecuting radical opinion." Newman I. White, "Literature and the Law of Libel: Shelley and the Radicals of 1840-1842", *Studies in Philology*, 22, 1, (1925), pp.34-47. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4171904> accessed 1 February 2009.

²⁸⁷ "...this local press flourished, not least because it offered a powerful sense of regional identity, a shared culture defined in place and history." ... "This was most dramatically enacted in the pages of *Ben Brierley's Journal* which ran from 1869 to 1891." Margaret Beetham, "'Oh! I Do Like to Be Beside the Seaside!': Lancashire Seaside Publications", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 42,1, (2009), pp.24-36. Another popular publication, *Abel Heywood's Musical Dramas, and Farces, and Dialogues For Amateurs* reflected the late nineteenth century shift in public opinion which gradually rejected the validity of breach of promise actions. Susie L. Steinbach, "From Redress to Farce: Breach of Promise Theatre in Cultural Context, 1830-1920", *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 13, 2(2008) pp. 247-276.

²⁸⁸ Abel Heywood's public work was undertaken for the benefit of the working class. He oversaw "Manchester's ambitious waterworks and sewage building programme and the later developments of its tramways." His other achievement was the building of the new town hall, which Queen Victoria refused to open, possibly because of his past convictions. He was a lifelong rationalist. Margaret Beetham, "Heywood, Abel (1810-1893)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/47364> accessed 28 February 2009. Abel Heywood's funeral service was conducted by the Rev. J.E. Odgers at the Altrincham Unitarian Chapel. *Manchester Times*, 25 August 1893. His biographer does not mention any involvement with Unitarianism, but it has been pointed out that "as times ripened and thought broadened and emotions deepened, he found a congenial home among the Unitarians. Even among them he remained a kind of free-lance." *The Inquirer*, 6 January 1894, pp. 9-10.

Inglewood in 1875 with their four sons and three daughters.²⁸⁹ Robert Trimble went into politics and was elected to Parliament in 1879 representing Grey and Bell until 1881 and from 1882 to 1887 was MHR for Taranaki. He was an advocate of secular education.²⁹⁰ Living there, Jessie Heywood enjoyed an active social life, at local concerts she sang duets with Mr Shawcross, played piano duets with her niece, "...praise cannot be with-held from the very good rendering of the selection of Offenbach, by Miss Trimble and Miss Heywood" and at another accompanied a violinist on the piano.²⁹¹ Her interest in education soon showed: when an opportunity arose to elect women members of the local Education Board Jessie Heywood put herself forward. In 1886 together with another Unitarian, Emma Jane Richmond (1844-1921)²⁹² they were elected to the Taranaki Education Board, the first women members in the country. "The two ladies headed the poll, eleven Committees voting for each."²⁹³ Emma Richmond was on the Board between 1886 and 1889, but Jessie Heywood remained a member until 1901, when she moved to Auckland the following year where we find her working with her old friend, Mrs Shawcross raising funds for the Auckland Unitarian Church. Before she left Inglewood both her step-mother and father had died. Mrs Heywood died in 1887 and her death was

²⁸⁹ Alfred Trimble (1857-1926), William Heywood Trimble (1860-1927), Montfort Trimble (1863-1940), Harold Trimble (1865-1935), Nora Trimble (1868-1943), Ellie Trimble (1870-1944) and Jessie Trimble, married name Malone (1871-1951). W.H. Trimble was the first Hocken Librarian, scholar of Walt Whitman and member of the Dunedin Unitarian Church. There is a Trimble Family Collection at the Hocken Library and Unitarian Collection at the Dunedin Library. See Joel Myerson, "Walt Whitman and the Trimbles: New Zealand, the First Concordance of Leaves of Grass, and the Dunedin Public Library", *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, 24, 1, 2006, pp.20-32. <http://ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr> accessed 29 March 2009.

²⁹⁰ See entry, "Trimble, Robert (1824-99)", G.H. Scholefield ed., *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Vol. 11., Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p. 396. There is a Robert Trimble collection of some 1,200 volumes in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington donated by Nora Trimble in 1941, covering Irish literature and including Robert Trimble's own published works on slavery. Like his father-in-law, Robert Trimble had fought against slavery in the United States. Abel Heywood chaired a meeting of workers which resolved to support the Union against slavery. Lincoln replied in on 19 January 1863 thanking them for their support and recognising the sufferings of the Manchester workers that resulted from the embargo on cotton imports from the Confederate States. Abel Heywood worked on the Lancashire Relief Committee set up to ameliorate the plight of the cotton workers.

²⁹¹ *Taranaki Herald*, 10 December 1881, p.2; *Taranaki Herald*, 15 September 1883, p.2; and *Taranaki Herald*, 25 November 1891, p.3.

²⁹² Emma Richmond née Parris married Henry Robert Richmond after the death of his first wife and cousin, Mary Hursthouse. See entry "Richmond, Henry Robert (1829-90)" in G.H. Scholefield ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 11, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, pp.238-239. The claim that Emma Richmond was "the first woman in the country to hold a position of this kind" made in Charlotte Macdonald, Merimeri Penfold and Bridget Williams, eds., *The Book of New Zealand Women*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1991, p.565, overlooks Jessie Heywood's role.

²⁹³ *Evening Post*, 13 March 1886, p.2.

reported in Taranaki.²⁹⁴ A wealthy woman in her own right, she left a number of relatively small bequests to foster the arts, but by far her largest gift was £10,000 to Owens College,²⁹⁵ the forerunner of the University of Manchester, in the form of an endowment in her name to provide for women and girls to attend the college. Her funeral took place at the Altrincham Unitarian Church.²⁹⁶ News of Abel Heywood's death in 1893 was also reported in Taranaki as were the terms of his will; which provided that his five children inherit equal shares in the publishing company, no doubt leaving Jessie Heywood financially independent for the rest of her life.²⁹⁷

A remarkable side to Jessie Heywood's life in New Zealand was her pursuit of botanical specimens and anthropological artefacts. These she collected and sent to the Manchester Museum, now part of Manchester University. Starting in 1889 when she was still living in Taranaki, she regularly sent packages of botanical specimens, which included flowering plants, ferns and mosses, a total of 112 items by the time she stopped in 1913. Sometimes she included published material on New Zealand flora and fauna, though she did not include samples of the latter, although she did include shells that the shell fish had lived in. The anthropological examples were collected from New Zealand, such as Maori stone axes, Tongan necklaces, Fijian tapa cloth, and woven mat from Niue and necklaces from Samoa. In total twenty-two artefacts. How did she get the South Pacific items? There is no mention of her travelling to these islands, although she could have. Perhaps she was in contact with trading ships and arranged for them to be collected?²⁹⁸

²⁹⁴ *Taranaki Herald*, 12 March 1887 p.2.

²⁹⁵ In current values this bequest would be worth about £828,000 according to the Economic History Association online calculator, based on the retail price index. How Much Is That? Economic History Services, <http://eh.net/html> accessed 15 March 2011.

²⁹⁶ *Manchester Times*, 15 January 1887.

²⁹⁷ *Taranaki Herald*, 28 August 1893, p. 2; *Manchester Times*, 22 September 1893 and 12 December 1893, p 2, for details of Abel Heywood's will. He also owned land in Taranaki occupied by Jane and Robert Trimble which he provided to be held in trust for their continued use and then to go to their children.

²⁹⁸ When I visited Manchester Museum on 2 October 2007 I was shown plants donated by Jessie Heywood in the Herbarium by Suzanne Grieve the assistant curator (Botany), who has placed one of her fern specimens on permanent display in the Manchester Gallery. The anthropological artefacts are kept in the basement in climate controlled secure conditions and were shown to me by Steven Welsh, curator of Human Cultures. These items appeared fresh and like new, they were so well preserved. Many items have cards attached bearing Jessie Heywood's neat and legible handwriting.

After a number of years work as secretary of the Women's Society Jessie Heywood became the Church Librarian.²⁹⁹ During her tenure the library expanded greatly and she introduced and donated a number of books and periodicals. For the Unitarians perhaps more than others the library reflected the "Enlightenment belief in the virtues of systematic reading for moral instruction, to free individuals from superstition, for self improvement, and for social amelioration..."³⁰⁰ And in the Church's case they were fortunate to have a person of Jessie Heywood's ability as Librarian for a quarter of a century.³⁰¹ Following her retirement in 1930 the library was named after her, but she continued with donations, the last recorded in 1937 were copies of the *Hibbert Journal*. In 1939 her involvement in the Church was recognised when the departing minister, Rev. Dr Cyprus R. Mitchell (1882-1955) thanked her along with Mrs Leech and Mrs Pitt, "for the comfort and inspiration their wholehearted loyalty to the Church has given me."³⁰²

William Jellie turned to a major theme of science and religion in a course of sermons he delivered in 1908. For a man of letters he showed an excellent grasp of current scientific knowledge as he sought to address "One of the great problems of the present day for thoughtful minds...to reconcile the results of scientific discovery with the conceptions and practices of religion..."³⁰³ and in doing so

²⁹⁹ In addition Jessie Heywood worked on the foundation committee of the Conference Committee set up in 1911 by the Auckland Unitarian Church to plan missionary work and give a national structure to the Unitarian churches in the Dominion. This resulted in the creation of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand. Committee minutes July- December 1911, AWMMIL, 91/72 series A21.

³⁰⁰ J. E. Traue, "The Public Library Explosion in Colonial New Zealand", *Libraries & the Cultural Record*, 42, 2(2007), pp. 151-164. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25549402> accessed 21 February 2011.

³⁰¹ On 2 July 1930 a meeting of the library committee and church officers held at the manse the Rev. William Constable (1889-1968), who was joint minister with his wife Rev. Wilna Constable (1888-1966), expressed the gratitude of the church for the work Jessie Heywood had done as librarian and presented her with a purse in appreciation. *The Inquirer*, 23 August 1930, p.422.

³⁰² *The Torch*, September 1939. After living for a number of years at 32 Shelley Beach Road, Herne Bay, at a home for gentlewomen, Jessie Heywood died on 16 August 1947. Her service was conducted by the Rev. William Jellie at the Watney Sibun's Sons' Chapel and her ashes scattered at Waikumete Cemetery. Why the service was not held in the Auckland Unitarian Church is not known. Her will provided that the "Minister in charge at the time of death of the Auckland Unitarian Church be requested to conduct a funeral service" which has the expectation of a Church service. She also provided for all her property to go to her favourite niece Jessie Malone. Probate of the Estate of Jessie Heywood, Archives New Zealand, BBRAE 1570/132/47.

³⁰³ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, Auckland: Brett Printing and Publishing, 1909, p.3. This booklet contains five sermons on this theme given over the preceding year,

refers to the *Bible of Nature* by Professor J. Arthur Thomson.³⁰⁴ William Jellie asserted that the *Bible of Nature* is a far larger Book of Revelation than the *Bible* ever was, and he impresses on his listeners that at the present time radical changes are occurring in our thinking about the history of the universe so much so that it is an "...impossibility for the old theology to continue to exist."³⁰⁵ He first deals with what was known about the origins of the universe; "in a few minutes to outline the story of one thousand millions of years"³⁰⁶ as he describes how planets arose and other solar systems continue to be created. He discusses how matter changes and evolves and what is known about its chemistry. He points out that science says nothing about God, nor does it ask why the universe has come into existence. Here William Jellie argues that because God cannot be outside creation he must be "the Spirit, the Life, the Soul, as it were of the universe"³⁰⁷ while at the same time rejecting any notion of miracles: "Miracles seem absurd to [the man of science] on the face of them."³⁰⁸ When he turns to the origins of life he makes two points: one, that while it has not yet been demonstrated that life can arise from non-living matter scientific experiments do not exclude that it has happened before or that it will not be demonstrated in the future. "Personally, I am much inclined to believe that such a discovery will one day be made."³⁰⁹ Secondly, he turns to the biology of life describing the evolutionary position of Charles Darwin and the influence *The Origin of Species* had on human knowledge. Darwin he tells his listeners collected a vast amount of evidence which William Jellie found entirely borne out when he visited the Natural History Museum in London. He illustrated this with references to species which evolved over time into a myriad of varieties from a common ancestor. Here he used the text by Professor E. Ray Lankester (1847-1929), Director of the Natural History Museum 1898-1907, *Extinct Animals* which was published in 1905. In looking at the evidence for the descent of species, including the fossil records, William Jellie invited his listeners to

³⁰⁴ J. Arthur Thomson, *Bible of Nature*, New York: Charles Scribner's, 1908. Sir John Thomson, as he became, was later regius professor of natural history at Aberdeen University. He promoted Darwin's concept of evolution.

³⁰⁵ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p.13.

³⁰⁶ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p. 14.

³⁰⁷ Rev W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p.19.

³⁰⁸ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p.19.

³⁰⁹ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p.26.

contemplate the difficulties of the alternate explanation “the special creation theory.”³¹⁰ That millions and millions of living forms, looking similar to earlier forms, would have had to be created in separate acts of creation and that fossils ended up in rocks as a result of multiple cataclysms which annihilated earlier species, after which God began afresh.³¹¹ This he saw in contrast to the new knowledge about the geological periods of the earth over epochs in time and the types of life forms that arose at different times. Finally he turned to the place of humans in the scheme of nature. Here he wanted his listeners “not to take my word for gospel, or the word of any man” his purpose was to look for a few hints “as to how scientific investigation is trending, and what are the generally accepted conclusions, drawn from the facts discovered...”³¹² Science says man is an animal belonging to the primate family and he discussed the common characteristics between man and ape. “Not merely our physical structure and blood constitution, but our consciousness, the power of feeling, memory, thought, the power of looking forward and expecting something to come.”³¹³ But human morality by which he meant “a clear conception of what is just and right in our relations with our fellow-men”³¹⁴ was something that animals did not have. And then William Jellie made what appears to be an important declaration of his own beliefs without the necessity of any connection he was seeking to elaborate on between science and liberal religion, until we learn the audience to which it was delivered was mainly composed of working class men:

...man’s dignity is totally independent of his origin. It is pure snobbery to judge of a man by his ancestry. Personally, I think more of a worthy man if he be the son of a poor, or even if he be the son of an unworthy parent. The greater is the credit due to him. And, similarly, there is no loss of dignity, really, if we have to regard man as the self-made son of poorer and less worthy parents.³¹⁵

³¹⁰ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p. 30.

³¹¹ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p.33. I doubt if William Jellie would have imagined that these very ideas he was discussing as being untenable in 1908 would still have currency in the 21st century.

³¹² Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p. 39.

³¹³ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p. 43.

³¹⁴ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p .44.

³¹⁵ Rev. W. Jellie, *The Modern Genesis*, p. 45.

The significance of the *Modern Genesis* sermon series is threefold: first, it is one of only twelve extant copies of William Jellie's sermons;³¹⁶ secondly it is the only one existing where he discusses modern science and its relationship to religious ideas; and thirdly it was noteworthy to church members at the time. For William Jellie preaching may have been "a matter of mind to mind, heart to heart, soul to soul,"³¹⁷ but as Joseph Macky commented about an earlier sermon on the same theme by William Jellie:

Meanwhile our little church is progressing fairly well. The attendance at the evening service is especially encouraging, the building being quite crowded and the congregation is largely composed of people who, I fancy, have not been attending any church, a most thoughtful looking crowd mostly men and apparently belonging to the working classes. Mother likes Mr. Jellie's morning sermons best as more quiet and helpful and not so argumentative as the evening addresses but the latter are the most popular being a series of subjects taken from the first chapter of Genesis and having to do with the more modern or scientific story... he does not hesitate and holds himself perfectly free to tell the wonderful story, really far more wonderful, as told by the deep patient searchings of science.³¹⁸

Picnics at beaches, rambles with young people and camps, especially at Waiheke Island, were very popular with William Jellie. Outdoor activities generally held appeal and he enjoyed going for walks in the bush. The record of Charlotte Mary Guy (1875-1957)³¹⁹ provides accounts of some of these

³¹⁶ Copies of William Jellie sermons I have located are: *Our Aims* and *The Principles & Doctrines of Unitarians* (two sermons) in 1900; *The Methods of Biblical Criticism* 3 July 1904; *The Modern Genesis* (five sermons) delivered in 1908; *Why There are not more Unitarians* in 1908; *Responsibility of Parenthood* in 1908; *Thanksgiving Service V.J. Day* in 1945; and *The Power of Personality*, n.d.

³¹⁷ Anon., "The Rev. William Jellie 1965-1963", *Auckland Unitarian Church News & Views*, May 1963. The June 1963 issue of *News & Views* identifies Ken Thomas as the author.

³¹⁸ Joseph Macky letter 24 April 1902 in the Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional". Note the date is six years earlier but it is the same theme which has been reworked in 1908 with the use of current reference material. Joseph Macky makes an important observation about working men attending the evening service.

³¹⁹ "A Journal Containing a trustworthy though imperfect Account of the Rambles of the Auckland Unitarian Church Young People's Club and the Adventures which befell its members by the way. By a lady member." The cover of the notebook states: "C.M. Guy, Haslett Street, Eden Terrace." I am grateful to Dr Laurie Guy for loaning me this family document. (Charlotte) Lottie Guy was born in Yorkshire, her mother died in 1884. In

rambles: William Jellie and Thomas White went on a ramble with five young ladies, including Ella Macky, from Birkenhead to Kauri Point on 25 November 1905; on 9 December 1905 the rambles went from Lake Takapuna to Devonport, once again William Jellie was present with three other men and eight young ladies; they stopped for strawberries and cream en route and at North Head Mr. Jellie left them to visit the Mackys. (“What time do the Mackys have tea on Saturday’s?” Charlotte wonders in her journal.) On 13 January 1906 there was a ramble from Auckland to Penrose, a party of seven young ladies plus William Jellie and two other men, where they explored caves before returning to Newmarket.

There is a further record, also likely to be from Charlotte Guy,³²⁰ on a camp at Waiheke Island 5-14 February 1910. Fifteen girls went by ferry to Pegler’s Bay at the eastern end of Waiheke Island, next to Cowes Bay. There they were met by Mary and George Pegler and William Jellie in “pulling boats” who brought them ashore. They found the tents already erected and the camp prepared: cloths lines, wash basins, hooks, fire place and fire wood, “everything that comfort or convenience could desire was already prepared for us...” Ella Jellie was also there with the new baby Hilary,³²¹ less than three months old, having been born on 17 December 1909. The author recorded a scene that occurred early in the evenings when a solitary figure would emerge and take his swim: “’tis a sad

1886 she travelled to New Zealand with her father, younger sister and brother. When the family moved to Auckland in 1895 Lottie began attending the Auckland Adult School run by the Society of Friends. Her fiancé Harry Jackson died in an accident in 1899 and she never married. She joined the Auckland Unitarian Church and was active in the choir, sewing guild, tennis club and Sunday School and the young people’s camps at Waiheke Island where the children called her ‘Mother Guy’. Margaret Howie and Jean Leyland, *A Guy Family History from Leeds to ‘Lealands’*, Auckland: The Guy Family Committee, 2000, pp.63-70. Once again I am grateful to Dr Laurie Guy for loaning me this document and the one referenced below.

³²⁰ Anon. “February 5th - 14th 1910. Camp Pleasant Waiheke.” The handwriting looks like that of Lottie Guy.

³²¹ Hilary Theodore Jellie (1909-1997) was the first of Ella and William’s children. When the family lived at Southport, Lancashire, Hilary attended the Terra Nova School from 1917-1921. Upon their return he boarded at Waitaki Boys High School, where he was a contemporary of James Bertram and Ian Milner and in 1927 won a University Scholarship. At Auckland University College he graduated BA in Pure Mathematics in 1933 and BCom in Accounting in 1935. In his final university year Hilary rowed in the Auckland University eights when it was the champion team winning the Hebblerly Shield. When he married Phyllis Moira Roe (1905-1989), on 27 March 1937 his father officiated. They had two daughters, Margot and Valerie. After joining Cambridge Clothing as company secretary in 1935 he became a Director in 1959 and remained on the Board until his death. He was Treasurer of the Organising Committee of the 1950 British Empire Games held in Auckland, for which he was awarded the Alwyn Moon Memorial Trophy by the Auckland Amateur Sports Association. The Auckland Rowing Club awards the Hilary Jellie Memorial Shield annually to the best crew. For many years he was honorary auditor of the Auckland Unitarian Church.

sight to see a strongman, the father of a family and the Minister of a Congregation like ours, amiably splashing about in 3ft of water, when he might have been breasting the wave like one of us!" The girls played tennis, hockey and cricket and did some tree climbing. One day they rowed to Cowes Bay where the Post Office was. Every evening they had music, having bought an orchestra of violins and mandolins with them. There was great excitement when they saw the white sails of the yachts in the bay bringing the boys to join them. Later they went fishing with the boys in their boats, a decided improvement over fishing off the rocks. On Saturday night there was group singing and "some of the boy's songs haunt my memory still." They composed their own song, *Won't you come back to Pegler's Bay*, which they sang as they steamed out of the bay on their way home.

All was not as it should be in the Wellington Unitarian Church: murmurs of discontent with the new minister, the Rev. Dr. William Tudor Jones (1866-1946), had reached Auckland during 1907, just a year after his arrival. Ever resourceful, William Jellie sought to obtain an independent sounding of affairs from his trusted friend Mrs Annie Shawcross (née Smith, 1848-1927). She had been educated at Newnham College, Cambridge University and taught at Manchester High School for Girls before coming to New Zealand and marrying Edward Russell Shawcross (1838-1899). They were members of the congregation before William Jellie arrived; both were on the management committee with Edward Shawcross being chairman. Mrs Shawcross stayed for nearly a fortnight with friends, Mr and Mrs Andrews, who had been members of the church in Auckland. Upon her return she wrote a report to William Jellie of her impressions.³²² She found William and Helen Tudor Jones (1865-1942) very dedicated to their calling, but realised that they had not been able to adapt well to New Zealand: "Dr Jones cannot be self-controlled and silent at times, when it is seriously necessary he should be, and so brings trouble upon himself." She gave an example: "But Mrs Shawcross what would you do with the ones on your committee - the one not even believing that Jesus ever lived and the other not believing in God! They must go!" He had expected to remain 10 or 15 years but had already written to the secretary of the B&FUA asking to be released at the end of three. In fact

³²² Letter from A.A. Shawcross to William Jellie, dated August 1907. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C, F4.

he confided to Mrs Shawcross he would leave at the end of next week if he could! However as a preacher Dr Jones was excellent and appreciated by many. The problem was really with the management committee and it required a great deal of tact on the part of the minister and his wife if they were to work together in harmony. Not helping matters was the behaviour of some of the congregation in forming cliques; the half dozen leading families, the Richmonds included, did not reach out a welcoming hand to others. Nor it appeared were those with money especially generous in their support.

This report was forwarded to the Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, secretary of the B&FUA, who in his reply to William Jellie said he was not surprised: "An impetuous Welshman cannot easily be calm and collected just at the times he ought to exercise restraint." He thought Dr Jones was throwing away an opportunity that may not come his way again by returning early. He enclosed the report by Mrs Shawcross and said it should be kept in William Jellie's archives.³²³ That same month Dr Tudor Jones wrote to William Jellie telling him he had decided to leave in two years and three months and had already told the B&FUA. His main reason was the difficulties with some members of the committee, especially those who had no previous church connection.³²⁴

Wellington had long been thought of as the second city ripe for a Unitarian Church and William Jellie had made a number of journeys there, beginning in 1903, again in 1904 and he returned in 1907 with Ella. His efforts including lobbying the B&FUA, had led to the visit of the Rev. Charles Hargrove (1840-1918) which was instrumental in the appointment of Dr Tudor Jones; he must have been disappointed to learn the enterprise if not at risk was at the very least facing difficulties. So what are we to make of his proposal a year later to the B&FUA for either an exchange for two years with an English minister or that even a permanent successor be found for his pulpit in Auckland? He had been married for two years now and having time away from Auckland could have appealed to them both, especially if it involved travelling to the old country. While they agreed that he should have a

³²³ W. Copeland Bowie letter to William Jellie 20 November 1907. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C, F4.

³²⁴ W. Tudor Jones letters to William Jellie 12 and 14 November 1907. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C, F 4.

change the B&FUA said “whether temporary or permanent it is not easy to decide.”³²⁵ Being such a prominent spokesman for the cause of liberal religion in a colony of little more than a million people brought its own rewards. Publication of *The Modern Genesis* attracted a review in the avant-garde journal *The Triad*:

The Rev. W. Jellie, of the Auckland Unitarian Church, is certainly one of the best-read parsons Auckland can claim. He adds to a lucid style a depth of appreciation of modern problems, and his widely-trained mind presents us with results in sermons and addresses so far superior to the ordinary.... But it is matter of regret that Mr. Jellie’s following is not larger and that all the work in inculcating the religion of the present day, of conducting worship clarified by scientific thought, should fall only upon his shoulders.³²⁶

Perhaps this work was no longer going to fall on his shoulders alone as a result of *The Triad* review. Within weeks of the review appearing William Jellie received a letter from the Manse at St Andrews Presbyterian Church, South Canterbury; the Rev. James H.G. Chapple (1865-1947) wrote: “In reading a sermon of yours in “Triad” it struck me how closely you approximated to my views” he said. “I am a Presbyterian minister but have no right in the church. The Presbytery know of my heterodoxy & tried to shift me two years ago...”³²⁷ The events he referred to arose because of the support for working class interests he gave from his pulpit; he had joined the New Zealand Socialist party in 1905. The Timaru Presbytery failed to remove him in 1907 in the face of overwhelming support he received from his parishioners: they voted 200 to eight that he should stay.³²⁸ Just how much William Jellie knew of this background is not known, but he would shortly find out a lot more about this radical clergyman.

³²⁵ W. Copeland Bowie letter to William Jellie 16 December 1908. AWMMIL,MS 91/72 Series C, F4.

³²⁶ “Some Sermons Worth While.” By R. A.S. *The Triad*, 1 September 1909, pp. 30-31. For an appreciation of the place of *The Triad* and the life of its founder in our social history see Joanna Woods, *Facing the Music Charles Baeyertz and The Triad*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2008.

³²⁷ Letter from James H. G. Chapple to William Jellie dated 29 September 1909. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 series C, F4.

³²⁸ Geoff Chapple, “Chapple, James Henry George”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c12> accessed 25 March 2011.

By now William Jellie had completed over a decade of work at Auckland. He did a stock take of the achievements and state of the church for the B&FUA.³²⁹ Auckland, he said, had just finished the most successful year's work in its history: Sunday morning attendances ranged from 40 to 50 and evening attendances were between 100 and 275, while the Sunday School roll stood at 112. The church building was debt free and consideration was being given to the provision of a social hall. The library had over a thousand books as well as periodicals and 50 subscribers. There were eight societies and clubs organised by the Church, many meeting there during the week, including a young people's club, a Free Discussion Society, hockey teams, tennis club, rambler's club, Women's Society, Shakespeare Society,³³⁰ Dickens, Burns and Browning societies and a choir. In addition regular socials were arranged as were picnics. He explained that his time was completely taken with local work and there was missionary work to be done which he could not carry out. To undertake this work he proposed a visit by either Rev. William George Tarrant (1853-1928) former editor of *The Inquirer* and then chairman of the Colonial Committee of the B&FUA, or Rev. Dr. Lawrence Pearsall Jacks (1860-1955), then editor of the *Hibbert Journal*. And he made another proposal: that a Colonial Scholarship be offered annually to local candidates for the Unitarian ministry so they could study at a colonial university before attending Manchester College, Oxford. This he thought would provide "a constant inducement to our young men and women to consider the ministry as a practicable profession."

Continuing with his major concern with the supply of ministers, he suggested that "Home" students

³²⁹ Rev. William Jellie, A Report to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for the Colonial Conference 1910. This report was in response to a notice dated 11 February 1910 so the information contained would be for the first ten years, 1900 to 1909. Copy held by author. *The Eighty-fifth Annual Report of the B&FUA*, 19 May 1910, refers to the report William Jellie sent, but not in much detail. It also quotes from a letter sent by Joseph Macky then chairman of the Church committee, pointing to the need for a South Island church and another official visit, pp.19-20. The following year the Rev. William and Mrs Wooding visited Australian churches and Auckland, Wellington and Timaru. *The Eighty-sixth Annual Report of the B&FUA*, 8 June 1911, p. 25.

³³⁰ William Jellie had a great love of Shakespeare, leading the Church Shakespeare Society, using Shakespeare in sermons, joining the Auckland Shakespeare Society and acting in public performances. Wayne Facer, *William Jellie and the Development of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, pp. 61-62.

be prevailed upon "to devote themselves to colonial work, as in other churches they devote themselves to foreign missions."³³¹

³³¹ Rev. William Jellie, A Report to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for the Colonial Conference 1910.

Chapter 6. In New Zealand: Wellington 1910-1913

In the absence of organised Unitarianism in Wellington many individual Unitarians were drawn into a movement which espoused a compatible social spirit of Christianity and put these views into action: the Forward Movement. Born out of the long depression, unemployment, the suffering of workers through the evil of “sweating” the abject poverty was condemned in sermons; such as that given by the Rev. William James Williams (1847-1936) at the Durham Street Wesleyan Church a year before the Rev. Rutherford Waddell railed against sweated labour in Dunedin. “The Bitter Cry of Christchurch”³³² described household goods sold bit by bit to buy bread, homes where the bitter cry of children could be heard hungry for food with no heating to keep them warm, where scores of able bodied men were on the streets wanting work but there was none. The cry was heard by two Congregational ministers, William Albert Evans (1857-1921) and Charles Henry Bradbury (1851-1914). Born in South Wales, Rev. Evans trained at Springhill College, Birmingham, attended classes in biology and philosophy at Cardiff University and was ordained at Bridgend Church, Glamorgan in 1887. He arrived in Dunedin in 1888 onboard the SS *Ruapehu* from where he moved to Nelson and took charge of the Emanuel Congregational Church in 1890.³³³ There he met Kate Milligan Edger (1857-1935), daughter of the Rev. Samuel Edger (1823-1882) who had been minister to the nonconformist Albertland settlement around the Kaipara area.³³⁴ Kate Edger studied at Auckland and graduated BA from the University of New Zealand in 1877, the first woman in the British Empire to do so. She later graduated MA after studying at Canterbury University College and went on to become the first principal of Nelson College for Girls in 1883. When she married Rev. Evans in 1890

³³² *Star*, 6 August 1888, p. 4. The sermon was widely reported in the newspapers around the Colony. The title was a clear reference to the *Bitter Cry of Outcast London* published by the Congregational Union in 1883, which is mentioned in Chapter Four.

³³³ G.H. Scholefield ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, vol.1, p. 234.

³³⁴ Rev. Edger married Louisa Harwood (d. 1880) in 1846 and they had two sons and four daughters. Moving to Auckland he established a non-denominational church and was an advocate of liberal causes and social reform. Peter J. Lineham, “Edger, Samuel”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2e4> accessed 26 March 2011. Rev. Edger was a strong supporter of ‘Polly Plum’, Mary Ann Colclough (1836-1885), who championed women’s rights. Judy Malone, “Colclough, Mary Ann”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2c25>, accessed 26 March 2011.

she resigned from this position. Her husband resigned his pastorate in 1893 and they moved to Wellington where they were joined³³⁵ by the Rev. Charles Henry Bradbury. Born in Lancashire and educated at Airedale College, Bradford, Yorkshire, he had one ministry before coming out on the SS *Arawa* in 1887, following the early deaths of two wives which “utterly unnerved him.”³³⁶ Initially Charles Bradbury was the more politically active and radical of the pair. From the time of his appointment to the Linwood Congregational Church in Christchurch till he resigned to join the Evanses he was embroiled in political activity. In 1891 he was on the executive of the Christian Ethical Society of which the Rev. James O’Bryen Hoare (1835-1914) was secretary and treasurer.³³⁷ This society provided a study programme for members and visitors of readings and lectures divided

³³⁵ Charles Bradbury shared a house with William and Kate Evans at 69 Brougham Street, Mount Victoria, Wellington, according to the 1893 Electoral Roll.

³³⁶ *Congregational Yearbook for 1916*, pp. 7-8. Extract supplied by Patricia Hurry, Librarian and Research Secretary, Congregational History Society, personal communication 28 October 2009. “Several young ministers in the neighbourhood...like himself...united they moved the district, preaching in mills and coal pits and advocating temperance and social reform...”

³³⁷ James O’Bryen Dott Richard Hoare attended Christ’s College, Cambridge University, where he graduated BA in 1859 and MA in 1864. He entered the Church of England. In 1865 he married Frances Eleanor Henderson (d. 1911) and later that year they arrived in New Zealand on the sailing ship *Indian Empire*. He was appointed vicar at St John’s Church, Christchurch. In 1871 the family returned to England and he was appointed vicar of Weston in Hampshire. For a year in 1880 he was secretary of the Church of England Temperance Society after which he did not work for the next two years, living off investment income. Returning to New Zealand in 1883 he accepted a number of Anglican appointments until 1894, when he left to establish Our Father’s Church. For two years before leaving he gave addresses about Our Father’s Church movement which had been established in London by the Unitarian minister John Page Hopps (1834-1911). Hopps was something of a radical in Unitarian circles, an advocate of secular education; he once chaired a public meeting in Leicester for Charles Bradlaugh, the prominent secularist. His idea behind Our Father’s Church was that men and women of all races, bound by no creed and controlled by no organisation, should join together in religious worship. Our Father’s Church met in the morning at 151 Gloucester Street and in the evening at the Art Gallery in Durban Street. By 1902 it had grown to 300 members. The church had two branches: the Metaphysical Club for those interested in mental science and the School of Brotherhood for those interested in studying sociology. In 1909 O’Bryen Hoare joined the NZ Rationalist Association, then centred in Christchurch under the leadership of W.W. Collins. By 1911 he was elected vice-president and occupied the public platform whenever Collins was absent from Christchurch. Jim Dakin, “New Zealand’s Freethought Heritage: Chapter 6-Freethought in Canterbury with W.W. Collins”, *The Open Society*, 75, 1, 2002; pp.8-14. “Memorial Notice: The Rev. John Page Hopps”, *The Inquirer* 15 April 1911, pp.235-237; “Mr. James O’Bryen Dott Richard Hoare”, *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand* [Canterbury Provincial District], Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company, 1903, <http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc03Cycl-tl-body1-d3-d2-d107.html> accessed 16 April 2010. Hugh Mostyn Trevor (1882-1927), son of John Trevor founder of the Labour Church, settled in New Zealand in 1906 and in 1910 married Rev. O’Bryen Hoare’s daughter Helen Hoare(1878- 1954). He had a cheese factory in Ohakune and died at Raetihi Hospital in 1927. New Zealand Marriage Certificate Helen Hoare and Hugh Mostyn Trevor, copy issued 29 March 2010; and printouts of Death of Hugh Mostyn Trevor and Helen Trevor. Hugh Trevor followed Harry Atkinson into the Canterbury Fabian Society becoming a member in 1909; the membership roll records him as: “Cheese Factory Owner Ohakune.” Fabian Society Minute Book, ATL ref. no. 94-106-07/05,

between ethical, health and Fabian sections.³³⁸ That same year he chaired meetings for the Heathcote Radical Association at which labour supporters spoke and he addressed a union meeting organised by the Canterbury Trades and Labour Council on socialism;³³⁹ next year he spoke out in favour of an unfettered women's franchise and appeared on the Liberal Association platform which included William Pember Reeves.³⁴⁰ When he resigned his Linwood ministry he told his church quite directly the reason why:

The church had grown fat and rich and had coddled itself to the verge of destruction; it had bowed itself to the mammon of this world, and "shunted" the poor till we now had little better than a democracy of howlers and scowlers. He had been asked to join a brother who proposed opening a mission in Wellington, and had accepted the call. He could not say exactly what form the mission might assume, but it would be Christian not "churchy." His desire had long been to get among the masses of the people, if by any means he might help to raise them to a true sense of manhood and womanhood, and a true citizenship. It was, he said, proposed to open the mission the first week in May.³⁴¹

It had been expected he would soon leave for Wellington, which he almost certainly did, so when we find him standing later that year in the General Election in Christchurch it seems that he returned from Wellington to go round the hustings. He is found addressing electors at Sydenham about the need for the State to save the country, supporting secular education against the "Irish Bible", supporting old age pensions and a State bank.³⁴² In the event William Pember Reeves headed the

³³⁸ *Star*, 18 April 1891, p. 1

³³⁹ *Star*, 21 January 1891, p. 4; *Star*, 27 July 1891, p. 3.

³⁴⁰ *Star*, 21 October 1892, p. 4; *Star*, 10 June 1892, p. 2.

³⁴¹ *Star*, 6 March 1893, p. 3. Presentations were made by his admirers, "outside as well as within the pale of the church" recognizing the public esteem he was held in. *Star*, 21 March 1893, p. 3. A congregational farewell of about 200 people gave him a purse of sovereigns and collection of books. *Star*, 29 April 1893, p. 2.

³⁴² *Star*, 10 November 1893, p.1. There is very little election press coverage of Rev. Bradbury, supporting the view he returned late in the year to take part. With six clergymen standing in this election one commenter contended there was now a Clerical Party based on female suffrage, prohibition and the Bible in schools. *Star*, 25 November 1893, p. 7.

poll, William Whitehouse Collins came third and Rev. O’Byren Hoare and Rev. Bradbury were unelected at fifth and sixth respectively.

In Wellington both Evans and Bradbury were working, attracting support for the Forward Movement from some prominent Unitarians. The movement was non-sectarian; there was no credal test, simply a willingness to work with like minded people on a great humanitarian project. Enlisting members of the Atkinson and Richmond families to their cause meant getting people well connected in the Wellington establishment who could act to support and promote their aims. Judge Christopher William Richmond (1821 -1895)³⁴³ was the patriarch of the family and he wrote to his married daughter Alice Blake (b.1863) telling her:

We see a good deal of Mr. Evans... He is on social questions a member of the Party of Progress, but not a socialist and a very moderate democrat - if indeed you can call him one at all. Bradbury is less cultured and philosophical - a very good fellow people say having strong sympathies with the wage earning class. The purpose of the mission seems to be to introduce something very like Thom’s [a Unitarian minister] and M[artineau]’s view of

³⁴³ Christopher William Richmond was the eldest son of Christopher (1785 – 1832) and Maria “Lely” Richmond (née Wilson, 1791-1872). Both parents were Unitarian, his father being elected third president of the B&FUA in 1828. When William Richmond, as the family called him, was sent to the Unitarian school Hove House, he formed a lifelong friendship with the headmaster Richard Holt Hutton, later editor of the *Spectator*. He followed his father into law in 1847. In 1852 he married Emily Elizabeth Atkinson (1829-1906) and they had five daughters and two sons. While in England William Richmond was interested in Christian Socialism, reading and listening to F.D. Maurice. Two brothers, James Crowe and Henry Robert Richmond had joined a relative John Hursthouse in New Plymouth and William and Emily followed in 1853. When their sister Jane Maria (1824-1914) married Arthur Samuel Atkinson (1833-1902) in 1854, the connection between the two families was cemented. Elected to represent New Plymouth in Parliament in 1855 he joined the ministry of Edward Stafford (1819-1901) and became colonial treasurer, colonial secretary and minister of native affairs. In 1860 during Stafford’s absence for six months in England William Richmond was acting Premier; however politics had never entirely been to his liking and he resigned his seat and in 1862 accepted an appointment to the Supreme Court based in Dunedin. When Edward Stafford offered him the Premiership if he returned to politics in 1865 he declined. His Unitarianism was influenced by Dr Martineau and he gave addresses on his religious and philosophical interests to the Nelson Institute and the New Zealand Institute. In 1873 he moved to Wellington where as senior Puisne Judge he continued to serve on the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal until his death. Austin Graham Bagnall, “Richmond, Christopher William”, *Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 23 April 2009, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/1966/R/RichmondChristopherWilliam/en> accessed 24 January 2006; Keith Sinclair, “Richmond, Christopher William”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1r9> accessed 4 January 2011. Edmund Bohan, “Stafford, Edward William”, *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1s22>, accessed 4 February 2011. Obituary Mr. Justice Richmond. *Evening Post*, 5 August 1895, p. 2.

Christianity to our agnostic young men and to the working classes. They lecture every Sunday ...and are drawing fair audiences'... [Mr. Evans is] A homely looking little man in a black coat in a lecture hall fitted for theatrical entertainments, with a strange pronunciation, must have very good matter in him and great spiritual power to compete, in the judgement of the crowd, with 'the snowy handed' and his great organ and his surpliced choristers and other adjuncts...³⁴⁴

Just what were the aims that this cause espoused? Though not committed to writing until over two years after its formation, in the first edition of its publication *The Citizen* the Rev. Evans elaborated on their aims: "It affirms the fatherhood of God, and the sonship of man; it accentuates the law of service as the law of life; it asserts that rights and duties are correlative terms..." He believed the Forward Movement could adopt the programme of the Mansfield Settlement, the Congregational university settlement opened in 1890 at Canning Town, London, which was set up to fight against selfishness, injustice, vice, disease, starvation, ignorance, and squalor and build society based on mutual helpfulness and concern for all human life. (While he may have drawn inspiration from the settlement idea it was not the same. Each day they came down from Mt Victoria to work in the slums, they did not live there; nor were there university students in Wellington to help them in their work.) He enumerated how this would be done through educational policies: public lectures and study classes, cottage meetings, open air meetings, and children's groups; furthermore he sought to organising men "for the purpose of supervising the administration of existing laws affecting the health and weal of the community."³⁴⁵ This latter aim appears to provide ample scope for more direct political action. The Literary Society lectures which took place between 1895 and 1896 in the Forward Movement Hall, previously Ballance Hall, in Manners Street, were well supported by

³⁴⁴ Letter from C.W. Richmond to Alice Blake dated 30 August 1893, in Guy H. Scholefield ed., *The Richmond-Atkinson Papers*, vol.11, Wellington: Government Printer, 1960, p.589-590. (Alice Richmond was the sixth child of William and Emily Richmond. In 1892 she married Mr. E. J. Blake a solicitor and Unitarian in Somerset where she then lived.)

³⁴⁵ W.A. Evans, "Aims of the Forward Movement", *The Citizen*, 1:1, (1895), pp.1-3.

Unitarian lecturers who gave at least a third of them.³⁴⁶ About 200 people subscribed to these lectures which in the main provided an introduction to nineteenth century English literature. The public lecture programme was more varied, one week in 1895 it included arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, English, shorthand, citizenship and socialism; there was no subscription but a donation was taken. The advertisement declared “Presidents-C.H. Bradbury, W.A. Evans.”³⁴⁷ The contents of all eight issues of *The Citizen*, the complete series published between 1895 and 1896, shows that of forty-five authored articles seventeen (38 percent) can be identified as written by Unitarians. The Mutual Help Society of which Mrs Hislop (1848-1909)³⁴⁸ was a President, attended to the needs of poor families providing clothing, bedding, boots and other necessities. The temperance message was strongly averred by the two clergymen and some of their supporters.

The wider family of Judge Richmond active in the Forward Movement included his daughter Mary Richmond (1853-1949), Margaret Fell (née Richmond,1857-1933), Lily May Atkinson (née Kirk, 1866-1921) and her husband Arthur Richmond Atkinson (1863-1935) who had been secretary to his uncle Judge Richmond and was MHR for Wellington South between 1899-1902, Dolla (Dorothy Kate) Richmond (1861-1935)³⁴⁹ a professional artist and member of the Council of the New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts, Maurice Wilson Richmond (1860-1919) nephew of Judge Richmond’s and a lawyer who was to become Professor of Law at Victoria University College.³⁵⁰ There were other well known supporters, chief among them Sir Robert Stout and his law partner Dr (later Sir) John Findlay

³⁴⁶ See Appendix 4 Forward Movement Literary Society Lectures. Judge Richmond was due to deliver a lecture on his favourite poet Robert Browning to the Forward Movement Literary Society the night he died on 3 August 1895.

³⁴⁷ *Evening Post*, 18 March 1895. Unfortunately Rev. Bradbury’s role in the Forward Movement is too often completely overlooked, let alone the co-Presidency acknowledged. See for example Margaret J. McArthur, *Collectivist Tracts and Altruistic Sermons: A Study of “Socialism” in Late Nineteenth Century New Zealand*, MA Thesis in Political Science, University of Canterbury, 1981, pp.87-89, which talks about Rev. Evans as the sole founder without mention of Rev. Bradbury.

³⁴⁸ Mrs Annie Hislop was Mayoress of Wellington 1905-1909. “The funeral service was impressively conducted by the Rev. Dr. Tudor Jones of the Unitarian Church.” *New Zealand Free Lance* 11 September 1909, p.15.

³⁴⁹ After studying at Bedford College in London she went on to the Slade School of Fine Art for two years. When she returned to New Zealand she was appointed art mistress at the Nelson College for Girls in 1883, when Kate Edger became principal. Janet Paul, “Richmond, Dorothy Kate”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r18> accessed 25 April 2011.

³⁵⁰ Most of the Richmond-Atkinson supporters of the Forward Movement are identified in Frances Porter, *Born to New Zealand*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1995, p. 329.

(1862-1929), Judge Herbert Frank Edger (1854-1909) the only son of the Rev. Samuel Edger and brother of Kate Evans, the Hon. Thomas Hislop (1850-1925) former Minister of Education and Justice who became Mayor of Wellington and his wife Maria Annie Hislop (née Simpson, 1848-1909), Fred de la Mare who was then a young civil service clerk and went on to become a lawyer and educationalist at Victoria University College, George Hogben (1853-1920) a close friend of Rev. Evans who joined the movement when he arrived in Wellington to take charge of the Department of Education; and (David) Ernest Beaglehole (1866-1946), an accountant. Over half the members of the management committee appear to have been Unitarians.³⁵¹

The Forward Movement did pursue a broader political agenda as well as its humanitarian and philanthropic work. Kate Evans organised a union for domestic servants in Wellington in 1898. She “sought to improve the working conditions of domestic servants through moral suasion of employers, and by the establishment of a clubroom and a benefit fund...”³⁵² Her husband was the guiding force in establishing the New Zealand Workers Union in Wellington, although at pains to point out that it was not in his role as a leader in the Forward Movement; these activities were undertaken in his capacity as a member of the Workers Union.³⁵³ A conference was held in the Forward Hall to discuss the issue of unemployment at which unemployed delegates attended. Meanwhile the Rev. Bradbury was taking the message to the Congregational Union, in an address just one year before he was elected chairman of the Union he said: “As they truly knew their faith they could only hail the advent of socialism and regret its tardiness. Socialism was the direct

³⁵¹ Ernest Beaglehole was appointed to the management committee at the first meeting on 27 August 1893 and became Secretary; the committee included Arthur Richmond Atkinson, his wife Lily and Maurice Richmond. (The two founders would have also been on the committee; and the Treasurer was T. Pringle. *Evening Post*, 18 March 1895.) Tim Beaglehole, *A Life of J. C. Beaglehole New Zealand Scholar*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006, p.33. The Beaglehole family was to have an extensive involvement with the Wellington Unitarian Free Church. (pp. 50-52.)

³⁵² Brigid Pike, “Tasker, Marianne Allen”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2110> accessed 4 March 2011.

³⁵³ *Evening Post*, 9 March 1896. The Workers Union passed a resolution opposing an Independent labour party as they saw no reason to desert the Liberal Party “who have done so much for labour.” *Hawera & Normanby Star*, 30 April 1898, p. 2.

outcome of the Christian faith..."³⁵⁴ William Evans appears to have become increasingly politicised through what he encountered in his work and his association with Charles Bradbury. Sharing a house and working together provided many hours for discussion between the two men. We next find Rev. Evans chairing a series of lectures in the Forward Hall on behalf of the Clarion Club, which he said was modelled of the Fabian Society to educate people about socialism.³⁵⁵ Moreover the Clarionettes, as the club members called themselves, were instrumental in the formation of a Socialist Party in Wellington in 1901 of which the Rev. W. A. Evans was a foundation member.³⁵⁶

Life had not been easy for Kate and William Evans, who had three sons to support or for Charles Bradbury while they worked in the Forward Movement. There was no regular income for the men from their work in the slums or with the unemployed, despite having undertaken some work at the request of the Wellington Charitable Aid Board.³⁵⁷ For some years Kate Evans was the main earner in the household, running a private secondary school for girls during the day at the family home and coaching adult pupils in the evening. Eventually Charles Bradbury decided to return to regular parish work and in August 1897 he took up a pastoral appointment at the Prahran Independent Church in Melbourne, just over four years had elapsed since he had joined William Evans in Wellington to start the Forward Movement.³⁵⁸ Rev. Evans soldiered on but by 1904 the Forward Movement had run its

³⁵⁴ *Southland Times* 11 February 1896, p. 2.

³⁵⁵ *Evening Post* 17 June 1896, p.5. The lectures were given over four weeks, chaired by Rev. Evans. The Clarion Clubs were derived from Robert Blatchford's *Clarion* newspaper. As we have seen Blatchford supported the Labour Church and Independent Labour Party in Britain. The newspaper's financial backer, William Ranstead (1859-1944) later immigrated to New Zealand with the intention of establishing a Clarion Colony, having persuaded about 190 men and women to come out to form a co-operative settlement. Eventually the settlement plan was abandoned. Herbert Otto Roth, "Socialist (N.Z.) Party", *Te Ara-Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, updated 22 April 2009, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/1966/political-parties/16> accessed 29 March 2011.

³⁵⁶ H. Roth, "The New Zealand Socialist Party", *Political Science*, 9, 9 (1957), pp.51-60.

³⁵⁷ G.H. Scholefield ed., *A Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, vol. 1, Wellington: Department of Internal Affairs, 1940, p.234. William Evans was an advocate of a university and when Victoria University College was established in 1897 he was a member of council 1898-1921 and chairman 1902-1903. He also served on the Wellington City Council.

³⁵⁸ Charles Bradbury remained at Prahran until 1905. He then had Congregational parishes at Leederville in Western Australia and Milton in Brisbane. He was president of the Congregational Union in Australia and principal of the Congregational College. He died on 30 April 1914 survived by his third wife and four sons. *Brisbane Courier* 1 May 1914, p.8.

course and he became pastor of the Newtown Congregational church, a position he held until 1921.³⁵⁹

While the Forward Movement may have come to an end, during its existence it served to benefit Unitarianism in a number of ways. Contact was made with Harry Atkinson who founded the Socialist Church in Christchurch and he addressed the Forward Movement on “Religion in its Relation to Labour,” where he spoke about his experiences with John Trevor and the rise of the Labour Church in Britain.³⁶⁰ It certainly forged a link with members of the Auckland Unitarian Church who looked favourably upon the activities in Wellington. On his visits to Auckland William Evans stayed at Herne Bay with Charles (1849-1925) and Gertrude Evangeline Hemus (née Edger, 1852-1936) as Gertrude was his sister-in-law. The Hemuses were active in the Auckland Unitarian Church and through them he would meet other church members. The Macky family were friends of the Hemuses and spent music and literary evenings at their home.³⁶¹ On one occasion Joseph Macky reported that:

As usual we have all been over to morning church and the children to Sunday school as well....We then went along to the Hemus's to see a Rev. Mr. Evans who is up from Wellington. He is minister to the Forward Movement church [sic] down there, a sort of branch of the Congregational Church but rather more progressive. He is all but Unitarian in

³⁵⁹ “The move provided greater financial security, since the role with the Forward Movement had not been salaried. Despite earlier reservations about such a ministry, he exercised considerable influence there and within the wider church. This influence, and the growth of his parish, suggests that a constituency for progressive social Christianity existed.” Geoffrey Michael Troughton, *Jesus in New Zealand 1900-1940*. PhD Thesis in History, Massey University, Albany, 2007, p.136.

³⁶⁰ *Evening Post*, 9 December 1893 p.2. *The Evening Post*, 11 December 1892, p.2 gave a summary of his Sunday night address saying that the object of the Labour Church was to “unite the workers in a common bond of brotherhood, with the view of realising higher objects for the well-being of the community as a whole.” Both Rev. Evans and Rev. Bradbury were present, the later having just returned from Christchurch where he was involved in the General Election. For details of the Socialist Church see James E. Taylor, *“To me, Socialism is not a set of dogmas but a living principle”: Harry Atkinson and the Christchurch Socialist Church, 1890-1905*, MA Thesis in History, Victoria University of Wellington, 2010.

³⁶¹ Joseph Macky letter to Tom Macky 27 October 1902. Darlimurla Letters, Vol. 11, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box “Additional”.

his ideas and a very interesting man whom I hope to see more of in my future trips to Wellington.³⁶²

By the time William Jellie visited Wellington he knew there was a cohesive group of Unitarians there who had come together through the Forward Movement and demonstrated their ability to work towards a common goal. A few years later, just as one movement was beginning to peter out a new cause was being organised: the Wellington Unitarian Society was formed in 1904 following the visit of Charles Hargrove and in 1906 the Rev. Dr Tudor Jones took up his charge at the Wellington Unitarian Free Church. For those Wellington Unitarians involved it must have been a straightforward and welcome transition from one to the other. Despite the days of the Forward Movement having drawn to a close the Rev. Evans continued to spread the social gospel³⁶³ although now believing it could only be realised through political action. A view that found sympathy with many Unitarians.

When William Jellie agreed to go to Wellington³⁶⁴ to take over as minister following the departure of Dr Tudor Jones in February 1910 he faced two major tasks: the first to reconcile the differing viewpoints on the management committee, some of whom had been so antagonistic to Dr Tudor Jones; and secondly to deal with the outstanding debt the church faced on its building. None of this would have appeared particularly daunting; he had dealt successfully with problems like this in the past. The Wellington church site was in the central city area and at a cost of £1,287-00 was considered a good price for the location.³⁶⁵ A little more than a year after the land was bought the church was opened on 18 April 1909 by Mrs Margaret Richmond Fell (1858-1933) third daughter of

³⁶² Joseph Macky letter to Tom Macky, Darlimurla Sunday night [2 November 1902], Darlimurla Letters, Vol. 11, ACL, SC, Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional".

³⁶³ Christine Berry, *The New Zealand Student Christian Movement, 1896-1996. A Centennial History*, Christchurch: Student Christian Movement of Aotearoa, 1998, pp.9-10. Rev. Evans addressed SCM students in Wellington in 1906.

³⁶⁴ William Jellie visited Wellington in April 1910 following Dr Tudor Jones' departure; this was an opportune time for the committee to discuss an appointment with him. *Evening Post*, 15 April 1910, p 8. He arrived to take up his position on 7 September 1910. *Evening Post* 8 September 1910, p.9.

³⁶⁵ William C. Stephens's letter to William Jellie dated 14 February 1908. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C, F4. The section was in Ingestre Street, later renamed Vivian Street and was occupied by a "Chinese Laundryman" paying 30/- a week rent which paid the interest on the loan and rates.

Judge Richmond.³⁶⁶ The church was designed by the well known Wellington architect James Bennie (1873-1945)³⁶⁷ and built by Adams and Smart for a reported cost of some £1,500-00.³⁶⁸ Taking up the whole site, it was designed in a Gothic style, with a massive doorway surmounting a flight of steps; the front was built in compressed red brick and faced with bluff bricks. The interior had a domed ceiling and graded floor, so the congregation could see and hear easily; there was light from the roof which was asbestos tiled. The church could accommodate 400 people.³⁶⁹

William Jellie's plan was to have the whole church working together on solutions to their problems. His first action was to have the committee call the congregation to a "Council of War." The state of affairs of the church were laid out and discussed and suggestions invited. The "Council of War" produced an interesting result along gender lines. A Unitarian Men's Club was formed, which held meetings of a "social and deliberative character." The Women's Alliance on the other hand formed separate working groups: a Work Committee to raise funds, a House-Keeping Committee for cleaning and decorating the church, a Visiting Committee to make calls on members, a Corresponding Committee to supply information to inquirers and keep in touch with distant

³⁶⁶ Margaret Richmond was educated at Newnham College, Cambridge University. She married Walter Fell (1855-1932) MA, MD, MRCS, LRCP, who attended Rugby School and University College, Oxford University. They had two daughters who attended Victoria University College, Wellington and Margaret Fell often acted as chaperone at College dances. Fred de la Mare wrote her obituary entitled "A Great Lady" in the 1933 edition of *Spike*. ATL ref. no. 77-173-24/4.

³⁶⁷ James Bennie was born in Ayershire, Scotland and came to New Zealand as a child with his family when his father took up a position as engineer at the Brunner coal mine on the West Coast. He went to Melbourne and trained as an architect under Thomas Searell at the Working Men's College. Upon returning to New Zealand he practiced at Greymouth and then Christchurch before settling in Wellington in 1903. He devoted most of his effort in the Wellington area and developed interests in designing cinemas and churches, undertaking work for Methodist, Anglican and Presbyterian clients as well as Unitarian. He was a follower of the British Israelites. Although he retired in 1935 the owners of the Paramount cinema asked him to carry out repairs and alterations following the 1942 Wellington earthquake. Tony Froude, *James Bennie Wellington Architect 1873-1945*, Paraparaumu: T. Froude, 2005.

³⁶⁸ An article by Dr Tudor Jones in *The Inquirer* 11 April 1908 confirms the price of the land and says £1,500 more will be needed for the building. *The Inquirer* 12 June 1909 reporting on the opening of the church says £2,450 had been collected, which would leave a shortfall of £337. But another report in *The Inquirer* 16 April 1910 pp.252-253, has Dr Tudor Jones saying that £3,500 had been raised. Given there was still a substantial deficit how much did the building cost? At the annual meeting in 1910 it was reported there was a bank overdraft of £141 and a debt on the property of £1500. (*Evening Post* 18 October 1910, p.4) Did the building really cost nearly twice the original estimate? The Balance Sheet as at 30 September 1923 gave the cost of the Building at £2,807-7-0 with a mortgage of £1200-00. Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar*, December 1923. The Auckland church six years earlier had leased the land and the building cost less than one third that of Wellington.

³⁶⁹ *Evening Post* 9 October 1908, p.3.

Unitarians, and finally a Study Committee. William Jellie followed up these plans by urging members to get into a team and work in a steady, united way “and in a year or two we shall look back in wonder upon the distance we have travelled and the loads we have carried.”³⁷⁰

When Ella and William arrived with their baby Hilary they settled into a house at 83 Roxburgh Street, Mount Victoria. During the year Ella Jellie had her “at home” times for casual visitors usually on the third Tuesday of each month. This she continued with until October 1911, the month before their second child, Margaret Campbell Jellie (1911-2006),³⁷¹ was born. Ella resumed her “at home” times in March 1912. Being in Wellington meant more opportunity for William Jellie to see old friends, such as Sir George Fowlds. When William and Ella visited Wellington after they were married George Fowlds and his wife Mary Ann (née Fulton, 1859-1941) attended the “at home” function organised by the Unitarians. George Fowlds had become a vice-president of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, originally established in Auckland in 1893. In Wellington the Society was set up in 1897 with help from Kate Evans and Edward Tregear and enthusiastically supported by Unitarian women including the late Annie Hislop, Lily Atkinson, Margaret Fell and Lady Stout. Aimed at providing help to deserted mothers and children, including unmarried mothers and their babies, it was a cause that William Jellie, having had his own difficult family experience, could readily identify with. He willingly agreed to give it his public support and became a vice-president.

³⁷⁰ The Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendars* for March 1911, April 1911, and May 1911.

³⁷¹ Margaret Campbell Jellie was born on 12 November 1911 and was two years old when the family left Wellington for England. After returning from Britain the family moved to Timaru when William Jellie accepted the call to the Unitarian Church there. Margaret attended Craighead Diocesan Girls School and when the family returned to Auckland in 1925 she continued her secondary education at St Cuthbert’s College. She went on to Auckland University College and graduated BA in 1932 and MA in English with honours in 1934. Concurrently she attended Auckland Teachers College for a year undertaking teacher training. She taught at Hamilton High School between 1934 and 1939. From there she joined the staff of Marlborough College where she remained until 1945, followed by Whangarei High School and New Plymouth Girls High School. In 1952 she was appointed Head of the English Department at Matamata College where she remained until her retirement in 1969. At Matamata College she spent a lot of time working in the Memorial Library. She was very involved in local community affairs, served two terms as president of the Matamata Arts Society and worked for charities. She was a member of the Bronte Society and in 2004 donated her collection of Bronte Society *Transactions* to the University of Auckland. Margaret was a member of the Auckland Unitarian Church throughout her adult life. She sang in the church choir and became church librarian, taking over from Jessie Heywood. Wayne Facer, “Margaret Campbell Jellie”, Auckland Unitarian Church *News & Views*, Supplement December/January, (2006), pp.5-6.

By his second year there was an experienced committee behind him, led by the articulate and intelligent Mary Richmond in the chair.³⁷² The eldest of the nine children of Judge Richmond and his wife Emily, she had taught at Wellington Girls' High School, and then travelled to London where she trained in kindergarten teaching at the Froebel Institute. On her return to Wellington she started a scheme to provide poor children with pre-school education after which she founded the Richmond Kindergarten Schools. At the time of William Jellie's ministry she was also a member of the Wellington Hospital and Charitable Aid Board.³⁷³ Additionally, the standing the church enjoyed in the wider community was enhanced by the support it received from members who were public figures, such as Sir Robert Stout and Professor Hugh Mackenzie, who could be called upon to provide a sermon, welcome a visitor or speak out on an issue; and on occasion they played a formal role as President of the church.³⁷⁴

What did worry William Jellie at this time was the lack of growth in new members. The actual attendances were satisfactory, morning services attract around 200; however he was concerned that there was little growth in membership. In 1912 the roll stood at 99 members.³⁷⁵ It was a theme he would return to in the *Calendars* pointing out the benefits and ease of joining: "You have only to express your wish, and to subscribe annually a sum not less than 2/6. Nothing simpler, nothing freer,

³⁷² William Jellie had called for "twelve men and women, good and true, of sound judgment, experienced in business if possible; zealous in the cause, faithful in attendance." Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar* October 1911. The committee for 1912-13 comprised: Chairman Mary E. Richmond, Secretary David Beaglehole, Treasurer William Stephens, Committee Jessie Oakley-Browne, Professor Hugh McKenzie, Messrs John Gammell, James Geddis, W. R. Gibson, James McDowell, D. Pollock, F. Sampson and W.J. Thompson. Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar* December 1912. In February 1913 the *Calendar* reported that Mr. W.R. Gibson had been elected Treasurer.

³⁷³ Frances Porter, "Richmond, Mary Elizabeth," *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3r19>, accessed 11 April 2011. For details of Mary Richmond's educational activities and the Unitarian network which supported her views see: Kerry Bethel, "To Bring into Play: Miss Mary Richmond's Utilization of Kindred Networks in the Diffusion of Kindergarten Ideals into Practice," *History of Education*, 35, 2, (2006), pp.225-244.

³⁷⁴ John Gammell, former Unitarian minister and retired educationalist was the first President, 1906-1908. He was followed by Hugh Mackenzie (1861-1940), Professor of English at Victoria University College, and then Sir Robert Stout who was President until his death in 1930, Mr. James McRoberts Geddis (1856-1935) publisher of the *New Zealand Free Lance* became President in 1930, and finally Edmund Charles Isaac (1855-1949) former Congregational minister and Inspector of Technical Education, President 1933-1945.

³⁷⁵ Unitarian Free Church Wellington Committee 1912/13 and Church Roll, AWMMIL 91/72, Series F7. Assuming the roll is a complete document, which it appears to be, this was a very slender number on which to erect such a financial structure.

yet how much depends on it."³⁷⁶ So how could those attendees, often regular, be converted into members, for it was the member who was the life blood of the church? Exhortation alone did not seem to succeed. Other attempts were made to make the church inviting and attract new people in: William Jellie formed a Literary Club for young adults in May 1911, which was open to all and met on Friday evenings. They studied Tennyson, Browning and Emerson and continued until May 1913. John Gammell offered to raise money with a series of evening lectures on the French Revolution which were open to the public.³⁷⁷ The church received a great deal of encouragement from the visit organised by the B&FUA of the Rev. William Wooding (1840-1918), his wife Emily Evelyn (née Asquith, 1855-1937) and their daughter Lilian (d.1949). Emily Wooding was the only sister of Herbert Asquith (1852-1928) then Liberal Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. The Asquiths were a Congregational family and indeed the Rev. Wooding had been Congregational before his "own enfranchisement [which] came with an acquaintance with the works of Darwin, Wallace and Lyell, whilst he was actually pursuing his ministry."³⁷⁸ He gave a series of sermons in Wellington which drew large attendances, before heading for Auckland. One hopes the Wooding family found time for a reunion with their son and brother who had a sheep station in Canterbury.

The geographic location of Wellington gave William Jellie a base from which he could undertake work in the South Island. James Chapple had finally resigned from the Presbyterian Church.³⁷⁹ His

³⁷⁶ Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar* August 1912.

³⁷⁷ He gave three lectures, attendances averaged about 100 and £14 was raised.

³⁷⁸ *Evening Post* 28 February 1912, p.2.

³⁷⁹ James Chapple resigned on 13 September 1910. He was employed for just over two years as librarian in the Timaru Public Library, but with the opening of the Timaru Unitarian Hall devoted more time to the cause. As a pacifist he left for America in July 1915 along with his wife Florence and 13 children, where they stayed at Oakland, California. Returning to New Zealand in 1917 he started a Unitarian Church in Christchurch, but in March 1918 was convicted of sedition and sentenced to 11 months imprisonment. Upon release he returned to the Christchurch Unitarian church where he remained until 1925. Eventually he retired in Auckland and joined William Jellie in sharing the Auckland pulpit during the Second World War. But his support for Soviet Union neutrality before the German invasion was very unpopular and he ceased his involvement in the church. Geoff Chapple, "Chapple, James Henry George," *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010.

<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3c12> accessed 25 March 2011. In 1930 James Chapple was unsuccessfully nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize by William Lee Martin (1870-1950) MP for Raglan. In the first Labour Government Lee Martin was Minister of Agriculture and later became a member of the Legislative Council. Dr Olav Njølstad, Research Director, Nobel Institute, confirmed that the nomination of James Chapple was made by William Lee Martin, personal communication 12 March 2003.

denouement occurred when he took the public platform to chair a meeting of the touring English Rationalist and ex-Catholic priest Joseph McCabe (1867-1955).³⁸⁰ Any remaining doubt about his heterodoxy was extinguished when soon after the McCabe incident he visited the Auckland Unitarian Church and gave a sermon. Encouraged by William Jellie he formed a Unitarian Society in Timaru and found substantial support for a liberal church. When William Jellie visited Timaru in July 1911 he found “a thoroughly live movement, an increasing congregation, a Sunday School with 50 on its roll, and a Discussion Society that meets during the week.” At the evening service William Jellie conducted there were 270 people; afterwards some 70 stayed behind to form a church. With characteristic foresight he thought the three churches should form a “N.Z. Unitarian Association, to try to interest the many scattered Unitarians who live up and down the country, and to focus attention upon missionary efforts.”³⁸¹

When the Rev. William Fleming Kennedy (1864-1945)³⁸² arrived in Wellington in April 1912 en route for Dunedin and took a morning service, William Jellie hailed him as an old friend. Within a month

³⁸⁰ Joseph McCabe arrived in New Zealand in June 1910 on a tour sponsored by the Rationalist Press Association of London. On 6 June 1910 he addressed the Auckland Unitarian Church on “The Religion of Women” to a capacity audience. After a number of other very popular public addresses he went to Wellington where the city council had decided to refuse him use of the town hall, until a deputation of civic leaders including Professor Hugh McKenzie and John Gammell, persuaded them to rescind the ban. At a meeting chaired by Sir Robert Stout, Joseph McCabe spoke to a crowded town hall on “Secular Education” which resulted in the formation of a National League for the Defence of Secular Education. His other public meetings were packed out and people were turned away. At the Unitarian Free Church he spoke to another full audience on “The Evolution of the Social Position of Women.” From there he went to Timaru where on 12 July he spoke on “The Present Conflict between Science and Theology” with Rev. James Chapple in the chair. Bill Cooke, *A Rebel To His Last Breath Joseph McCabe and Rationalism*, New York: Prometheus Books, 2001, pp.45, 83, 303.

³⁸¹ Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar*, August 1911.

³⁸² William Fleming Kennedy was born in Ireland and came to New Zealand as a child, about 1870. At the age of 43 he decided to train as a Unitarian minister and went to Manchester College, Oxford on his own initiative and applied for admission as a Special Student in 1907. The Regulations under which he was admitted required two satisfactory testimonials from “competent and disinterested persons” as to his character and attainments. One was supplied by Dr Tudor Jones, did William Jellie provide another or was he accepted with one? In his letter of application dated 20 June 1907 he said his father “belonged to an old Dublin Unitarian family, known to the Rev. Dr. Drummond.” (Copy provided by the HMC Librarian, 3 January 2003.) This would have been the Strand Street Meeting House in Dublin where Dr. William Hamilton Drummond (1778-1865) was minister between 1815 and 1859. W.F. Kennedy was admitted without fees and after a minimum of one year’s satisfactory study was awarded a Manchester College Certificate. Jeannie Forsyth Ewing (1863-1936) from Dunedin probably married William Kennedy while he was minister at the (Unitarian) Free Christian Church, Barnard Castle, 1910-1911. Besides founding the Dunedin Unitarian Church he took a strong interest in the National Peace and Anti-Militarist League, being elected President 6 November 1913. Minutes of a Meeting of

they met up again, this time in Timaru, where they were joined by the Rev. Richard James Hall (1883-1930) who had come from the Auckland church, to celebrate the opening of the Unitarian Hall with James Chapple. William Jellie declared the event a “glorious success” with some 120 people attending the afternoon dedication and 250 the evening social. The Sunday services had 75 in the morning and a crowd of at least 350 in the evening.³⁸³

The Rev. Kennedy meanwhile had founded his church in Dunedin holding the first meeting on 12 May 1912 in the Trades Hall, Moray Place, attracting 80 people. From the beginning he seemed to have had organisational problems and needed outside help. William Jellie visited him that September and wrote a report to Richard Hall on the Dunedin prospects.³⁸⁴ He found William Kennedy was well supported by capable people: William Trimble the Hocken Librarian, Mr Sidey³⁸⁵ from the wealthy Dunedin family that built Corstorphine House and whose brother Thomas Sidey (1863-1933) was a local Member of Parliament, Mr Kendall the Public Trustee and Official Assignee who had recently moved from Wellington where he had been a member of the Unitarian Free Church (two years later he would move to the Christchurch Office), and a former member of the Auckland Unitarian Church, Mr Bonachie, a foreman painter at the Union Steamship Company. Mr Kennedy was respected but not seen as strong enough to carry out the work; he lacked good organisational abilities, did not know how to form let alone work with a committee; William Jellie advised him strongly to stop acting as treasurer. He would need the support of the other three Unitarian ministers in the Colony if he was to succeed.³⁸⁶ On his way back William Jellie stopped

the Dunedin Branch of the National Peace and Anti Militarism League, 6 November 1913, Hocken library, MS 1016/3.

³⁸³ Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar*, June 1912. Mr and Mrs George Wells had bought the site for £750 and underwritten a further £450 toward the building. Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar* September 1911.

³⁸⁴ Report by William Jellie on the Unitarian Church newly started in Dunedin by the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, September 1912; copy of draft held by author.

³⁸⁵ Although William Jellie does not give the first name or initial it is possible that it was Arthur Sidey he was referring to as the eldest Sidey brother John died in 1895. The Sidey family was Presbyterian.

³⁸⁶ That support was forthcoming: James Chapple being closest made many visits; and William Jellie made quite a number of trips as well. Richard Hall came from Auckland on a number of occasions and as a fellow pacifist attended a meeting of the National Peace and Anti-Militarist League with Rev. Kennedy on 10 June 1913 where he spoke about the work of the Peace and Freedom League in Auckland. Minutes of a Special

overnight at Timaru where he delivered a lecture on the Bible in Schools, a topic that was about to consume him.

Ever since the passing of the Education Act in 1877 which made primary education free, compulsory and secular there had been attempts to amend the law to allow religious instruction in schools.³⁸⁷

For its advocates this “led to a long standing campaign for Bible reading in state schools. Enthusiasts for this cause considered that the preservation of Christian civilisation was at stake.”³⁸⁸ For its foes, which included the Unitarians, it would lead to the inculcation of religious superstition along sectarian lines. It was a lecture of Joseph McCabe’s that had spurred the formation of the Secular Education Defence League. John Gammell presided over a meeting at which he called for:

Hands off! To all assailants of the secular system...no matter whether Catholic or Protestant religion prevailed, the clerical body in each had been the most bitter foe of every modern system of education. From 1877, the passing of the Act, the Churches of New Zealand had fought against it.³⁸⁹

The meeting elected a fair number of Unitarians to its executive; John Gammell President, Professor Mackenzie Treasurer, Henry Joosten one of the joint secretaries and William Jellie a member of the executive committee. Following the campaign launched by the Bible in Schools League in 1911 William Jellie actively used his pulpit to keep the issue before the congregation. He gave a series of sermons under the head “Against the Bible in Schools” and invited the Chief Inspector of Schools for the Hawkes Bay, Mr Hill, to give an address on his “Experiences of Bible-in- Schools in England,

Meeting of the Dunedin Branch of the National Peace and Anti Militarism League, 10 June 1913, Hocken Library, MS 1016/3. “An array of groups came together to form the National Peace Council, which within a few months had perhaps thirty thousand men and women on its roll throughout the country. Other groups also fought conscription. Among them were the National Peace and Anti-Militarist League, the Freedom League and the Passive Resisters Union. The socialist movement, growing rapidly among workers and some of the middle class, threw its weight against the law.” Stevan Eldred-Grigg, *The Great Wrong War New Zealand Society in WW1*, Auckland: Random House, 2010, p.18.

³⁸⁷ William Evans had been an early defender of the existing secular education system, speaking in its favour at a public meeting in 1896 where he was identified as representing the Forward Movement. *Marlborough Express*, 23 May 1896, p.2.

³⁸⁸ Geoffrey Troughton, *Jesus in New Zealand*, p.210.

³⁸⁹ *Evening Post*, 15 December 1910, p, 3.

Australia and Elsewhere.” He publicly rebutted the “preservation of Christian civilisation argument” advanced by Bishop Cleary of the Catholic Church. : “it is to escape from [the] pitiless logic [of the religious system] in the name of humanity, that the secular system has grown up out of the political and religious experiences of the last 400 years” he wrote. Furthermore, he claimed that the “work of the civil government is to administer justice, to guarantee civil and religious freedom, to secure the education of the children without trampling on the rights of any child or parent ...” and that now “religious affairs have been removed from political control to purely private management” because government was “now independent of the church. ...”³⁹⁰

By 1913 a New Zealand National Schools Defence League had been formed, and once again Unitarians were prominent among the office holders: the president was Arthur Richmond Atkinson, who served on the Wellington City Council and the Victoria University College Council.; the vice-presidents included Mrs A.R. Atkinson, Rev. W.F. Kennedy, Rev. W. Jellie, Mr. John Gammell and Professor H. Mackenzie. The Honourable George Fowlds was also a vice-president. The list was long and included many academics and civic leaders.³⁹¹ The omission of the Rev. James Chapple was not on the grounds of any ideological difference, he was a supporter of secular education: someone forgot to ask for his support. Earlier, the executive of the Wellington Secular Education Defence League had met in the schoolroom of the Wellington Unitarian Free Church to discuss alleged breaches of the Education Act in Timaru.³⁹²

William Jellie had accepted the Wellington appointment knowing there were two fundamental problems to be solved. One had been vanquished with his pleasant diplomatic manner; there was now an effective committee with an excellent working relationship with their minister. The second proved far more intractable. At a meeting of the congregation on the evening of 19 March 1913 there was only one item of business, the resignation of the minister. William Jellie’s letter stated

³⁹⁰ *Evening Post*, 24 March 1911, p.2.

³⁹¹ *Evening Post*, 10 May 1913, p.3.

³⁹² *Evening Post*, 30 May 1911, p.8.

that he felt compelled to resign because of the financial state of the church. Many members rose to their feet to express their deep regret at the thought of losing Mr. Jellie's services. The Treasurer then gave a financial report showing it would be impossible to continue with the present rate of expenditure. In short, the church could not afford its minister.³⁹³

Did he have any idea how his departure was viewed amongst the wider public? Probably not. By the time the decision had been made, one newspaper opined about his loss to Wellington:

Wellington will have to submit to a serious loss, from an educational, literary, and intellectual point of view, when the Rev. W. Jellie, B.A., head of the Unitarian Church, waves "good-bye" ...next month from the deck of the *Rotorua*. During his comparatively short stay, Mr. Jellie has left on the minds of his hearers and friends an impression for good that will not be quickly effaced. He is a man with the broadest outlook on the social and economic problems of the day, and *a firm friend of the people in their struggle for emancipation from wage-slavery* [emphasis added]. From his pulpit and in his private intercourse he has always advocated a brighter condition of things in this world....³⁹⁴

³⁹³ Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar* April 1913. The committee wrote to Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, secretary of the B&FUA asking if he could find a young unmarried minister who would accept a greatly reduced salary. William Jellie continued on in his position until August 1913.

³⁹⁴ *New Zealand Truth*, 6 September 1913, p. 4.

Chapter 7. Return to England: Southport 1914-1921

With the household furniture sold in September 1913 the Jellie family had to live in temporary accommodation for a month before sailing on the New Zealand Shipping Company's most modern vessel, SS *Rotorua*. Built in 1910 the *Rotorua* was a combined passenger cargo ship, which accommodated 52 first class passengers, 72 second class and 156 in third class, which could be increased by another 280 supplementary passengers as required. William and Ella Jellie and two small children were most likely in second class located on the upper deck towards the stern. William was able to use the time on the voyage to study Italian as he wanted to read Dante in the original language. It must have seemed like an idyll for them both returning together to England. As a young single woman Ella had been there studying at Royal Holloway College, while seeing some of Europe with her older brother Tom Macky who was then working at the London office of Macky, Logan & Caldwell.³⁹⁵ William Jellie was looking forward to visiting people and places with Ella and meeting old friends. He was at the peak of his profession, having over twenty years of successful ministry behind him, including the major achievement of building the Unitarian movement in New Zealand. For him return would surely bring recognition of his success. The future looked happy and bright; had they discussed whether they might settle in England permanently? Little did they know what fate had in store for them and the world.

When they arrived in England they stayed in London for Christmas. William Jellie took the opportunity to attend the special meeting of the B&FUA held at Essex Hall, London, on 14 January 1914. The purpose of the meeting was to welcome home the Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, secretary of the B&FUA from his Canadian missionary tour. Mr. Bowie spoke on his Canadian experiences;

³⁹⁵ Amongst their excursions Ella and Thomas Macky took a cruise to the Norwegian Fjords on board the Steam Yacht *Argonaut* which departed from Hull on 13 June 1903. Passenger List, ACL, SC Macky Family Papers, NZMS 935, Box 4/F1.

William Jellie described the New Zealand situation, while the Rev. Charles Hargrove talked about the world-wide movement in liberal religion.³⁹⁶

Having arrived without organising a job may have seemed a risk with a young family to support, but an opening soon presented itself in Southport, Lancashire, located on the coast bounded by the Irish Sea, about 16 miles north of Liverpool. The incumbent minister, Rev. Robert Nichol Cross (1883-1970) had been appointed minister to the Mill Hill Chapel in Leeds the previous August, having given his congregation three months notice before leaving.³⁹⁷ Following his departure temporary supply was provided by some half dozen or so ministers, including William Jellie who took services on 4 January and 11 January 1914. He was strongly recommended to the Southport Church Council by the Rev. W. Copeland Bowie, who also passed a favourable opinion about Ella Jellie as a minister's wife. At a Special Congregational Meeting on 3 February 1914 it was resolved: "That a cordial invitation be sent to the Rev. Jellie, B.A. to become the minister of the Congregation of this Church at a stipend of £300 per annum." In accepting the invitation he especially asked to be able to attend the Church Council meetings, something he did in New Zealand but such a notion of democratic participation by the minister was novel in England. It was agreed that he could either attend at his own request or at the invitation of the Council. Did this mean the Council could decline to allow him to attend? If so there is no record of this happening.

William Jellie took up his position in 1 March 1914. There was an official welcome for him and Ella on 13 March 1914 held in the Unitarian school room. A fellow minister from Liverpool, Rev. Joseph Crowther Hirst (1848-1919) told the gathering: "one of the glories of the Unitarian Church was that not only had the minister freedom of thought, but that every member of the church and congregation was equally free in that respect." William Jellie would have cause to reflect on that assertion towards the end of his ministry at Southport. Speaking for the congregation Dr Robert Harris said he "thought the experience Mr. Jellie had in New Zealand should help him very much in

³⁹⁶ *The Unitarian Monthly*, January 1914, p.31.

³⁹⁷ *The Times*, 4 August 1913, p.8.

Portland Street. It had no doubt encouraged in him a cosmopolitan spirit. Their congregation was somewhat cosmopolitan, and...judging by Mr. Jellie's tone in the pulpit...that would appeal to them all."³⁹⁸

By the time William Jellie arrived the town of Southport had reached a population of 50,000 and within a year would be declared a county borough. The growth in the town was the outcome of communications, initially its proximity to the Leeds and Liverpool canal, followed by the incorporation of the district railway lines into the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway. The Southport Unitarian congregation had opened the church building in 1867. A member of the church, Thomas Holland, played an early part in the campaign for a public library, which was opened in Lord Street in 1878. Notwithstanding the "prevailing image of the town in terms of middle class values and services" the Southport Public Library "distinguished itself, after 1900, for its exceedingly eclectic resources, amply fulfilling its requirements to embrace, as far as possible, the literary relics of all classes in the community."³⁹⁹ One of the town's literary figures, James Ashcroft Noble (1844-1896), whose works reside in the Library's collections of its famous sons, is "still commemorated in the Unitarian Church here."⁴⁰⁰ William Jellie would have appreciated the literary and intellectual connection between the church and public library and made full use that the library facilities afforded.

William, Ella, Hilary and Margaret settled into the Manse called "Laymore" at 7 Bickerton Road, Birkdale, within an easy walk to the sea front, the Unitarian church on Portland Road, and the Chapel Street railway station. As they were settling into their new town, making friends, gaining an understanding of the congregation and its expectations of William's work amongst them, they were

³⁹⁸ *The Christian Life*, 28 March 1914.

³⁹⁹ Eric Glasgow, "Memorials of a Library", *Library Review*, 50, 9 (2001), pp. 461-465.

⁴⁰⁰ Eric Glasgow, "Memorials of a Library." His daughter Helen Noble (1877-1967) married the poet Edward Thomas (1878-1917) who was killed in the First World War at Arras. He was encouraged by his father-in-law to write, his first poems were written in 1914 and collections of his verse were published posthumously.

overtaken by the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany just five months later, on 4 August 1914.

An important item of communication between the minister and the congregation in William Jellie's mind was the church Calendar. Wherever he went he ensured they were produced on a monthly basis. When he found that this had not been the case at the Southport Church he informed the Church Council he intended starting one, but would keep it under his own management.

Unfortunately a search has failed to find them.⁴⁰¹

Events moved quickly as the pace of the war increased. Units of the East Lancashire Regiment were formed in August and September 1914 and moved to Southport by September 1914. Units of the Lancashire Fusiliers were being formed at Southport in the spring of 1915. The extensive beaches and vacant land made the Southport area attractive for training and many were billeted in the town. By October 1914 the church was responding to the needs of the soldiers. It was agreed that the school room would be used for recreation and provide tea and coffee four nights a week. By November it was thought that more than four nights a week was needed and the church was asked if it could do more. That same month saw William Jellie propose that entertainment be organised. It was also decided to open the schoolroom for light refreshments every weekday evening and invite soldiers on Sundays to remain each evening after service. A Soldiers Entertainments Committee was formed with William Jellie as chairman, the committee to meet weekly. It was decided to call on the ladies for help, to provide ashtrays, daily papers, games and writing materials. Advertisements were placed in the newspaper so the soldiers would know what was available. From time to time lectures were given as were French language classes. It was arranged to sell postage stamps so soldiers could

⁴⁰¹ I have been generously assisted by the Rev. Daphne Roberts, Chair of the Southport Unitarian Church Committee and her husband, Rev. John Roberts, who provided a select synopsis of the Minute Book of the Council and the Soldiers Entertainment Committee during the term of William Jellie's ministry. They also looked through the local press for news items. John Maindonald kindly provided his copy of a report by Mr. J.G.A. Wallace, honorary secretary of the Southport Unitarian Church, "The Rev. William Jellie, B.A. and Southport Unitarian Church" dated 7 February 1990. Together these comprise the main sources of William Jellie's church activities.

more easily write to their families. By December 1914 musical entertainment and lantern slides were introduced. A report of the Church's activities at this time said:

Since the schoolroom was opened it has proved very popular - a piano has been installed, also bagatelle and ping-pong tables, and other games are played. There is a large selection of magazines and papers, men can write their letters with provided materials. Last evening young ladies presented a miscellaneous programme interspersed with items given by the soldiers. A warm welcome is extended by the church officers to the men to use the institute where everything will be done for their comfort.⁴⁰²

After June 1915 the activities of the Soldiers Entertainment Committee is only mentioned in the Church Council minutes, including the decision not to admit alcohol to the functions. By September that year it was noted that there were far fewer soldiers attending than previously; in November 1915 it was decided not to open the schoolroom for entertainment. Tempting though it may be to see a direct connection between these events, and there may have been some relationship, a significant change was starting to occur as the number of soldiers transiting through the area dramatically declined. By May 1916 the Soldiers Entertainment Committee was disbanded. The church was still called upon to allow use of the schoolroom though, it provided an orderly room for the 10th Manchester Regiment and the 4th East Lancashire Regiment used it for lectures on wet days.

In the midst of organising social support for the soldiers Ella and William experienced an immense personal tragedy. Mary and Joseph Macky had decided to come to England to visit the family and Joseph would conduct some business as well, accompanied by their son Jack (John Macky, 1887-1977)⁴⁰³ and a family friend Sam Hannah, both of whom planned to enlist in the English forces. After

⁴⁰² *The Southport Visitor*, 17 December 1914.

⁴⁰³ Jack Macky joined the Royal Navy Division formed at the direction of Winston Churchill from surplus reserves of the Royal Navy not required at sea. He was commissioned as Lieutenant in June 1915 and after training at the Crystal Palace and Blandford went to the eastern Mediterranean early in 1916. He then saw service in France and was wounded twice, severely on the Somme, and was invalided back to England at the end of 1916. He rejoined the Drake Battalion in July 1917 which saw heavy fighting for the next six months including the Battle of Passchendale. He then transferred to Palestine where he was attached to the Motor

travelling across Canada from Vancouver they intended reaching New York in time to embark on the Cunard Line's RMS *Lusitania* on 30 April 1915. When Joseph Macky wrote to his son Tom in New Zealand he was aware of the risks involved and appeared to be weighing them up:

...she should be as safe as any other boat, even an American. We get condensed wireless news on the steamer [RMS *Niagara*] every morning about 9 o'clock. There has been nothing very startling lately but the submarines appear to keep busy though apparently they only succeed with slow boats, mostly cargo boats. However we shall watch the news carefully from day to day till we get to N. York before finally deciding to cross or not.⁴⁰⁴

While the family were in New York Jack and Sam decided to leave a week earlier on board the S.S. *Tuscania*, a decision which may have saved their lives. Joseph had found it was "impossible for me to get through my business here any quicker" than the following week. He did not visit Montreal and Toronto in an attempt to cross the Atlantic sooner with Jack and Sam but still could not manage to, "while the boys are very eager to push on as they are afraid they are already too late to take advantage of the fresh recruiting movement" in England. Ella had written to her parents in New York, Joseph told Tom, "She almost insists on our going on and indeed we have little fear."⁴⁰⁵ (Unbeknown to the Macky seniors, Tom was at the same time trying to persuade Ella and William Jellie to return from England: "I don't think it will be a fair thing for you to necessitate him leaving us so much. You had better make up your minds to come back to N.Z. even if it is to Chch. or Dunedin. Poor old Mother is really very much older, too...")⁴⁰⁶ In fact the biggest problem Joseph Macky could see was in getting a berth on the *Lusitania*, as it was quite full "everybody is going on the fast

Machinegun Corps with the rank of Captain. While on duty there he was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry and devotion to duty at Baku on 14 September 1918. During the defence of the town he manoeuvred his car against the enemy's right flank at a critical moment holding up their advance so that reinforcements could arrive. *Evening Post*, 18 October 1918, p.8. *Evening Post*, 18 December 1919, p.7.

⁴⁰⁴ Joseph Macky letter 8 April 1915 to Tom Macky, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family, NZMS 935, Box "Additional."

⁴⁰⁵ Joseph Macky letter 22 April 1915 to Tom Macky, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family, NZMS 935 Box "Additional."

⁴⁰⁶ Tom Macky letter 4 April 1915 to Ella Jellie, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family NZMS 935, Box "Additional."

steamer, no one by the slow, although the American steamers are all fairly full, as they expect that no German submarine will dare touch them.”⁴⁰⁷ Ever the businessman, Joseph Macky managed to get a first class cabin for the cost of second class. He thought the £35 saved would otherwise have been an outrageous waste for a five and a half day trip! However it meant that they used the second class dining room. When the ship sailed on 1 May 1915 Joseph Macky was aware of the warning issued by the German Government “published here this morning not to travel across the Atlantic, but we think we are safe in this good and fast ship. Anyway we are in God’s hands and are content to leave with Him “our going out and our coming in.”⁴⁰⁸

What unfolded just after lunch on the 7 May 1915 was a calamity which ranked next to the *Titanic* for loss of life. The *Lusitania* was torpedoed by a German submarine when it had reduced speed because of fog in the Irish Sea. One of the survivors who had befriended the Mackys during the voyage and was with them when the ship was hit advertised in *The Times* for Jack Macky’s address so she could tell him what happened.⁴⁰⁹ William Jellie and Jack Macky went to meet her in Framlingham, a market town in Suffolk. William Jellie wrote an account of the meeting to Ella while travelling on the Great Eastern Railway line: “We are on the train returning to London after seeing Miss Manly” he wrote. She was at their dining table and also had several talks on deck and got to know them. They were all at dinner when the shock came. They went to the life boat deck which was two storeys up and found a great deal of confusion and difficulty in launching boats, but “father was working hard to right things. Miss Manly and her friend were pushed into the last boat that was left. They tried to persuade Mother to come but she refused, electing to stay with father.” He went

⁴⁰⁷ Joseph Macky letter 22 April 1915 to Tom Macky, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family NZMS 935, Box “Additional.”

⁴⁰⁸ Joseph Macky letter Saturday morning [1 May 1915] to Tom Macky, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky family NZMS 935, Box “Additional.”

⁴⁰⁹ There had been extensive press coverage of the *Lusitania* sinking in the newspapers, including lists of those feared dead and later who had perished. (Of those on board 1,198 died and 761 were rescued. There were 1,517 lives lost on the *Titanic* and 706 rescued.) There was considerable mention of Mary and Joseph Macky in these reports and also coverage when it was known that Jack Macky and Sam Hannah were safe. It was reported that the lady to whom Mrs Macky had given her seat in the life boat had advertised to meet Jack Macky and that Mary Macky, when offered the seat, reportedly said: “I am getting old, and would rather stay with my husband. You are younger, and have life before you.” *Evening Post*, 24 August 1915, p.9. Presumably Joseph and Mary Macky told this lady during the voyage they had a son in London.

on to say that the memory he liked to hold on to was that of “father helping the others into the boats to the last & mother standing fast and smilingly refusing to follow the other ladies, partly because she chose to die with father & partly no doubt because the boat was already full.”⁴¹⁰

A public memorial service was held at the Auckland Town Hall on 20 May 1915 to acknowledge the deaths of Joseph and Mary Macky. Businesses were closed for two hours to allow staff to attend; about 3,000 people were present. The Mayor of Auckland expressed deep sympathy with the Macky family and the Rev. Robert Walker (1864-1956) led the service, speaking of the Macky family connection with St James Presbyterian Church and Joseph Macky’s earlier association. The Rev. William Edward Williams (1877-1942)⁴¹¹ who had arrived at the Auckland Unitarian Church the year before offered the prayer. When the organist played Handel’s dead march from *Saul* it was reported there was scarcely a dry eye in the place. A week later the Auckland Unitarian Church held its own memorial service.⁴¹²

William and Ella Jellie now had to turn to their own family affairs, the demands of the Southport ministry and the effects of the war. Members of his old Auckland congregation who were stationed in England, some of them recovering from wounds, would turn up at Southport to visit. “All the young men from Auckland who were in the army flooded to our house as a second home...”⁴¹³ And there were members of the Macky family in the armed forces who were in camp or convalescing,

⁴¹⁰ William Jellie letter n.d. “G.E.R. Tuesday. 4.30.” to Ella Jellie. Copy held by Jellie family. This eye witness account does not agree with the press report of Mary Macky being offered the one seat left but declining it for a younger woman. William Jellie and Jack Macky travelled to London to meet Miss Neatby of Wimpole Street, the friend of Miss Manly who confirmed all the important details. Because of his delay in getting home William decided to write to Ella straight away with news from the first meeting. He also sent an account to Tom Macky in a letter dated 7 June 1915, Darlimurla Letters, Volume 11, ACL, SC Macky Family NZMS 935, Box “Additional.”

⁴¹¹ William Williams came from Cardiff and was educated at University College, South Wales 1895-1900 where he graduated with a BA and then went school teaching. He decided to enter the ministry and studied at Manchester College, Oxford 1904-1907. He had ministries at Wimbledon, an affluent London suburb and at Evesham in the county of Worcestershire, where the Unitarian chapel dated from 1737. He went to the Auckland Unitarian Church in 1914. He took great care in preparing his sermons which reflected his deep appreciation of English literature. The duration of his ministry was marked by the First World War. After he returned to England he had a settled ministry at Stourbridge in 1920 and then moved to his last ministry at Bournemouth in 1929. *The Inquirer*, 24 January 1942, p. 28. Unlike his predecessor Richard Hall who was strongly pacifist, William Williams held patriotic views supporting the war.

⁴¹² *Evening Post*, 20 May 1915, p.8 and *The Inquirer*, 14 August 1915, p 403.

⁴¹³ Margaret Jellie letter 8 November 1991 to Barbara Holt. Letter held by writer.

who would visit Southport or be visited by William and Ella Jellie. Ella's younger brother Jack Macky was twice wounded, severely on the Somme and was invalided to England at the end of 1916. Two of Ella Jellie's cousins were serving in the New Zealand forces, Thomas Roy Bayntun Macky (1885-1917) and his younger brother Neil Lloyd Macky (1891-1981), known as Polly. Thomas Macky went to England in 1916 before going on to France, where he was killed in action at Ypres in Belgium.⁴¹⁴ Polly Macky was wounded in France on Christmas day 1916 and returned to England for hospital care over a period of months.⁴¹⁵

1917 was a busy year in many ways. William Jellie continued with his duties as Chaplain to the Mayor of Southport, no doubt a reflection of his personal standing with the Mayor, attending civic meetings, providing an opening prayer. Ella's brother Frank Macky (1891-1975) came to visit while stationed at Bulford Camp at Salisbury in Wilshire.⁴¹⁶ Ella and William Jellie decided that year they

⁴¹⁴ Before the war Thomas Macky had been in business as a land agent. He was unmarried when he joined the New Zealand Rifle Brigade and became a sergeant in the 3rd Battalion. He gained promotion to second lieutenant upon passing his examinations while in camp in England and transferred to the Otago Infantry Regiment. An old boy of Auckland Grammar School his name is recorded on the School War Memorial. *Evening Post*, 23 October 1917, p.7 and Auckland War Memorial Museum Cenotaph Database.

⁴¹⁵ Neil Macky attended Auckland University College and graduated LLB in 1912. A second lieutenant in the New Zealand Rifle Brigade, he went to France in 1916 and took part in the battle of the Somme. He was awarded the Military Cross and Mentioned in Despatches. After recovering from his wounds in England he returned to France in 1917 and was promoted to captain. Upon return to New Zealand in 1919 he resumed legal practice and merged his firm with Russell, Campbell and McVeagh. He continued serving in the Territorial Army as did many of his law partners, becoming a lieutenant colonel commanding an Auckland Regiment in 1931. A reorganisation of the Territorial Force under the first Labour government reduced numbers and duties of senior officers. Neil Macky and three other colonels, following an unsatisfactory response from the minister of defence Frederick Jones, publicly challenged the government over its policies. They were posted to the retired list as a result. All four had connections to the National Party opposition and some saw their actions as bringing party politics into the Army. With the outbreak of Second World War the colonels' "revolt" was largely forgotten and Neil Macky was re-appointed to active service. During the retreat from Greece in 1941 he led a battalion that successfully held up a German panzer division for 36 hours and then alongside two Australian battalions held back the Germans for three days allowing the ANZAC troops to retreat. He was invalided home in 1941. After the war he continued to practice law and followed his interest yachting and was commodore of the Royal New Zealand Yacht Squadron, which has a memorial trophy named after him. W. David McIntyre, "Macky, Neil Lloyd," *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m22> accessed 5 February 2011. For an account of the colonels' revolt, see L.H. Barber, "The New Zealand Colonels' Revolt", 1938," *New Zealand Law Journal*, 22, (1977), pp.496-502. What would William Jellie have made of Neil Macky's class based comment: "To kow-tow to a boot-maker as a Minister of Defence was too much for me."? Frederick Jones was a moderate Christian socialist who gained the defence portfolio which John A. Lee expected to get. Erik Olssen and Shawn Ryan, "Jones, Frederick," *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4j8> accessed 5 April 2011.

⁴¹⁶ Frank Macky was educated at Prince Albert College, Auckland and Box Hill School, Melbourne. He studied medicine at Melbourne University and graduated in 1914, taking up a post at Auckland hospital later that year. Returning to Australia in 1915 he joined the Australian Medical Corps. Promoted to the rank of captain he

had to sort out Hilary's schooling needs. They found Terra Nova School very close to them; it had moved into new premises and offered an excellent schooling under the direction of the headmaster Edwin Owen. This meant Hilary could be a day boy. He started late in 1917 when in his seventh year and remained until they left England in 1921. He studied Latin, Greek, English, Mathematics and French. During 1918 William took Hilary with him on a trip to Ireland.⁴¹⁷ They went by ship to Belfast and then to Farm Hill House at Carrickfergus where his uncle John Jellie lived; this was probably the last time William Jellie saw the man who had been so influential in his life.

William Jellie was "Irish through and through."⁴¹⁸ This identification of his origins dovetailed into long standing Unitarian views on freedom for Catholics and Home Rule for Ireland. Motivated by the ideal of religious freedom, although in no better position themselves, Unitarians had spoken out for the emancipation of Catholics from civil disabilities.⁴¹⁹ Unitarian MPs introduced Bills into the House of Commons to grant Catholic freedom and although unsuccessful these activities culminated in the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1829.⁴²⁰ The favour was returned when the Dissenters'

went to Cairo and while there contracted typhoid and was repatriated home. Medically unfit for overseas service he was posted to Bulford Camp hospital in 1917. In 1918 with the rank of major he was posted to the General Hospital at Havre, where he was stationed until the end of the war. Margo Osborne kindly provided me with a copy of a postcard Frank Macky sent from Bulford Camp to his sister-in-law Josephine, Tom Macky's wife. A section of the camp called Sling Camp housed the ANZAC troops.

⁴¹⁷ Hilary wrote to his mother from Carrickfergus and although the letters (kindly supplied by Margo Osborne) are undated, he sends his love "to Margaret and baby" a reference to Mary Jellie born 17 April 1918. However as Hilary asks "how is baby getting on" it seems that their trip was close to the date of Mary's birth. (The Rev. John Jellie died on 25 November 1918.) Mary Isabella Jellie (1918-2008) was educated at St Cuthbert's College, Epsom Girls Grammar School and the Auckland Business College. She sang the Auckland Unitarian Church choir, sometimes as soloist during radio broadcasts. She also sang in the Lyric Harmonists' choir, which gave town hall concerts and radio broadcasts. In 1942 she performed a broadcast solo recital. After the war she travelled to Australia, working in Melbourne and Adelaide. When she returned she met Joop Kok, a Dutchman repatriated to New Zealand after the war from Dutch East Indies. They married in 1966 and continued living in Auckland. Wayne Facer, "In Memoriam: Mary Isabella Kok (née Jellie)", *Auckland Unitarian Church News & Views*, June 2009, pp.4-7.

⁴¹⁸ Margaret Jellie letter 8 November 1991 to Barbara Holt. Margaret wrote it was wrong to describe him as being of Irish extraction whereas he was "Irish through and through." He took an interest in Irish culture and supported the preservation of its national heritage, becoming a member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Dublin, while working in London. His proposer was John Smyth Crone, another old boy of the Royal Belfast Academical Institution, who is best remembered for his *Concise Dictionary of Irish Biography*. Pursuing this interest, William Jellie was a subscriber to the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* while working at Ipswich.

⁴¹⁹ Francis E. Mineka, *The Dissidence of Dissent*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944, pp.136-137 and 152 and 153.

⁴²⁰ Philip Noble Tindale, "Roman Catholics and Unitarians: An Account of Reciprocal Help and Comfort Part 1", *TUHS*, 20, 3 (1993) pp.177-186.

Chapels Bill was before Parliament in 1844 with support forthcoming from leading Catholic MPs.⁴²¹

Furthermore the “radicalism of Irish Unitarians in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was national in spirit, and shaped by the political relations of the century with England, the predominant partner in the unwillingly United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.”⁴²² This led to the support given by most Unitarians to the Liberal Party Home Rule policy in 1886. Those who disagreed went over to the Liberal Unionists.⁴²³ William Jellie also had his home rule views reinforced during his time in New Zealand, where there was general expression in favour of such a measure and within his circle support from his close friend Sir Robert Stout.⁴²⁴ When travelling back to England William Jellie like so many others believed that the strenuous efforts being undertaken by the Liberal government would result in Home Rule. Later that year in the face of impending war Winston Churchill (1874-1965) would write: “Ireland I think is going to be settled.”⁴²⁵ The outbreak of war destroyed such hope just four days later.

By the end of the war William Jellie found himself unwell. Normally a fit and healthy person, to suffer from any malaise would have been something he was not used to, but this illness was far more significant. Could there have been two factors affecting him, an underlying physical illness

⁴²¹ Philip Noble Tindale, “Roman Catholics and Unitarians: An Account of Reciprocal Help and Comfort Part 11”, *TUHS*, 20, 4(1994) pp.271-282.

⁴²² H. McLachlan, *The Unitarian Movement in the Religious Life of England*, London: George Allen & Unwin, 1934, p.295.

⁴²³ See Leonard Smith, *Unitarian to the Core*, pp.71-72 who says it was a minority of Unitarians who broke with the Liberals over Home Rule for Ireland. Joseph Chamberlain the Birmingham Unitarian MP crossed the floor of the House in 1886 in opposition to the Home Rule Bill which led to the formation of the Liberal Unionist Party. “From then on Unitarian allegiance to the Liberal Party could not be assumed.” Ruth Rowntree, *‘Religious Devils’ of Hampstead*, Oxford: Harris Manchester College, 2004, p.180. On the other hand Unitarians, such as C.P. Snow, influential editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, was a strong supporter of Irish home rule from the start; he deplored the suppression of the Easter uprising in Dublin in 1916 and the military action at the end of the war. Trevor Wilson, “Scott, Charles Prestwich (1846-1932)”, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/35980> accessed 14 May 2011.

⁴²⁴ R.P. Davis, “Sir Robert Stout and the Irish Question”, *Historical Studies, Australia and New Zealand*, 12, 47 (1966) pp.417-434,

⁴²⁵ Winston Churchill letter 31 July 1914 to Clementine Churchill in Mary Soames (ed.) *Speaking for Themselves The Personal Letters of Winston and Clementine Churchill*, London: Doubleday, 1998, p.97.

worsened by depression? Throughout 1919 there had been concern within the church about his health. This came to a climax in 1920 with his resignation. He wrote to the Church Council:⁴²⁶

For the last year I have not felt entirely satisfied that I was giving the Church all that it ought to have. I have been much in the doctor's care. What I have done has been done with strain; it has been a whipping of a tired horse. I look forward to a prolonged holiday at the end of February. The circumstances of the time add much to this strain, and cannot but affect his work when the Minister is an Irishman who sympathises with the morally justifiable aspirations of his fellow countrymen.

During 1919 the political and military situation in Ireland deteriorated. Violence and repression went hand in hand. "With the formation of the Black and Tans, made up of ex-military personnel in January 1920, the scene was set for the nastiest phase of the conflict."⁴²⁷ It was just this situation which must have appalled William Jellie when he wrote with such intense feeling about the "morally justifiable aspirations" of home rule. In rejecting the Ulster position that existing constitutional arrangements should continue in favour of the Irish independence movement, William Jellie adopted an immensely controversial position. What he had not taken into account was those Southport Unitarians who shared similar views to other Protestants living in towns along the west coast and the midlands who had gone over to the Unionist side.⁴²⁸ These members may well have been a dominant bloc within his congregation.

⁴²⁶ William Jellie letter of resignation dated 30 November 1920 giving the customary three months notice. The secretary of the Church Council, Dr Robert Harris replied on 7 December 1920 and said the Church Council "in accepting the resignation owing to ill health of the Rev. William Jellie deeply regrets its necessity, and trust that the rest he anticipates may completely restore him." Both letters were published in the Southport Unitarian Church *Calendar* January, February & March, 1921. (William Jellie in producing his last issue of the *Calendar* combined it into three months.) This is the only *Calendar* I have been able to find.

⁴²⁷ Alan O'Day, *Irish Home Rule 1867-1921*, p.300. "In January 1921 the Labour party declared: 'things are being done in the name of Britain which must make our name stink in the nostrils of the whole world.'" p. 300.

⁴²⁸ He was not the first Unitarian minister to find his views on the Irish question out of step with his congregation. When the Melbourne Unitarian Church rejected Rev. George Walters's proposal to debate the Irish question he resigned. Dorothy Scott, *Halfway House to Infidelity*, Melbourne: Unitarian Fellowship of Australia/Melbourne Unitarian Peace Memorial Church, p. 71. Rev. Walters was from an Anglo-Irish family.

The minutes of the Church Annual General Meeting in 1921 recorded the resignation of William Jellie and noted that there had been special difficulties during the preceding year. Several members had resigned their membership, including the chairman of the Church Council. The chairman's letter is not recorded in full but it seems to have been the result of politics from the pulpit. After his ministerial duties finished at the end of February 1921 William, Ella and the children stayed at Southport for four more months. John Jellie (1920-2010)⁴²⁹ had been born the same month his father wrote his resignation, an indication of the serious state of his health. Days before the family sailed on S.S. *Corinthic* on 28 July 1921, William Jellie wrote a letter to members of his former congregation.⁴³⁰ He said he had planned a last home visit but to his great regret his illness made this impossible. And he went on: "I cannot say what affectionate regard and admiration I have for *some* among you of all classes, poor and rich [emphasis added]. I call to mind lives and examples that have been my inspiration, and the memory of which will be an inspiration. How often have I blessed you in my heart for your splendid qualities." That he continued to feel a divide from some members of his former congregation when he left would have only worsened the anguish he felt.

⁴²⁹ John Jellie began school when the family had moved into their new house at 14 Warren Avenue, Mt Roskill. From the local primary school he then attended Auckland Grammar School between 1934 and 1937, obtaining university matriculation and playing rugby, cricket and winning the tennis championship. Later he played interclub tennis competitions. When growing up he went to Auckland Unitarian Church services with his family, but later pursued his sporting interests rather than church. At the outbreak of war he applied to join the Fleet Air Arm of the Royal Navy. He sailed to England as a civilian and went to Portsmouth Harbour, HMS *St Vincent*, training as a seaman, then to Elmdon near Birmingham and Kingston, Ontario, Canada where he trained on Harvard planes. He returned to Royal Naval Air Station Yeovilton in Somerset as a sub lieutenant and joined 800 squadron flying Hurricanes. In 1943 he was based on HMS *Emperor* flying American Hellcat's; a year later he was involved in the attacks on the battleship *Tirpitz* in Norway. He took part in the naval cover provided for the D-Day landings in Normandy. He was awarded the Distinguished Service Cross for his skill and leadership in dive bombing and promoted to the rank of lieutenant. He was involved in a series of air strikes in the Aegean and during these operations was Mentioned in Dispatches. He returned home in 1946 and returned to his former job at the Guardian Trust. In 1948 he married Nancy Greville and they had a family of six children. Meanwhile John changed his occupation going into the clothing industry, where he became company manager to a number of manufacturers, including one that had been started by his maternal grandfather. After his retirement in 1982 he donated the collection of William Jellie's WEA lecture notes, which he had carefully preserved since his father's death, to the University of Auckland. Wayne Facer, "In Memoriam: John Hugh Jellie 1920-2010", Auckland Unitarian Church *News & Views*, October 2011, attachment, pp. 1-8.

⁴³⁰ William Jellie letter dated 23 July 1921. Copy held by writer.

PART THREE: Exchanging the Pulpit for the Lectern

When the Jellie family arrived in Auckland in September 1921 it must have been a great relief to be back amongst family and friends. How different things had turned out from the high hopes and expectations when they left New Zealand's shore seven years earlier. Having taken responsibility for organising the return and looking after the family, Ella had now become unwell during the voyage home. She also had a sick husband to look after with an uncertain prognosis; it was not known whether he would be able to return to work. Her youngest child John was still a baby, not yet one year old. Mary was not old enough to start school and stayed at home with her parents. The eldest daughter Margaret was asthmatic and it was hoped her condition would improve in the New Zealand climate. Decisions had to be made about continuing Hilary's education and finding schools for both him and Margaret. Hilary was sent to board at Waitaki Boys High School near Oamaru in the South Island. It is not known where Margaret was educated at this time; nearly 10 years old, if she boarded it was not at St Cuthbert's College which she did not begin until 1925.

While money would not have been a particular concern given Ella's inheritance following her parents' death, finding a suitable place to live, where William Jellie could recuperate was a priority. They choose to go to a place they knew well which had many happy associations from the past: Waiheke Island. There they could stay at Days Bay, next to Cowes Bay, owned jointly by the Macky and the Wilson families. Fortunately the Mackys had built a second house on the property so William, Ella and the children had the original holiday cottage for their use. Access was by boat; the environment was tranquil and allowed the recuperative process to gradually occur. William and Ella spent over 15 months there between 1921 and 1923.

In the meantime arrangements would have to be made for the family possessions they returned with, which may, over the seven years at Southport have accumulated to quite a lot, including furniture and William's books. It is unlikely they would have transported much furniture to the cottage, if any, as it was already furnished and not big enough to fit in a lot more. Their possessions could have been stored at one of the Macky, Logan, Caudwell Limited warehouses. William Jellie's books would have been another matter. With his well known propensity for book collecting having been indulged in while away, it is likely that even by 1921 his collection would have been substantial and having some books around him to enjoy would have been paramount. What else was there to do at the island but walk, read, fish and appreciate the surroundings? And take the occasional trip back to Auckland. Perhaps they had a gramophone and some records to listen too. William loved music and used to play the organ.⁴³¹ There were occasional visitors such as Daisy Thornhill whose stay "did her much good for which we are all grateful" according to her husband.⁴³²

Gradually taking up work again he provided supply to the Wellington Unitarian Free Church in the last three weeks of November 1922, allowing the incumbent, Rev. Wyndham Heathcote, to take leave. From there he went to Timaru where he preached at the Unitarian Church on 3 December 1922 which resulted in a unanimous invitation to accept their pulpit.

⁴³¹ Radio broadcasting was only starting: by the end on 1922 there were seven stations in the main centres and none were broadcasting for more than a few hours a week. Patrick Day, *The Broadcasting Years A History of Broadcasting in New Zealand*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994, p. 48.

⁴³² Albert Thornhill letter dated 19 February 1922 to William Jellie. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C, Folder 6.

Chapter 8. In New Zealand: Timaru 1923-1925

In many ways the Timaru Unitarian Church had the hallmarks of its founding minister, the Rev. James Chapple. It had been built for him in 1912 by admirers and his style of ministry, involving a mixture of extreme theological modernism, some would say rationalism, and political radicalism had achieved a significant following in this prosperous South Canterbury town. There had been no settled minister at the Timaru church since the Rev. James Chapple left in 1915. After he departed for America the chairman of the church Mr A. M. Paterson conducted most of the services while he tried to find someone else to take over.⁴³³ Alexander McLean Paterson (1865-1949) was a veterinary surgeon who had emigrated from Scotland to New Zealand in 1900. A keen supporter of the Labour Party, (in 1931 he stood in the Waitaki seat for Labour), he spent 20 years working as government veterinarian in South Canterbury. An appeal was made to the B&FUA to find a minister which failed to elicit any response. By late 1915 Mr E. McDonnell, formerly associated with the Sydney Unitarian Church, had been appointed lay leader and continued in this role until he resigned in August 1916.⁴³⁴ The church continued under a mixture of lay leadership, often provided by the chairman, visiting Unitarian ministers such as the month spent there by the Rev. Wyndham Self Heathcote (1862-1955)⁴³⁵ from the Wellington Free Unitarian Church, or the visit during 1921 from the Rev.

⁴³³ A. M. Paterson wrote to William Trimble on 18 June 1915 discussing his prospects of providing lay leadership. DPL, Archives 157, William Trimble Collection.

⁴³⁴ Minutes of the executive council of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand, 15 September 1916. The B&FUA were notified by cable of the resignation, for financial reasons. At the meeting of 2 March 1917 the council decided to pay £7-7-0 to Mr. McDonnell for "his work for Liberal Religion in New Zealand." AWMMIL, 91/72, Series A 2.1. Timaru representatives attended each conference of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand before William Jellie's appointment, indicating that the church organisation continued to function.

⁴³⁵ Educated at Trinity College, Oxford where he took a BA, Wyndham Heathcote was ordained in the Church of England in 1889. He was a chaplain to the Argyle and Sutherland Highlanders during the South African war after which he came to Australia and was vicar at Bundaberg, Queensland, 1903 to 1910. Rejecting Anglicanism he became Unitarian and was minister at the Melbourne Unitarian Church, 1912 to 1918. From there he went to the Adelaide Unitarian Church until December 1920. When planning a trip to San Francisco in 1921 he offered to visit Wellington and provided temporary supply for three months. Wellington at that stage was waiting for its settled minister Rev. James Shaw Brown (1862-1948) to arrive from England and when his sailing was delayed Wyndham Heathcote was engaged for a further three months. He visited Timaru in September 1921 before sailing on the SS *Tahiti* in October 1921. The Rev. Shaw Brown arrived in August 1921 to a joint welcome and farewell to Heathcote at which the farewell dominated proceedings. He found it impossible to work constructively with the Wellington Church committee, some of whom wanted to recall Wyndham Heathcote and divert James Shaw Brown to Timaru. Shaw Brown resigned in April 1922 and during May visited Christchurch, Timaru and Dunedin. He married Ina Lee, a member of the congregation in June

Rosalind Lee during her tour on behalf of the B&FUA. Occasionally it returned to its radical roots, when an address would be delivered by a member of the Labour Party.⁴³⁶

It must have seemed like a godsend when the members of the Timaru church heard that William Jellie had accepted the appointment. How did it come about? His family and friends at the Auckland Unitarian Church would have seen his health was improving and hoping that a full recovery would see him back at work. The idea of going to a smaller town with a dedicated congregation of around 50 people, which was the situation Rosalind Lee found just two years earlier, would have been put to him as a good place to start. It had the additional attraction of being close to Hilary's school and Craighead School for Girls was nearby, an excellent boarding school for Margaret, which made it easier for the family to come together during holidays and for William and Ella to make visits.

William Jellie would have known that the time had come to leave the sanctuary of Waiheke Island and rejoin society at large once again. He had overcome the "black dog" of depression⁴³⁷ that had gripped him for so long and was never to reappear again. Perhaps he was helped by the Anglo-Irish accord that led to the establishment of the Irish Free State under the 1922 constitution.⁴³⁸ When his

1922 and then left for England. Meantime Wyndham Heathcote, who had provided temporary supply to the Ottawa Unitarian Church since December 1921, left in May 1922 (a month earlier than agreed) and arrived in Wellington the same month Shaw Brown left; he remained until 1923. Some saw him as an aficionado who indulged in Spiritualism, Theosophy, opposed prohibition and was anti-Catholic, to the detriment of the Unitarian cause. Others saw him as an eloquent and cultured speaker who attracted audiences. Unable to get work at any North American church, despite trying, he accepted the Sydney pulpit when the Rev. George Walters (1852-1926) died, but resigned in 1928. He was reappointed in 1932 following the departure of Albert Thornhill and remained at the Sydney Unitarian Church until 1945, retiring as Minister Emeritus aged 83. See also Tim Beaglehole, *A Life of J. C. Beaglehole New Zealand Scholar*, p. 51.

⁴³⁶ The Rev. J.K. Archer (1865-1949) of Christchurch spoke under the auspices of the Timaru Labour Party on "Rights of Property and Rights of the People," claiming the Labour Party "stood in the best interests of the people as a whole." *New Zealand Truth*, 16 July 1921, p.6. Rev. Archer was prominent in the Canterbury WEA, teaching economic history. He was a Christian socialist and notable Baptist, from 1916 to 1918 president of the Baptist Union. Accused of being a "revolutionary communist" by Sir Robert Stout, Chancellor of the University of New Zealand, comments which he later successfully sued a newspaper for publishing. He went on to become Mayor of Christchurch, 1925 to 1931 and was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1937. Roy Shuker, *Educating the Workers? A History of the Workers' Educational Association in New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1984, pp. 56-59 and Barry Gustafson, "Archer, John Kendrick", *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3a17> accessed 6 June 2011.

⁴³⁷ Winston Churchill named the bouts of depression he suffered from 'black dog', Mary Soames (ed.) *Speaking for Themselves*, p.53, n. 1.

⁴³⁸ That year saw Michael James Liston, Catholic Bishop of Auckland, charged with sedition for claiming the Anglo-Irish Treaty was not a final settlement and that Ireland had suffered under foreign occupation which resulted in murder. While supporting the Bishop's freedom of speech William Jellie was Anglo-Irish and did not

Timaru appointment was known in England *The Inquirer* noted that his “friends in this country will rejoice with New Zealanders in his restoration to health, and wish him success in his new work.”⁴³⁹ This tells us just how widely known his ill health had been.

After the family moved into 99 Wilson Street, Timaru, William Jellie took his first service on 17 April 1923 at the Unitarian Hall:⁴⁴⁰ the subject of his address “The Gospel of a Free Religion.” Mr Paterson had decided after many years of active service he could now step down as chairman and gave his farewell speech the previous Sunday. Two weeks later William Jellie took the subject of “Religion and Politics” for his sermon; no record exists of this address but it would have been of more than mere curiosity to know what he said. In July he responded to a request from the Labour Party by giving a sermon on “International Peace.”⁴⁴¹ Very soon this would become a policy issue for the whole Unitarian movement. This was followed each Sunday in August with a sermon on the theme of “Utopias of the Past and Present” beginning with Plato’s Republic and ending with H.G. Wells “Men Like Gods’ - What Men are Dreaming.”

Following the Japanese earthquake on 1 September 1923 which devastated Tokyo and Yokohama, killing over 100,000 people, the sermons for that month were taken up with various aspects of the disaster. The theme of human suffering begun with the Japanese tragedy continued when William Jellie examined the “Hickson Mission.” James Moore Hickson (1868-1933) was an Australian born

go so far as to adopt the republican cause. Bishop Liston was acquitted of the charges. Nicholas Reid, *James Michael Liston A Life*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2006, pp.110-126.

⁴³⁹ *The Inquirer*, 21 April 1923, p.254. Rosalind Lee writing in *The Inquirer*, 24 May 1924, pp. 336-337 says a generous grant from the B&FUA for missionary work in New Zealand made it possible to station William Jellie in Timaru “last year.” Albert Thornhill had suggested to William Jellie in a letter dated 19 October 1922 that he should consider visiting Timaru, “I think it might be possible to scrape funds together for a year’s trial” and on 23 February 1923 wrote confirming funds of £300 split equally between a private donor, the congregation and B&FUA. AWMML, MS 91/72 Series C, Folder 6.

⁴⁴⁰ The Unitarian Hall building still exists at 65 Church Street, Timaru. It was used by the Unitarian Progressive Society at least until the 1930’s, when the YWCA met there. In November 1935 it was sold to the Open Brethren who renamed the building Church Street Chapel. Alistair J. Pike, *An Unfinished Story A History of Church Street Chapel 1935-1985*, privately printed booklet, n.d., p. 3. The *Bible* of the Rev. James Chapple remains in the Church Street Chapel.

⁴⁴¹ Notices of Unitarian services in the *Timaru Herald*, 7 April 1923, p. 14; 14 April 1923, p. 4; 28 April 1923, p. 2; and 28 July 1923, p. 12. I am indebted to Alistair Pike for providing a schedule of Unitarian Church and WEA notices from the *Timaru Herald* during William Jellie’s term.

Anglican world travelling faith healer, who turned up in New Zealand attracting thousands to his mission at the Christchurch Cathedral. William Jellie, we can safely assume from his stance on science and religion would have come down on the side of those who thought psychological explanations accounted for the outcomes of Mr Hickson's endeavours.⁴⁴² The end of the year saw a visit from the Rev. John Gillies Whait Ellis (1865-1941)⁴⁴³ the new minister at the Wellington Unitarian Free Church. He delivered a sermon "An Outsider's view of Unitarianism" which must have been a subject that appealed to him as it was the first sermon he gave to the Wellington Church, a few months before. The two men met at the conference of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand held in Wellington the previous month. The conference adopted a remit calling for international peace and the settlement of disputes by arbitration through the League of Nations. The issue of Bible reading in schools pitted the Auckland Unitarian Church, represented by the Rev. Albert Thornhill (1870-1938), who favoured readings under certain safeguards, against Timaru where William Jellie was indefatigable in his opposition. The matter was dropped. William Jellie gave a much admired evening sermon to the conference "The Unitarian Protest".

⁴⁴² New Zealand was the final country on Hickson's world tour, arriving in Auckland in October 1923. Post World War One had seen a marked decline in church attendance due to the disenchantment with religion following the war, although some attributed it "to liberal theology and rationalism." Despite the increased awareness of psychosomatic illness, Hickson's ministry was supported by the Anglican Church not only to help the sick but also to restore "the Church to some of its former vigour". A. Fay Farley, "A Spiritual Healing Mission Remembered: James Moore Hickson's Christian Healing Mission at Palmerston North, New Zealand, 1923", *Journal of Religious History*, 34,1 (2010) pp.1-19.

⁴⁴³ John Ellis was educated at Grenville College and the School of Mines in Ballarat, Victoria, Australia. He entered the Methodist Church in 1885 and the next year came to Christchurch, and assisted the Rev. J. Orchard. Ordained in 1890 he married Ada Lydia Orchard (1865-1926) in 1891. He resigned from the ministry in 1909 and worked as an Instructor in Agriculture and Dairy Science for the Department of Education. He was a Fellow of the Royal Horticultural Society. (During his Unitarian ministry he was elected to the Council of the NZ Institute of Horticulture.) In 1920 he and his wife were in charge of a Methodist Orphanage. He took his first service at the Wellington Unitarian Church on 16 September 1923 although his formal appointment was later. The annual conference of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand in November 1923 set up an Advisory Board to examine the credentials of ministers applying for admission to the Unitarian ministry in New Zealand. *The Inquirer*, 23 February 1924, p. 133. John Ellis was the first and possibly only applicant examined by the Board, which approved his application and welcomed him into the ministry, notifying the B&FUA of its decision. Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar*, April 1924. John Ellis finished his Wellington ministry in December 1924, once again due to financial reasons. Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendar*, January 1925. He and Ada returned to Christchurch and after her death there in 1926 John went to Australia. I am grateful for information supplied by Jo Smith, Archivist, Methodist Church of New Zealand Archives, personal communication 8 June 2011.

1924 had a resounding start in Timaru when James Chapple arrived from Christchurch and gave a sermon on “Religious Liberalism versus Fundamentalism Superstitions” based on his observations in America. A month later William Jellie followed this up with “Was Jesus a Communist?” which gave him wide opportunity to discuss how the teaching of Jesus could relate to the organisation of society. He took up the theme of influences on modern life over the next six weeks, examining money, fashion, sport, the church, and nature.

Now William Jellie was to make a decision that would greatly influence his future. He was invited to put his name forward for the position of President of the South Canterbury branch of the WEA. How did this come about? It is very likely that members of his own church committee who were already involved with the local WEA would have introduced him.⁴⁴⁴ George Thurston Koller (1875-1951) served on the church committee for many years. A foundation member of the Labour Party in Timaru, he was a member of the Board of Governors of the Timaru Technical College and helped form the local WEA in 1918, serving on the Council and acting as librarian. Another Unitarian, Mr J. Seyb the church secretary, was also a Council member of the WEA. In July 1924 while visiting England he attended the International WEA Conference at Oxford as the delegate for the local organisation.⁴⁴⁵ By May 1924 William Jellie was presiding over WEA lectures as President of the South Canterbury branch, a position he held until the April 1925 Council meeting recorded his resignation and regret was expressed at his pending departure to live in Auckland.⁴⁴⁶

During his term he managed to deliver a lecture of his own as well as presiding over many others. In August 1924 his subject was “Some Aspects of Life in the Middle Ages”. Not surprising given his love of Dante, the impressions he gathered were from Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and *Inferno*, and the contemporary chronicles he referred to showed that “Dante did not in the least exaggerate [the

⁴⁴⁴ The report of the annual meeting of the South Canterbury WEA for March 1924 does not record a president being present or elected, so it is possible the position was vacant. *Timaru Herald*, 25 March 1924, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁵ *Timaru Herald*, 25 March 1924, p. 4.

⁴⁴⁶ The first report of William Jellie in his role as WEA President is in the *Timaru Herald*, 22 May 1924, p. 5; the report of his last Council meeting is in the *Timaru Herald*, 28 April 1925.

Middle Ages] vileness.”⁴⁴⁷ William Jellie was clear about the purpose of the WEA, it “aimed at enabling every man and woman to carry on education which would broaden the mind and develop the intellect throughout their whole life”.⁴⁴⁸ The Unitarian Hall was the frequent venue for many of the WEA lectures, an alternative being the YMCA.

Horace Belshaw (1898-1962) was the resident tutor when William Jellie became President of the WEA. The two men worked together, going on a visit to Waimate where a sub-council was set up. Belshaw had studied economics at Canterbury University College under John Bell Condliffe (1891-1981), gaining an MA with first class honours. He resigned in July 1924 when he received an award to study at Gonville and Caius College, University of Cambridge.⁴⁴⁹ Professor Condliffe had attended the same College at Cambridge University at the end of the war where his “early interest in the WEA was fostered by meetings with Albert Mansbridge,⁴⁵⁰ R.H. Tawney and other leading figures of the English W.E.A.”⁴⁵¹ When he returned to New Zealand in 1920 to take up the chair in economics he became a driving force in the expansion of the WEA, being appointed Director of Tutorial Classes in 1923. He wrote to Timaru informing the WEA Council that there would be no problem finding a successor to Mr Belshaw in plenty of time to organise for next year and that he, Professor James

⁴⁴⁷ *Timaru Herald*, 21 August 1924, p. 6.

⁴⁴⁸ *Timaru Herald*, 22 May 1924, p. 5.

⁴⁴⁹ Frank Holmes, “Belshaw, Horace”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b22> and Grant Fleming, “Condliffe, John Bell”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4c28> accessed 3 June 2011.

⁴⁵⁰ Albert Mansbridge (1876-1952) coming from the cooperative movement, founded the WEA after realising that the university extension movement, begun by Cambridge University in 1873, was failing to attract working class students. He proposed a joint committee of university and WEA representatives, with the WEA having a controlling voice in the selection of tutors. Classes were to be conducted on a tutorial model, which was called the ‘Oxford formula’. The resulting report *Oxford and Working-Class Education* (1908) was considered quite revolutionary for its time. Summer schools were introduced in 1910. Once adopted the association spread throughout Britain and overseas. In 1913 Mansbridge with his wife Frances visited all the Australian states. Bernard Jennings, “Mansbridge, Albert (1876-1952)”, *ODNB*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/oxforddnb/view/article/34859> accessed 3 September 2009. The Mansbridges only managed to spend a few days in New Zealand at Auckland. Jean E. Sharfe, *The Canterbury Workers’ Educational Association: The Origins and Development- 1915 to 1947. A Working Class Organisation?* MA Thesis in History, University of Canterbury, 1990, p. 21.

⁴⁵¹ Jean E. Sharfe, *The Canterbury Workers’ Educational Association: The Origins and Development-1915 to 1947. A Working Class Organisation?* p. 61.

Shelley (1884-1961)⁴⁵² and Mr Willis Airey would visit on 14 and 15 November 1924. The three men gave lectures on “The Art and Wit of Whistler,” “War Drama since the War,” “The Economic Outlook” and “The Empire and the League of Nations”. At the Timaru weekend school, which was under his control, Professor Shelley gave a special lecture on “Educational Tests.”⁴⁵³ A Cambridge graduate, he arrived in New Zealand in 1920, after resigning as Professor of Education at Hartley University College, Southampton, to take up the chair of education at Canterbury University College where he was also appointed Director of Extension Work. (When John Condliffe left the College in 1926 sole control of the extension work was in James Shelley’s hands, something he much preferred.) Now this was a man who would have immense appeal to William Jellie, “he brought to his adult teaching a lively mind, unique panache and a devotion to Shakespeare which included a willingness to undertake leading roles in stage presentations.”⁴⁵⁴ Besides his ebullient personality James Shelley was devoted to the same subjects that attracted William Jellie, Shakespeare and drama, we can anticipate that they would have got on famously. Approaching his sixtieth year, by now he could see there were other possibilities for his future than continuing as a clergyman. The third visitor, Willis (Bill) Airey (1897-1968)⁴⁵⁵ had gone to Merton College, Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship to read history and was another useful contact for William Jellie, as he would return to Auckland University College to a lectureship in history.

William Jellie and James Shelley met again the following February when the latter returned to introduce the new resident tutor for South Canterbury, Harold Gladstone Miller (1898-1989), at a

⁴⁵² Ian Carter, “Shelley, James”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010.

<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s23>

accessed 3 June 2010. Ian Carter’s biography, *Gadfly The Life and Times of James Shelley*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1993, tells much about his life but fails to mention that for nine years he was vice-president of the New Zealand Rationalist Association. With the advent of the first Labour government James Shelley was appointed to the new position of Director of Broadcasting and had a great influence over New Zealand’s cultural life. He was knighted and returned to live the remainder of his life in England.

⁴⁵³ *Timaru Herald*, 27 October 1924, p. 9.

⁴⁵⁴ David O.W. Hall, *New Zealand Adult Education*, London: Michael Joseph, 1970, p.54.

⁴⁵⁵ Michael Bassett, “Airey, Willis Thomas Goodwin”, *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010.

<http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4a6> accessed 3 June 2011.

meeting of the WEA in Timaru. This time James Shelley was accompanied by George Manning (1887-1976), the full-time organising secretary. William Jellie spoke on behalf of the Council and students:

[He] extended a very cordial welcome to the new tutor and hoped that his stay with them would be so pleasant that it would always remain one of the happiest periods of his life...he felt that New Zealand should be proud of a man of Mr. Miller's calibre, a man who had worked his way up through the various channels of education and through the Rhodes scholarship to the seat of the Empire's learning - Oxford University.⁴⁵⁶

Harold Gladstone Miler completed his MA with first class honours in philosophy at Victoria University College before going to Balliol College, Oxford where he read philosophy, politics and economics.⁴⁵⁷ Returning in 1924, he continued the remarkable Oxbridge connection that had developed within the Canterbury WEA. George Manning on the other hand exemplified what a person could achieve through the educational opportunities presented by the WEA. When 13 years old he left school to do manual work and later was active in the trade union movement. Joining the first WEA economics class his ability and determination impressed the tutor, John Condliffe who in 1920 offered him the position of organising secretary.⁴⁵⁸ Speaking to the meeting George Manning made the point that the WEA "offered to the citizen the same course of study as was available at any of the Universities. A university did not represent brick walls only, but educational achievement, and it was the educational achievement that was brought to them by the WEA."⁴⁵⁹

Stimulating and demanding of his time as this new found interest was, William Jellie was able to enjoy the fillip to the Unitarian cause with the visit of the Rev. William Priestly Phillips (1893-1972) in

⁴⁵⁶ *Timaru Herald*, 6 February 1925, p. 7.

⁴⁵⁷ Vic Elliott, "Miller, Harold Gladstone", *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010 <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m52> accessed 3 June 2011.

⁴⁵⁸ Born in Wales and emigrating to New Zealand in 1910, George Manning had a nonconformist background but for a while conducted rationalist funerals in Christchurch. He went on to part-time university study, gaining a diploma in social science in 1927 and an MA in economics in 1930. He was WEA national president (1942-1948) and became mayor of Christchurch (1958-1968). Jean Sharfe, "Manning, George", *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010 <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5m33> accessed 3 June 2011.

⁴⁵⁹ *Timaru Herald*, 6 February 1925, p. 7.

January 1925 as part of his B&FUA organised tour of Australia and New Zealand. His Sunday sermon on a favourite Unitarian theme, the downfall of creeds, was followed by a public meeting during the week where he was joined by the Rev. Clyde Carr (1886-1962)⁴⁶⁰ who supported the Christchurch Unitarian Church while James Chapple was away. By now William Jellie was aware that it was unlikely that the Timaru church would be able to support him for a further year.⁴⁶¹ It seemed that the movement he had striven so much to build in New Zealand before the war, which had four churches housed in three of its own buildings, had been seriously weakened. His departure could only mean that Unitarianism in the South Island was collapsing.⁴⁶² This must have given him great

⁴⁶⁰ Formerly a Methodist minister Clyde Carr became a Congregational minister, but resigned over the opposition that arose when he preached the social gospel. He was a friend of James Chapple, supporting his Unitarian church in Christchurch. He joined the Labour Party and in 1928 was elected to the Timaru seat which he held for 33 years. Colin Brown, "Carr, Clyde Leonard", *DNZB*, updated 1 September 2010 <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4c10> accessed 4 June 2011. His involvement with Unitarianism continued over many years and he is recorded as a Unitarian minister under the Marriage Act in *The New Zealand Gazette* 26 January 1928, p. 217.

⁴⁶¹ The Rev. Albert Thornhill writing in *The Inquirer*, 25 July 1925, p. 471 said: "Timaru found itself unable to maintain a minister and Mr. Jellie, after doing valuable service there, has brought his family to Auckland where he and they are entering joyfully into the work of the church he did so much to build up in its infant days. Timaru's loss is Auckland's gain." If Albert Thornhill had realised what the Timaru failure portended for liberal religion he may have been less sanguine.

⁴⁶² James Chapple left the Christchurch Unitarian Church by the end of 1925 and moved to Tauranga. Services were continued by Clyde Carr and his friend Norman Murray Bell (1887-1962), both were teachers in the Church's Socialist Sunday school (in 1932 the name was changed to the Socialist Guild of Youth) which Chapple established. The Socialist Sunday Schools became the model of 'The Young Comrades' children's league organised by the West Coast socialists at Blackball. (Len Richardson, *Coal, Class & Community*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995, p. 210.) When Clyde Carr's radio duties in 1927 (followed by politics) took his time Norman Bell became leader and the church was renamed the Free Religious Movement. Norman Bell was a Labour Party member and life-long peace activist. A brilliant academic he was educated at Christ's College and Canterbury University College completing an MA with honours in Classics and Chemistry in 1909 and was awarded the first scholarship to Trinity College, Cambridge, completing a BA in Classics in 1912. He graduated with a BD from London University in 1915. He went to St Andrews University in Scotland and studied education. At the time he was conscripted into the Army in 1917 he was teaching at Canterbury University College. His refusal of an order to accept his kit resulted in a Court martial sentencing him to two years imprisonment with hard labour. (Archives New Zealand Defence Force Records, WW1 64795-Army). Subsequent loss of civil rights barred him from standing as a Labour candidate in the 1919 election or teaching at a public institution; he survived as a private tutor to university students. (David Grant, *Out In The Cold*, Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986, pp. 41-43.) His address to the Unitarian Church, *Education for Freedom*, Greymouth: Grey River Argus, 1921 is extant as is his *Maori Myths and Rites in the Light of Human Ontogeny*, Christchurch: Canterbury University College, 1928.

In 1926 William Jellie became secretary of the Unitarian Association of New Zealand. He corresponded with Clyde Carr and James Chapple who wrote telling him the Free Religious Movement was doing well; Chapple also forwarded reports he received from Norman Bell. Clyde Carr thought the attendances "exceptionally good" and wanted to ensure the Christchurch movement was "linked up", presumably with the Unitarian Association. He described them as "extreme radicals" and wondered how they would appeal to William Jellie. None of William Jellie's replies have survived. (Clyde Carr letters 13 December 1928, 16 April 1929 and 9 December 1929 to William Jellie; James Chapple letters dated 13 December 1928 and 20 December 1929 to

sadness but also cause to reflect: religion generally since the war had entered into a critical state, membership and church attendances had fallen dramatically.⁴⁶³ As voluntary associations in a secular society they were being deserted. The decline has been traced back to 1900 and since then had been growing particularly in the main centres of Auckland, Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. The Great War had accelerated this trend as men began thinking for themselves: many were unable to reconcile the God of love with the suffering they experienced and had seen on the battlefield.⁴⁶⁴ As William Jellie reflected on the changes he saw around him he must have wondered what the future would offer to a minister approaching his final working years.

William Jellie. AWMMIL, MS 91/72 Series C Folder 6.) The Movement was active in the 1930s with press coverage in the *Evening Post*, 23 April 1934, p.14 but how long it continued is unknown.

⁴⁶³ For the effects on the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches see Peter J. Lineham, *New Zealanders and the Methodist Evangel*, Wesley Historical Society, 1983, pp. 44-47.

⁴⁶⁴ H. R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin, 1987, pp. 115-117: "however the statistics are analysed they indicate a substantial decline. Assuming that Sunday school children were not included, then the level of adult attendances was 43 percent lower in 1926 than it had been in 1891." See also p. 125 and p. 136. The decline in Protestant children attending Sunday schools was similar; whereas it was thought attendance of Sunday school age was about 90 percent at the turn of the century by 1926 it was about 55 percent. Ian Beward, *Godless Schools?*, p. 78.

9. In Auckland: The Poor Person's University⁴⁶⁵ 1926-1939

When William Jellie decided on a new career it was not surprising that he turned to education. The Unitarians had a long history, especially in the nineteenth century, of involvement in adult education.⁴⁶⁶ He would have been aware that the tradition of Mechanics Institutes, founded in Britain during the first part of that century, were readily transported to the new colony with the English settlers.⁴⁶⁷ And William Jellie would also have known about, possibly had some experience of, Working Men's Colleges, which we have already seen were promoted by the Rev. Henry Solly. One of the most successful of these colleges was situated at Ipswich when William Jellie had his ministry there and was working for the university extension movement.⁴⁶⁸ He would have also seen the important difference between England and New Zealand in this area: whereas university extension originated under the aegis of Cambridge University in 1873 and Oxford in 1878,⁴⁶⁹ it had simply not got off the ground in New Zealand. Instead those aspiring to further education had to rely

⁴⁶⁵ "The Workers' Educational Association occupied the other half of the old Grammar School building in Symonds Street where Elam [School of Fine Arts] was now situated. An adult outreach educational wing of the Auckland University College, the W.E.A. was a poor person's university." Nicola Green, *By the Waters of Babylon The Art of A. Lois White*, Auckland: Auckland City Art Gallery/David Bateman, 1993, p.29. Auckland University College provided rooms for the WEA in the Old Grammar School in 1925 which they used until it was burned down in 1949.

⁴⁶⁶ Raymond V. Holt, *The Unitarian Contribution to Social Progress in England*, London: Lindsey Press, 1938, pp. 267-270.

⁴⁶⁷ Mechanics Institutes were established in Wellington, Nelson and Auckland in 1842, Dunedin in 1851 and Hutt Valley in 1854. "By the 1880's most towns, and indeed townships, had their mechanics' institute or athenaeum, as many of these institutions came to be called. Many of them acquired their own buildings and all maintained a reading room and library." The same article shows that mutual improvement societies were important, if often overlooked, contributors to adult education and some of their supporters "were pioneers of the Workers' Educational Association." James C. Dakin, "The prevalence of mutual improvement in adult education in New Zealand 1870-1915", *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 10, 3 (1991), pp. 243-254.

⁴⁶⁸ John R. Read, "Healthy Intercourse: The Beginning of the London Working Men's College", *Browning Institute Studies*, 16 (1988), pp. 77-90. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25057829> accessed 22 August 2010.

⁴⁶⁹ The intention was "to design a cheap and direct system of university extension by which young scholars ventured forth to spread knowledge and to prove that privilege had its social conscience." This classic example of top down thinking faltered when a later generation of scholars including R. H. Tawney, G.D. H. Cole and William Temple, built strong links with the working class and labour movement, and the subsequent emergence of the WEA. Lawrence Goldman, "Education as politics: university adult education in England since 1870", *Oxford Review of Education*, 25, 1&2(1999), pp. 89-101. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1050702> accessed 21 April 2011.

on voluntary associations, including the Adult Schools run by the Quakers, which as he knew, some of his Auckland congregation had attended.⁴⁷⁰

In New Zealand William Jellie's old friend Sir Robert Stout had been instrumental in ensuring that the new movement for working class education got off to the right start. When the Wellington Workers Educational Association was being formed Sir Robert urged that it should be connected "with existing educational institutions, otherwise there would be the risk of failure."⁴⁷¹ And he was shown to be right as what became a joint venture between the WEA and university colleges, through which funding for the WEA programme would flow, while academic staff could be either appointed directly as WEA tutors or drawn from the university college. The affiliation of trade unions with the WEA ensured that the needs of their members were addressed in the courses taught.

William Jellie would have found this new profession attractive for a variety of reasons: first he was eminently qualified academically to teach in a number of subject areas. He was knowledgeable in English literature and its place in Western Civilization, a number of languages as well as being a Dante scholar. And as we shall see over the years he had continued to acquire knowledge in other areas, all of which he was capable of passing on to students. Secondly, he could see that in doing so he was providing an important contribution to society, which was the development of an educated democracy. In a sense this was a continuing expression of the social ethic he had imbibed through the teaching of Philip Wicksteed. Thirdly, he could contribute to individual self improvement a view that was of special importance to his Unitarian beliefs: "the 'true dignity of man consisted in his

⁴⁷⁰ Lottie Guy's attendance at the Auckland Adult School is mentioned on pp. 88-89. Her brothers George Herbert Guy (1880-1969) enrolled at the Adult School in 1895 and John Beecher Guy (1872-1938) in 1896. Their father John Guy (1845-1929) became vice-president and by 1898 was chairman of the school. Margaret Howie and Jean Leyland, *A Guy Family History*, pp. 34-35, 52 and 82. Adult School's started in Auckland in 1891, and spread into the suburbs; at one time there were four, followed by schools in Wellington, Christchurch and Dunedin. Their activity had peaked by 1915. Margaret West and Ruth Fawell, *The Story of New Zealand Quakerism 1842-1972*, N.Z. Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 1973, pp.92-95. The schools were non-sectarian, aimed at the "working man and artisan class, whom it is nobody's concern to look after, and who are utterly neglected. It is these the school desires to reach and give a helping hand to, and we want them to come along just as they are, and never mind their clothes or personal appearance, as they will be heartily welcome." *Evening Post*, 3 April 1908, p.3.

⁴⁷¹ *Colonist*, 24 December 1914, p. 4.

intellectual capacity', that all that was 'precious in literature, or ennobling in knowledge, or graceful in art' should be freely and widely accessible and that knowledge would raise men from serfdom."⁴⁷²

Above all his new work allow him to express his empathy for the needs of working men and women in a practical manner without requiring overt political action on his part.⁴⁷³

When his letter of appointment came early in 1926 from the Director of Tutorial Classes for the WEA in Auckland it was more by way of inquiry, "I should have looked you up long before this" wrote Mr. L. A. Mander, M.A. then he went on: "The Tutorial Class Committee wishes to know if you are free to conduct a W.E.A. Literature Class in the city during the coming winter." He then commented that he "should be glad to have an opportunity of talking matters over with you" which indicated that the two had yet to meet.⁴⁷⁴ Clearly the inquiry was coming from the committee and not the other way round, so who might have put his name forward? Another close friend was Sir George Fowlds, at whose home in Auckland Albert Mansbridge had stayed.⁴⁷⁵ He was President of the College at the time, a position he held until 1933. He had been on the foundation executive of the WEA and supported a move to broaden the range of subjects taught: he said the WEA must "cultivate also the

⁴⁷² Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England 1760-1860*, London and New York: Longman, 1998, p.184.

⁴⁷³ His son John Jellie could not recall his father discussing politics at home and there is no record of him discussing it in a party political sense. Wayne Facer, "In Memoriam: John Hugh Jellie 1920-2010", Auckland Unitarian Church *News & Views*, October 2011, attachment, pp.1-8.

⁴⁷⁴ L. A. Mander letter dated 19 February 1926 to William Jellie. "The suggested course is one of twenty four lectures at the rate of £60 per course, and I should be glad to have an opportunity of talking matters over with you..." Linden Alfred Mander (1897-1967) was educated at Prince Alfred College, Adelaide after being awarded a public exhibition and at Adelaide University. He was honorary secretary of the South Australia League of Nations Union in 1920, *The Advertiser*, 29 October 1920, p. 10. In April 1922 he was appointed Tutor-Organiser of the Auckland WEA which a year later was changed to Director of Tutorial Classes, a position he held until his resignation in 1927. He returned to speak at the League of Nations Union, visiting Adelaide in 1926 and 1927, being identified as the Director of the Auckland WEA. *The Advertiser*, 20 January 1926, p. 12; and 25 January 1927, p.2. He took up a chair in political science at Washington University, Seattle in 1927; his specialty was the United Nations and international organisations. He received a distinguished service award from the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Hugh A. Bone, "Linden A. Mander: 1897-1967", *Western Political Quarterly*, 20, 2(1967), p.513. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44546> accessed 15 June 2011.

⁴⁷⁵ John A. Colquhoun, *History of the Auckland Workers' Educational Association until the passing of the Adult Education Act, 1947*, M Phil Thesis in Education, University of Auckland, 1976, p.9. John Alexander Colquhoun (1924-1999) graduated BDS from Otago University, Dip. Ed. Sydney University and after his M Phil completed a PhD at Auckland in 1987. He was Principal Dental Officer in the Department of Health in Auckland when he retired in 1984. He studied the question of fluoridation intensely. A supporter of liberal causes, he was involved with the WEA and a member of the Auckland Unitarian Church.

deeper feelings and richer powers of appreciation, and develop the finer susceptibilities. It must widen the interests of many whose lives through their work are narrow."⁴⁷⁶ Equally likely, the suggestion to contact William Jellie could have come from Nellie Ferner (1869-1930)⁴⁷⁷ a prominent member of the Auckland Unitarian Church, she was a member of the Council of the WEA and the Auckland Education Board, amongst her many public roles. She knew both William Jellie and Sir George Fowlds well.

By now the Jellie family, with the exception of Hilary who remained at Waitaki Boys High for the next two years, were all back in Auckland. Mary and John started at the local Three Kings primary school and Margaret went to St Cuthbert's College. Ella had bought the land at 14 Warren Avenue in July 1925, just two months after they returned from Timaru. It was a sizeable piece of land, close to three quarters of an acre, which afforded the development of a substantial home for the family, three bedrooms and a porch off the main bedroom where William Jellie liked to sleep in summer. His study was a book lined annex at one end of the dining room; he had also filled the hallway with bookcases. Soon his books appeared nearly everywhere in the house. There was a long driveway from the road which became circular in front of the house where later a white cherry tree was planted. A grass tennis court was laid out and nearby a chicken run built and vegetable garden prepared, both activities on which William Jellie enjoyed spending his time. This was the first permanent home of the Jellie family.

⁴⁷⁶ Quoted in Roy Shuker, *Educating the Workers? A History of the Workers' Educational Association in New Zealand*, p. 76.

⁴⁷⁷ Ellen Elizabeth Ferner (née Aley) was a portrait painter and photographer, being awarded a gold medal for portraiture at the Auckland Exhibition in 1914. She spent a lifetime working in the interests of children: organising support for the passage of the Child Welfare Act in 1925 and working in the Children's Court first as an associate member, then appointed a Justice of the Peace in 1926. She organised the Community Sunshine School for sick and convalescing children and a residential camp for undernourished children at Waiheke Island. She served on the Board's of Seddon Memorial Technical College, Elam School of Art and was instrumental in establishing the Rocklands Hall residence for women teacher's college students. Bronwyn Dalley, "Ferner, Ellen Elizabeth", updated 1 September 2010. *DNZB*, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4f7> accessed 13 June 2011. She was a member of the Auckland Unitarian Church from 1900. Her funeral was conducted by the Revs. William Constable and William Jellie and a memorial tablet unveiled in the Auckland Unitarian Church by Sir George Fowlds. *The Inquirer*, 3 January 1931, p. 9; *Evening Post*, 25 February 1931, p. 13.

They had moved into the new house in 1926 so to begin teaching for the WEA that April fitted in very well. After a year concentrating on family affairs he was now back at work, although only occupying him part time it was mentally stimulating, organising a whole programme of study for an adult class. Little did he realise he would continue to teach for the next fourteen years. It is likely that both the pleasure he derived from teaching and the settled state of his family, not to mention his mature years, would have made it easy for him to reject the overture from the Sydney Unitarian Church when their pulpit became vacant a few years later.⁴⁷⁸

He started with English Literature, which proved to be the most frequent course he taught. Included in this category was both poetry and prose. The range he covered was vast, from eighteenth and nineteenth century poets and writers to the moderns. It usually comprised 24 two hour sessions being a combined lecture and tutorial module of one hour each.⁴⁷⁹ Within this course he drew out reflections of political and social change: such as the struggle for constitutional and religious liberty in England contained in Milton.

A series of three courses between 1934 and 1936 discussed social and political change mediated through literature. The eighteenth century sufferings of the common people of France which led to

⁴⁷⁸ When the Rev. George Walters (1856-1926) died, Wyndham Heathcote provided temporary supply at the Sydney Unitarian Church until February 1928. He was replaced in January 1929 by Albert Thornhill, who "it seems more than likely ...had heard of the vacancy through Rev. William Jellie, his retired predecessor in Auckland to whom the Sydney Church had made overtures." Geoffrey Ronald Usher, *Four Decades of Leadership Ministers of the Sydney Unitarian Church 1927-1968*, MA Thesis in Religious Studies, University of Sydney, 1989, p.14. Born in Stalybridge, a Cheshire town that became one of the first textile centres in the industrial revolution, Albert Thornhill came from a working class background, his father was a boot maker and Albert started work when he was eleven. After studying University Extension courses and gaining a scholarship to the Oxford summer school he joined Fitzwilliam Hall at Cambridge University, established by the Non-Collegiate Students Board for under privileged students. From Cambridge University where he completed a BA in 1902 and received an MA in 1906, he studied at Manchester College, Oxford 1902-1905 attaining first class honours in Old and New Testament studies. He had ministries at Carlisle 1905-1907; Failsworth, Manchester 1907-1908 and Derby 1908-1911. Following a ten year ministry at Brookfield Church, Gorton, Manchester, Rev. Thornhill arrived at Auckland in April 1920 with his wife Daisy and three children. His time at Auckland was successful; he was instrumental in arranging radio broadcasts of the church services, undertook missionary work well beyond Auckland and was active in the Unitarian Association of New Zealand. He resigned from his Sydney ministry in January 1932 and the following year Daisy divorced him for adultery with Alice Harris, former secretary of the Sydney Unitarian Church. Meanwhile Albert Thornhill returned to England and, failing to get another church appointment, studied dietetics. He then returned to Sydney and set up practice as a dietician. Rev. William Bottomley married Albert and Alice at the Melbourne Unitarian Church four years before Albert died in 1938.

⁴⁷⁹ Appendix 5: William Jellie's Public Education Courses

the revolution in that country were examined, its impact on the reforms in Britain and the later Russian revolution were covered. Here he looked at writers ranging from Voltaire and Rousseau to Wollstonecraft, Paine, Byron and Shelley. He delivered a two part course over the last two years. First, the political and social ideas during early Victorianism, the utilitarians, socialists and chartists through the writings of Carlyle, Ruskin, Trollope, Clough, Arnold and others. This was followed by the Age of Liberalism 1860-1900: the revolutions in thinking in politics, economics, science and religion; the dominance of political Liberalism and the emergence of socialism, which included William Morris, Matthew Arnold, Tennyson and Browning. In addition to these an appreciation of Shakespeare was taught, which was only equal to half the number of those that were devoted to general literature. There was ample opportunity in his teaching for William Jellie to show the relevance of these writers to the working classes. The Chartists had shown a preference for the works of Bunyan, Burns, Milton and Shelley; these were writers who raised the struggle for reform. Shakespeare was another choice for working class radicals from the mid nineteenth century onward. There was a Shakespearean Chartist Association and his plays were studied by the poet Gerald Massey and the secularist George W. Foote. Working class people often learnt to read from his plays and would recite from them. "In their eyes, Shakespeare, like Milton and Chaucer, appeared as a defiantly plebeian figure."⁴⁸⁰

His love of Dante inspired by his mentor Philip Wicksteed, ranked second highest in the number of courses he taught. The Victorians had adopted Dante with great gusto as part of their revival of interest in Italian literature and culture. What was it that appealed so much to the Victorian mind of men such as Wicksteed and Jellie? Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) was a Florentine poet and philosopher writing at the end of the medieval period and beginning of the Renaissance. *The Divine Comedy* marked a momentous change in literary style; it was written in Italian not Latin. Then, notwithstanding the subject matter of its three volumes, Inferno or Hell, Purgatory and Heaven, it

⁴⁸⁰ Anthony Taylor, "Shakespeare and Radicalism: The Uses and Abuses of Shakespeare in Nineteenth-Century Popular Politics", *Historical Journal*, 45, 2 (2002), pp. 357-379. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3133649> accessed 17 February 2010.

took human individuality and happiness as being important. This earthly life was not seen as mere preparation for an afterlife, earthly life was in itself a place where people should find happiness, which was a major break with medieval theology.⁴⁸¹ Arguably this was a point at which the Middle Ages began to dissolve and Renaissance humanism emerged. This had immense appeal to the Unitarians, given their desire to remove suffering and enable humanity to achieve happiness in this life. When William Jellie gave his first sermons in Auckland, *Our Aims* and *The Principles and Doctrines of Unitarians*, he was at pains to make this very point.

De Monarchia provided an equally radical treatment, for the time, of the relationship between church and state. Although Dante believed peace required a single or universal monarch, neither the Pope nor Emperor should reign supreme over both temporal and spiritual areas, they should have separate jurisdictions. This view conflicted with that of Pope Boniface VIII and his work was condemned as heretical.⁴⁸² When the Index of forbidden books was drawn up under the Papacy of Paul IV *De Monarchia* was included and was not removed until 1881.⁴⁸³ Once again the idea of separation between church and state was one which Unitarians believed in and advocated throughout their history, a concept that William Jellie would have been only too pleased to expound upon.

In nineteenth century England Dante was seen as the opponent of tyranny, which mirrored English thought. It was reflected in contemporary poetry where he is compared to passages in Milton, Henry Hallam, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge.⁴⁸⁴ John Ruskin, who became an advocate of utopian socialism, first read Dante while on a trip to Europe in 1845 after which “there is no work of Ruskin’s without

⁴⁸¹ “It is not until we come to Dante that we find a layman writing with full knowledge of the ecclesiastical philosophy of his time. Until the fourteenth century, ecclesiastics have a virtual monopoly of philosophy, and philosophy, accordingly, is written from the standpoint of the Church.” Bertrand Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945, p. 302.

⁴⁸² Not surprisingly *De Monarchia* was burned in Lombardy in 1318. In 1497 the Dominican friar Girolamo Savonarola built a bonfire in Florence “into which were thrown cosmetics, statuettes of nude women, jewels, musical instruments, and ‘dirty’ books by writers such as Dante, while astonished artists like Botticelli watched their ‘heathen’ works go up in smoke.” Fernando Báez, *A Universal History of the Destruction of Books*, trans. Alfred MacAdam, New York: Atlas, 2008, p. 120 and p. 138.

⁴⁸³ A.N. Wilson, *Dante in Love*, London: Atlantic Books, 2011, p. 317.

⁴⁸⁴ Alison Milbank, *Dante and the Victorians*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998, pp. 16-17

overt and submerged Dantean reference, from conversations on mineralogy for schoolgirls, to critiques of political economy.”⁴⁸⁵ In short the Dantean influence on nineteenth century literature was so pervasive as to be a common encounter for men and women of *belles lettres*.⁴⁸⁶ From common encounter Dante passed into popular culture, which soon made for odd bedfellows:

When England went wild with enthusiasm for the visit of Garibaldi, biscuits were named after him and Wedgwood busts were fashioned in the shape of the great Italian nationalist. Karl Marx could for once find himself in total agreement with Queen Victoria. Marx saw the visit as ‘a miserable spectacle of imbecility’ and Queen Victoria was ‘half ashamed at being the head of a nation capable of such foibles’. But for Gladstone and the great Liberal British public, Garibaldi was a hero, Italian nationalism was a cause to be supported wholeheartedly, and Dante was a prophet of this nationalism.⁴⁸⁷

William Jellie kept a substantial workbook to record items of interest.⁴⁸⁸ In it are reviews, dating from 1910, many about new Dante titles; philosophy by A.N. Whitehead, poems by Gordon Bottomley, biography of the Sitwells, prose by Walter De La Mare, and biography of Thomas Hardy. The discovery of the earliest portrait of Dante is recorded in a four page article with five other portraits, concluding with drawings of his supposed skull. Obituaries are to be found: the notation on one says it is from the Editorial Office of the *Auckland Star* and this is on a clipping from the *Christchurch Star*; the article concerned is a D. H. Lawrence obituary reprinted from the *New Statesman*. Who did Jellie know in the *Auckland Star* to provide him with clippings? Virtually all the items, although not often sourced and dated, appear to be from overseas newspapers. There was a

⁴⁸⁵ Alison Milbank, *Dante and the Victorians*, p. 30. However it is possible to read the biography by Robert Hewison, “Ruskin, John (1819-1900)”, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/24291> accessed 20 June 2011, without mentioning this effect of Dante on Ruskin’s work. If “submerged” in this context means hidden just how these references are to be found is not vouchsafe to us by the author.

⁴⁸⁶ In addition to delivering his lecture courses on Dante William Jellie prepared an extensive Dante Dictionary in an A-Z style which is still in manuscript form. UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS and Archives A-70, Box 3 uncatalogued.

⁴⁸⁷ A.N. Wilson, *Dante in Love*, p. 327.

⁴⁸⁸ “Walker’s Century Scrap & Newscutting Book”. UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS and Archives A-70, Box 2, Item 36.

clipping on the annual dinner of Morley College for Working Men and Women where Sir Herbert Samuel spoke about the ideas of the age, including “The long struggle to establish political liberty in Ireland, the question of religious education in schools and public control...” matters dear to the heart of William Jellie. This was the college that Amber Blanco White (1887-1981) daughter of Maud and William Pember Reeves, taught at for thirty seven years.

Starting from 1928, many articles are from *The New Statesman*, founded in 1913 by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, George Bernard Shaw and other members of the Fabian Society. William Jellie would have appreciated the excellent book reviews and reports on dramatic performances. Articles were collected from the *American Mercury* on “The Unitarians” and “American University Presses.” *The Queen* contained delightful reports on English homes (the Sitwells’ for example) and country regions with literary associations, while C.E.M. Joad wrote about the philosophy of food and the “humiliating English indifference to expert cooking”.

By 1930 there is a change in the clippings; more political items start to appear as do ones about international affairs. An item from *The Times* points out the similarities in the Nazi German and Soviet Russian dictatorships. Many articles are from the English WEA magazine *The Highway*; numerous are political commentaries. While book reviews continue to dominate by now many are of political publications about Germany, Russia and the League of Nations. Articles from the *Illustrated London News* tend to be about archaeology and science. *The Spectator* provides reports on political topics, though a review of four books about Ireland has some marginalia indicating his interest. *The Manchester Guardian* can now be identified along with *The Observer*. Complete articles are kept from *The Book Society News*, “Whistler”, “Eight Victorian Poets”, and “The Mysterious Universe” to name but a few. One review from *The Observer* would have fascinated him, William Rothenstein’s *Men and Memories* a memoir which includes mention of William Jellie when they were both students at University Hall. By 1934 a heading in *Time and Tide* says it all quite well: “New Deal or Dictatorship,” the book reviewed is *Reconstruction, a Plea for a National Policy* by Harold Macmillan,

and has the reviewer saying “this is in substance, the most important book of the year.” With the appearance of the stark alternatives of fascism and communism to democracy the comments now take on a prophetic air. The reviews allowed him to follow up, reading the titles of interest to keep his courses up to date.

How did he come to assemble this collection from such a range of sources? Some he may have subscribed to, like *The Book Society News* and *The Highway* would have been available from the Auckland WEA. Is it possible the article from the *Auckland Star* Editorial Office provides a clue? Could he have had a friend who gave him access to their overseas papers when no longer needed? In any event it shows how he kept abreast of new publications and developments around the world. His information was not limited to western countries as there were reports on the Japanese invasion of China and events in other parts of the world. With his well known predilection for collecting books, fossicking around book shops and spending a lot of time in libraries there was no difficulty for William Jellie keeping abreast of his many interests and pursuing new ones.

Awareness of the changed international political and economic system is reflected in the four lectures he gave to the Hamilton WEA in 1939:⁴⁸⁹ “What communism means today.” Here he distinguishes between communism, which he called revolution by violence, and socialism which he saw as change by evolution, presumably in a lawful and constitutional sense. Then he examined the role of scientific thought in the development of humanitarian legislation and social utopias and discussed how revolutionary change can result in dictatorships which destroy any hope for democracy. In this lecture he refers to the *History of the Freedom of Thought* by John Bagnell Bury (1861-1927),⁴⁹⁰ the classical scholar and historian. This is a book full of sentiments that chimed with William Jellie’s Unitarian views, such as: “in what we may call the earliest justification of liberty of

⁴⁸⁹ Appendix 5: William Jellie’s Public Education Courses.

⁴⁹⁰ J.B. Bury concurrently held chairs in modern history and Greek at Trinity College, Dublin and went on to become regius professor of modern history at Cambridge in 1902. He produced a seven volume edition of Edward Gibbon’s *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* as well as many books on classical Greece. His rationalist views on history can be seen in the *History of the Freedom of Thought* (1913) and *History of the Idea of Progress* (1920). Michael Whitby, “Bury, John Bagnell (1861-1927)”, *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/32202> accessed 23 June 2011.

thought we have two significant claims affirmed: the indefeasible right of the conscience of the individual - a claim on which later struggles for liberty were to turn; and the social importance of discussion and criticism."⁴⁹¹ The role of freedom of thought he saw as no less important for the individual as it is for society as a whole and William Jellie drew upon such ideas when looking at development in society. "If the history of civilisation has any lesson to teach us it is this: there is one supreme condition of mental and moral progress which it is completely within the power of man himself to secure, and that is perfect liberty of thought and discussion," John Bury propounded as he went on to conclude that: "The establishment of this liberty may be considered the most valuable achievement of modern civilisation, and as a condition of social progress it should be deemed fundamental."⁴⁹² William Jellie gave a lecture on "The Philosophy of Modern Pacifism" probably about the same time as his lectures on communism.⁴⁹³ This is noteworthy because there is no record of him raising the subject when the First World War occurred. He refers to the works of C.E.M. Joad (1891-1953)⁴⁹⁴ during this lecture. After traversing the role of nationalism in war he advocates the necessity of an international authority to control arms, and specifically war planes, indicating this was written after the Spanish civil war and the devastation wrought by Nazi Germany's air force on cities and towns; Hitler is mentioned.⁴⁹⁵ Then he suggests that if peace is to

⁴⁹¹ J. B. Bury, *Freedom of Thought A History*, New York: Prometheus Books edition, 2007, p.30.

⁴⁹² J. B. Bury, *Freedom of Thought A History*, p.182.

⁴⁹³ "The Philosophy of Modern Pacifism" is undated and does not appear on any schedule of lectures, although it may have been part of a series and not separately indentified. It is likely to have been given in 1939 as the threat of war approached.

⁴⁹⁴ Cyril Edwin Mitchinson Joad was educated at Balliol College, Oxford. While working for the civil service he joined the Fabian Society and wrote book reviews for the *Daily Herald* and *New Statesman*. He wrote from an agnostic viewpoint and his publications included popular works, *Common Sense Ethics* and *Common Sense Theology*. In 1930 he became head of philosophy at Birkbeck College, University of London and later was promoted to reader and received a D Litt. Since the First World War he had been a pacifist and was active in the National Peace Council, but later abandoned his pacifism and agnosticism. Jason Tomes, "Joad, Cyril Edwin Mitchinson (1891-1953)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com.www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/34193> accessed 25 June 2011.

⁴⁹⁵ The plight of the Republican government in Spain was well known at this time. New Zealand had volunteers serving in the International Brigade. The Labour government elected in November 1935 supported collective security which justified intervention against the fascists in the Spanish civil war that broke out in July 1936; the Labour party *Standard* covered the war in detail and supported the Republic. Dr D.G. MacMillan, Minister of Health, became president of the Spanish Medical Aid Committee. New Zealand was critical of British foreign policy over this matter, something that had never happened before. The Catholic Church stood out

be maintained there needs to be an international arbitration system. Strangely, this lecture does not appear to place any emphasis on the claims of the individual pacifist to his or her conscience. Rather, the emphasis is on the maintenance of international peace, which would have been a more accurate title, although the notes are not long, and the question of individual conscience may have been covered in his extempore presentation or material from Joad's works.

One of the most interesting courses William Jellie delivered was that from April to September 1939, "Utopias through the Ages"⁴⁹⁶ his last for the Auckland WEA. (By now the former 24 lectures and tutorial programme had been reduced to 22.) This course covers a sweeping array of utopian thought including Plato, *The Republic*, Plutarch *Sparta* and *Lives of Lycurgus*, Dante's *De Monarchia*, More's *Utopia*, Karl Marx's *Communist Manifesto*, Robert Pemberton's *Happy Colony*, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, to William Morris's *News from Nowhere*, H.G. Wells *Utopia* and Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World*.⁴⁹⁷

Two of these topics have a particular New Zealand flavour. While *News from Nowhere*⁴⁹⁸ was a romantic socialist counterpoint to the state socialism portrayed in Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, it was the later work that William Jellie had been introduced to as a student studying Wicksteed's course on Sociology, Economics and Social Problems at Manchester New College. By the time William Jellie taught his course it was already influential in New Zealand: in the 1890's it had been praised by William Pember Reeves as "the book of the day" and sold in its tens of thousands;⁴⁹⁹ the depression of the 1930's gave birth to a renaissance in the work of Edward Bellamy and *Looking Backward*. The riots of unemployed workers in Dunedin, Auckland and Wellington in 1932 and the

in its support for Franco and the fascists. John Shennan, "The Labour Party: A principled stand", in *Kiwi Compañeros New Zealand and the Spanish Civil War*, Mark Derby (ed.), Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2009, pp. 185-203.

⁴⁹⁶ William Jellie used this topic as the theme for a series of sermons at the Timaru Unitarian Church in 1923.

⁴⁹⁷ Appendix 5: William Jellie's Public Education Courses.

⁴⁹⁸ *News from Nowhere* was published in serial form in the publication *Commonweal*, beginning January 1890, after William Jellie had finished Wicksteed's course. It is available on the William Morris Internet Archive: Works. <http://www.marxists.org/archive/morris/works/index.htm> accessed 20 June 2011.

⁴⁹⁹ Herbert Roth, "Bellamy Societies of Indonesia, South Africa and New Zealand", in Sylvia E. Bowman, *et. al.*, *Edward Bellamy Abroad*, New York: Twayne, 1962, p. 232.

banning of another of Bellamy's books, *The Parable of the Water Tank* that same year, helped reignite working class interest. The Edward Bellamy Society of New Zealand was formed in Wellington in 1936 after the broadcast of a radio talk on Edward Bellamy as part of a series on "Modern Utopias" and a branch set up in Auckland in 1937. Its influence was expanded through the Society's weekly column in the Labour party newspaper *The Standard*. While only two members of Parliament joined the Bellamy Society initially, there were an additional seven Labour MP supporters in the government: J. Thorn, Rev. Clyde Carr, E. J. Howard, C.M. Williams, W. Lee Martin, A. S. Richards and Dr. D.G. McMillan; later Mrs Catherine Stewart joined. What did the Society achieve with this parliamentary support? The Bellamy Society representatives put proposals before the Parliamentary National Health and Superannuation Committee and a Select Committee of the House of Representatives. Even the Prime Minister Michael Savage agreed with their proposals for universal state benefits.⁵⁰⁰ Not only did the Bellamy Society influence the Social Security Scheme, it helped introduce principles such as "full employment, home ownership by working-class people, free education and health service, motherhood endowment, universal superannuation and other State-supplied benefits..." The views of this American socialist "had a marked influence on the Labour movement and social legislation in New Zealand."⁵⁰¹ So by the time William Jellie was teaching this course he could point to the adoption of many Bellamy Society ideas by the first Labour government in New Zealand.

The other decidedly New Zealand utopian topic was *The Happy Colony*.⁵⁰² This was a plan to achieve the utopian ideal in New Zealand, promulgated in 1854 by Robert Pemberton (1788-1879), a follower of Robert Owen (1771-1858).⁵⁰³ Pemberton lived in London and Paris and was present

⁵⁰⁰ Herbert Roth, "Bellamy Societies of Indonesia, South Africa and New Zealand", p. 246.

⁵⁰¹ Walter Edward Murphy, "Bellamy Society" in *An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand*, A. H. McLintock, ed., vol. 2, Wellington: Government Printer, 1966, pp.793-794.

⁵⁰² Robert Pemberton, *The Happy Colony*, London: Saunders and Otley, 1854. Each illustration in the book proclaimed it was a design "To be established in New Zealand by the workmen of Great Britain." On his class reading guide William Jellie had marked this book "out of print" so students would have to be satisfied with his notes or try the public library for a copy.

⁵⁰³ Gregory Claeys, "Owen, Robert (1771-1858)", *ODNB*, <http://o-www.oxforddnb.com/www.elgar.govt.nz/view/article/21027> accessed 1 July 2011.

during the French Revolution of 1848. Education was his abiding interest, he founded an infant schools based on his own theory, a blend of Owenism and Transcendentalism, that is a mixture of socialism using reasoning as the basis of all knowledge.⁵⁰⁴ This concern for education is seen in the town design Pemberton produced for New Zealand: Queen Victoria Town has been described as “little more than a university campus incorporating accommodation for agricultural and industrial workers”⁵⁰⁵ with a model farm at the centre. The design is a series of circles; the first of 50 acres contains the four colleges of the natural university, swimming baths, riding school, botanic and horticultural gardens, while second circle manufactories and public workshops, the outer circles have parks, public buildings and dwelling houses. He proposed that 200,000 acres should be bought in Taranaki, probably at New Plymouth, to build ten such towns each housing 10,000 people. His son Charles French Pemberton (1835-1905) a Sorbonne University educated civil engineer, emigrated to New Zealand in 1859, “perhaps with plans for his father’s colony in mind.”⁵⁰⁶ However as Charles Pemberton was soon to discover the Taranaki war broke out and he could not advance the scheme so he took a job with the government service and subsequently was appointed surveyor for the Ashley district in Canterbury.

A surprising omission in William Jellie’s course was the Rochdale Pioneers. Given his knowledge of the Pemberton utopian plan he could have been expected to know of the Rochdale Equitable Society: the co-operative movement that started in 1844 and spread around the world, including New Zealand. The Clover street Unitarian Chapel was known as “The Co-op Chapel” because such a significant number of its members were founders in the Rochdale Pioneers.⁵⁰⁷ Based on Robert

⁵⁰⁴ J.F.C. Harrison, *Robert Owen and the Owenities in Britain and America*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1969, p.252 and n. 3.

⁵⁰⁵ John Rockey, “From Vision to Reality: Victorian Ideal Cities and Model Towns in the Genesis of Ebenezer Howard’s Garden City”, *The Town Planning Review*, 54, 1 (1983), pp. 83-105.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40111935> accessed 29 June 2011.

⁵⁰⁶ John Rockey, “An Australasian Utopist”, *New Zealand Journal of History*, 15, 2 (1981), pp. 157-178.

⁵⁰⁷ R. S. Roper and Alan Ruston, “The Rochdale Pioneers- 150th Anniversary”, *TUHS*, 20, 4 (1994), pp. 283-286.

Owen's principles of co-operation rather than competition,⁵⁰⁸ the co-ops had a set of rules: the provision of capital by members carried a fixed rate of interest, only pure food was supplied, a full weight or measure was to be given, only cash purchases and no credit, dividends to be divided among members in proportion to their purchases, management based on democratic principles with one vote per member, and part of the profits to go to education. Before World War One consumer co-ops were formed in Christchurch, Westport and Wellington. After the war they spread to other centres and increased in number, although the price competition from chain stores in the 1920's saw some co-ops shut down. However the depression years saw a resurgence of co-ops and later they appeared in state house areas developed under the first Labour government. Did William Jellie think that because co-ops already existed they no longer merited inclusion in his course? Was he using Utopia in the sense of "no place" that is a place which does not exist, whereas it has been suggested that a suitable rendering would be "well place" or "good place."⁵⁰⁹ With his concentration on Utopian models elsewhere, many of which predated European settlement in New Zealand, William Jellie did not focus on this country as the Utopian Paradise many had portrayed it from the nineteenth century onward;⁵¹⁰ yet another reason which may help explain why he omitted this topic from his course.

"One of the most important of the experiments that the New Zealand WEA movement produced was the summer school."⁵¹¹ William Jellie was an enthusiastic participant in these schools. At Pukekohe in 1926 the first summer school was held in the local technical high school over ten days during Christmas and New Year. Camp life consisted of lectures, walks, sporting activities such as tennis and cricket, community singing and a concert put on by lady campers. William Jellie spoke on

⁵⁰⁸ Nikola Balnave and Greg Patmore, "'Practical Utopians': Rochdale Consumer Co-operatives in Australia and New Zealand", *Labour History*, 95 (2008), pp. 97-110. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/27516311> accessed 21 April 2011.

⁵⁰⁹ John Rockey, "An Australasian Utopist", p. 166, n. 61.

⁵¹⁰ For a review of this literature see Dominic Alessio, "Promoting Paradise Utopianism and National Identity in New Zealand, 1870-1930", *New Zealand Journal of History*, 42, 1 (2008) pp. 22-41 and Lyman Tower Sargent, "Utopianism and the Creation of New Zealand National Identity", *Utopian Studies*, 12, 1 (2001) pp. 1-18.

⁵¹¹ John A. Colquhoun, *History of the Auckland Workers' Educational Association until the passing of the Adult Education Act, 1947*, p. 40.

“Literature of the Elizabethan Period” and on the Sunday morning “Religious Trends of the Elizabethan Period” and gave the final lecture on the morning before camp was broken on “Shakespeare.” The camp was seen as a great success and stimulus to the Auckland WEA: “To see a university graduate peeling potatoes and discussing foreign affairs with a carpenter by trade, also doing his share in preparing the meals, was one illustration of our motto ‘Labor et scientia!’”⁵¹² Work and knowledge was a good motto for the WEA, combining its ideals of bringing knowledge to the working man and woman.

The second summer school was held at Hamilton Technical High School. The format was similar to that established by the first school, lectures, tennis, swimming, music and play reading in the evenings. William Jellie gave a lecture on the life and times of Dante. Much of the success of the school was due to the work of Norman Macdonald Richmond (1897-1971), the new director of the Auckland WEA who followed Linden Mander; he gave lectures on “The Challenge of Fascism” and “The Challenge of Sovietism” which by all accounts were found to be quite striking.⁵¹³ With his flair and organisational drive he brought a committed Marxist view to his work which was reflected in his belief that the WEA should be an agent of social change.⁵¹⁴

Norman Richmond’s Unitarian antecedents ran deep: he was the grandson of James Crowe Richmond (1822-1898) the younger brother of Judge Christopher Richmond; his mother Flora Hursthouse Macdonald Richmond (1862-1928) was the granddaughter of Helen Hursthouse (1803-1895), first of the extended Hursthouse-Atkinson-Richmond families who came to New Plymouth in 1843. His father Maurice Richmond (1860-1919) had been active in the Forward Movement while practicing law in Wellington, and was appointed to a chair in law at Victoria University College, which he gave up in 1910. Norman Richmond had completed a BA at Canterbury University College before serving in the in the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in 1918. His wartime experience turned him

⁵¹² *The New Zealand Highway*, 2, 5 (April 9, 1927), pp.7-9.

⁵¹³ *The New Zealand Highway*, 3, 5 (March 10, 1928), pp.10-11.

⁵¹⁴ N.M. Richmond, “Workers Education in New Zealand”, *International Labour Review*, April 1938, pp. 440-462.

towards pacifism. He was awarded a Rhodes scholarship and took a BA at University College, Oxford in modern history and politics.⁵¹⁵

It was not long before he was joined by another former Wellington Unitarian, John Cawte Beaglehole (1901-1971) who had returned to New Zealand in 1929 after completing a PhD at the London School of economics. Like Richmond, his family had also been involved in the Forward Movement and the Wellington Unitarian Free Church, where John had been church organist. He became Tutor-Organiser for the Waikato WEA in 1931 under the direction of Norman Richmond. In Hamilton John and Elsie Beaglehole were welcomed by the chairman of the WEA committee, Fred de la Mare a former Forward Movement and Wellington Unitarian Free Church member, who had more recently joined the Rationalist Association.⁵¹⁶ These were friendly faces to William Jellie, people he had known along with their families, during his time in Wellington. And there were other Auckland Unitarian friends involved with the WEA, some no doubt introduced at his at his own behest. One had an involvement that predated his own: John Guy's interest in adult education began in England and through this he developed a friendship with John Ruskin and joined one of his utopian agrarian communities. Ruskin referred to John Guy as a "brave and gentle Companion."⁵¹⁷ Following his work with the Adult Schools John Guy became a foundation member of the Auckland WEA in 1915, studying music and economics and in 1926 was made an honorary life member. The Russian

⁵¹⁵ Upon his return to New Zealand in 1923 Norman Richmond was a housemaster at Christ's College and studied education at Canterbury University College with Professor James Shelley. In 1925 he moved to Auckland University College as assistant to WEA director Linden Mander. Christopher Horton, "Richmond, Norman Macdonald 1897-1971", *DNZB*, updated 22 June 2007, www.dnzb.govt.nz accessed 28 August 2009. Information about his father Maurice Norman is found in J.C. Beaglehole, *Victoria University College as essay towards a history*, Wellington: New Zealand University Press, 1949, pp.50-51, 60-61, 100 and 103-104.

⁵¹⁶ Tim Beaglehole, *A Life of J.C. Beaglehole New Zealand Scholar*, p. 160.

⁵¹⁷ Margaret Howie and Jean Leyland, *A Guy Family History*, p. 18-21. It was Ruskin's intention that the community land "would be managed, if not owned, by 'Companions' of the Guild." W.H.G. Armytage, *Heavens Below Utopian Experiments in England 1560-1960*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961, p. 291.

Revolution in 1919 saw John Guy subsequently become a self-confessed Bolshevik.⁵¹⁸ When he died in 1929 aged 84 his funeral service was taken by William Jellie.⁵¹⁹

The third summer school from 26 December 1928 to 3 January 1929 was held at Hunua Falls at the “up-to-date camp site of the Presbyterian Bible Class Union.”⁵²⁰ It was claimed to be the best held yet, despite the three days of rain at the start. William Jellie took a literary role as usual, giving lectures on the “Great Writers of America” as part of the main study programme, with “Some Modern Poets” in the additional courses. There were two lectures each day, all students attended those from the main course but they could chose amongst the offering from the additional lectures.

Sir George Fowlds desire to see the cultivation of “finer susceptibilities” and “powers of appreciation” amongst WEA students was certainly realised in the teaching of drama and art and music appreciation. In Auckland the drama class with over 400 students was taken over by the Rev. William Abbott Constable (1889-1968) who arrived in 1929 to replace Rev. Albert Thornhill at the Auckland Unitarian Church. That year William Constable also helped found the WEA Dramatic Club and during its second season three plays were produced for the annual concert, including choral work by the music class, and presented to an audience of 700. The Dramatic Club soon became one of Auckland’s leading amateur dramatic societies.⁵²¹ William Jellie also took part in the Club’s productions, his acting ability and bonhomie endearing him to the students: “Nearly all of them, becoming warmly attached to a tutor in the play, joined his class in Dante the following year and spent 30 [sic] weeks on that poet.”⁵²²

⁵¹⁸ Laurie Guy, *Shaping Godzone Public Issues and Church Voices in New Zealand 1840-2000*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2011, p. 515, n 41.

⁵¹⁹ Margaret Howie and Jean Leyland, *A Guy Family History*, p. 37.

⁵²⁰ *The New Zealand Highway*, 3, 12 (October 10, 1928), p. 9.

⁵²¹ John A. Colquhoun, *History of the Workers’ Educational Association until the passing of the Adult Education Act, 1947*, p.46.

⁵²² J.L.J. Wilson, *Thirty-Eight Years in Adult Education*, Paper presented at the National Conference on Adult Education held at Warburton, Victoria, Australia, 1963, p.13. There was also an opportunity for William Jellie and William Constable to deliver radio talks. William Constable took part in the 1YA radio broadcast of WEA talks in 1933 discussing “The Plays of Ibsen” followed in 1934 by William Jellie talking on “The French Revolution in English Literature.” The radio talks had begun in 1928 but were stopped in 1935, probably

The Dramatic Club was part of left wing theatre that developed in Auckland during the depression years, staging politically radical productions. The WEA director Norman Richmond engaged R.A.K. Mason (1905-1971) the well known Marxist poet and dramatist, to organise trade union audiences for its production of *Waiting for Lefty* in October 1936. The result was so successful that within a month the trade unions and WEA inaugurated the Peoples Theatre to produce plays with a special working class interest; William Jellie's close friend Arthur Sewell (1903-1972) Professor of English at Auckland University College became President and Ron Mason Organiser. By 1939 Ron Mason was elected vice-president and a member of the Auckland Unitarian Church, the teacher and writer Joseph Denis Coyne (1905-1973) became secretary.⁵²³

William Constable was also active in the Little Theatre Society which had been formed in 1925 and finally closed in 1938, their last production being Noel Coward's *Private Lives*. The fate of the Little Theatre had been sealed by "prosperity and snobbishness" when some of its members formed the Auckland Repertory Theatre,⁵²⁴ but when he left New Zealand four years earlier the Society was at its peak. He taught WEA drama classes throughout the four years of his joint ministry with his wife Rev. Wilna Livingstone Constable (née Smart, 1888-1966), and was vice-president of the Auckland WEA during 1932 and 1933 and briefly president before they left in 1934.⁵²⁵

because the WEA allowed free discussion of controversial material. David O.W. Hall, *New Zealand Adult Education*, London: Michael Joseph, 1970, p.66.

⁵²³ Rachel Barrowman, *A Popular Vision The Arts and the Left in New Zealand 1930-1950*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1991, pp. 177-180. The same author has written *Mason The Life of R.A.K. Mason*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2003, a definitive account of his life. Both Ron Mason and Arthur Sewell gave WEA courses and were active in the Rationalist Association; Mason was secretary in 1936 and Sewell vice-president 1934-1943.

⁵²⁴ John Gordon, *All the World's a Stage*, Wellington: Mallinson Rendel, 1981, p.31-32.

⁵²⁵ The Constables were inducted into the Auckland Unitarian Church on 13 July 1929, by the Rev's Jellie, Chapple and Hall. Sir George Fowlds gave "A Dominion Welcome" speech in the evening. William Constable graduated from the University of Edinburgh with a MA in 1912 and then went to the Congregational Yorkshire United Independent College at Bradford. Wilna also attended the University of Edinburgh and the United Independent College. They married in Bradford in 1915. Wilna became Unitarian in 1921 and was minister at the Unitarian Church in Warwick 1921-1929; during that period William was an adult education lecturer. Wilna Constable was notable as the first ordained woman minister in New Zealand. Upon leaving New Zealand in 1934 the Constables served at the First Unitarian Church, Vancouver 1934-1937. From there they went to the Free Protestant (Unitarian) Church in Cape Town, 1938-1941. They were adversely affected by financial strain attributed to the obligations entered into by the church with the previous minister, Rev. Ramsden Balmforth (1861-1941) who had the manse free for life and a retiring allowance from the Church of £150 a year (in

We can gain some insight into the nature of the students attending William Jellie's classes from the annual reports between 1926 and 1939.⁵²⁶ In his first year there were 59 enrolments although the average number attending class was 36 (61 percent), by 1929 his class had increased to 105, his highest number, with an average attendance of 52 (50 percent). Thereafter it ranged from a low of 32 in 1936 of whom 21 attended on average (68 percent) to 59 in 1938 with an average attendance of 35 (59 percent). It can be seen that the variation in average attendance was within a 10 percent range.

Students were predominately female, 1931 the first year we have an analysis by sex and occupation shows 84 percent women of whom 61 percent were unmarried and 42 percent did not work. Clerks and teachers accounted for nearly all those women who worked. Men on the other hand were all working; they comprised a clerk, porter, teacher, engineer, hotel manager and printer. By 1939 the proportion of men had increased to 22 percent, women were 78 percent and unmarried women had declined to 55 percent, however nearly the same proportion of women were not working, 41 percent. Working women were employed as importer, typists, clerks, book-keeper, domestic, masseuse, librarian and teacher; a wider range of occupations than previously reported. Men were employed as cabinet maker, civil servant, minister of religion, linotype operator, waterside worker and drafting clerk. While the spread of occupations for men in both 1931 and 1939 indicates manual and trades were common there were members of office, teaching and professional groups.

addition to his pension from Britain.) They returned to this issue when they decided to seek an appointment in the United States. (See the correspondence in the Inactive Ministers Files, 1825-1999, Andover-Harvard Theological Library, Harvard Divinity School, bMS 1446, Box 36.) Between 1941 and 1953 they were joint ministers at the First Unitarian Church of Orlando, Florida. William had the opportunity to return to teaching with his appointment to an associate professorship in the English Department at Rollins College, a Congregational established university college.

⁵²⁶ Annual Tutor's Reports 1926-1939, University of Auckland Library, Special Collections MSS & Archives E-23, item 299a.

William Jellie was vice-president of the Auckland WEA from 1936 to 1938 and on the executive until he retired in 1939. The annual report for 1937 contained the following observation, which clearly indicates the standing of his teaching amongst his peers:⁵²⁷

One ventures the opinion that the literature course offered by Rev. W. Jellie “starting with one of the two great poems of Greece which mark the beginning of European literature and finishing with the two books of the later end of the 19th century which probably have done most to make the mental atmosphere in which we live and work to-day” (Darwin’s *Origin of Species* and Marx’s *Capital*) was an outstanding piece of work.

⁵²⁷ WEA Reports 1937, University of Auckland, Special Collections MSS & Archives e-23, item 299a.

Chapter 10. The Epilogue and Conclusion

When he retired from the WEA on 31 October 1939 William Jellie was 74 years old. He could have been forgiven for imagining that his contribution to society was well and truly fulfilled. Just five years earlier he had shouldered the additional responsibility of returning to the pulpit of the Auckland Unitarian Church once more. This was the interregnum between the departure of the Constables in February 1934 and the arrival of the Rev. Dr. Cyprus Richard Mitchell (1881-1955) in March 1936. It was during his temporary ministry that awareness of the serious effects of the depression grew. The Church set up a register of unemployed for anyone connected with it,⁵²⁸ and Ella Jellie worked most afternoons at an old house on the Three Kings Reserve, helping to organise relief work for unemployed men. The nearby Three Kings School grounds were constructed this way. 1935 proved to be a difficult year for the Jellie family; Ella went into hospital for an operation and was “under medical orders to abstain from all kinds of work outside the home for the next six months.”⁵²⁹ It was a relief when Dr Mitchell arrived.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁸ Auckland Unitarian Church *Calendar*, July 1934. The Registrar of the unemployed being Mr. Whittaker of 4 Dickens Street, Ponsonby. “We have a special interest in the hardships of our own people and desire to keep in touch with them.” By 1933 nearly 80,000 people were registered unemployed in New Zealand.

⁵²⁹ Auckland Unitarian Church *Calendar*, May 1935.

⁵³⁰ Cyprus Mitchell took ministerial charge of the Wellington Unitarian Free Church in March 1934. He exchanged pulpits with William Jellie in April 1935 and within a year had moved to Auckland. His induction into the Auckland Unitarian Church on 1 March 1936 was broadcast from Radio 1YX. Born in Coomooroo, Clare, South Australia he was the eldest child and only boy of four children. Life was not easy for the family after his parents divorced in 1898. As a young man he spent time in Western Australia hunting kangaroos and working in the Kalgoorlie goldfields and the copper-field at Phillips River. He began studying in 1905 as a mature student and the same year went to America to study for the ministry. In 1911 he graduated BA from Eureka College, Illinois, which had been established by abolitionist members of the Christian Church Disciples of Christ. He was ordained by the Disciples on 18 June 1911. He attended the Bible College of Missouri in 1912-1913. From there he went to Union Theological Seminary 1913-1914 (*Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary 1836-1936*, New York: Union Theological Seminary, 1937, p.307) and the University of Missouri where he completed an MA in 1914 with a thesis on “Pragmatism in John Henry Cardinal Newman”. After graduation he spent a year preaching in Bendigo, Victoria, (*Missouri Alumnus* November 1915, p. 44) before returning to America. While at the University of Chicago where he studied for two quarters he was recruited into the YMCA for service in Russia and entered that country via Japan in 1917 (*Missouri Alumnus* 15 November 1917, p.57) so becoming one of the 442 YMCA officials in Russia during the period 1917-1921. He was in charge of the association’s work with the Russian army in Kazan on the Volga River during the civil war and in November 1918 was in Moscow a year after the Bolsheviks came to power. After 15 months in Russia he went to London where he filed his report with YMCA headquarters there. (His service record is in the Kautz Family YMCA Archives University of Minnesota Libraries.) Returning to America in October 1919 he became pastor to the Sikeston Christian Church in Missouri. Subsequently he entered Yale University and graduated BD

Dr Mitchell's departure just before William Jellie's retirement coincided with the outbreak of war in September 1939. The church found it impossible to arrange a replacement minister and turned to Ken Thomas (1903-1978) to provide lay direction. He would provide 10 years service to the church in this capacity. As an elocutionist with formal qualifications, experienced in debating and public speaking, he was confident in the pulpit. He shared the work with William Jellie and James Chapple, then living in West Auckland. The first service in October 1939 was unique in the history of the Church: the premiere production of a play by R.A.K. Mason. "B M A a sketch on social security" was performed in place of a sermon, the service being led by Joseph Denis Coyne. The first Labour Government wished to introduce a free and universal health service, which put it on a collision course with the leaders of the New Zealand branch of the British Medical Association (BMA) who saw their duty as saving the profession from socialism. Ron Mason's play, written in support of socialised medicine under the Social Security Act of 1938, revolves around the conflict experienced by a doctor called upon to treat the child of a poor worker in a public works camp and the issues arising from the profession's opposition to the government funded scheme. It ends with the doctor

in 1923. He was enrolled for a BLitt at Oxford in 1923, where he proposed continuing his study of John Henry Cardinal Newman, but did not complete the degree. (I am grateful to Michelle Conway, Archives Assistant, Oxford University Archives, for supplying this information.) Between 1924 and 1926 he was Chaplain at the Veterans Hospital, New Haven, Connecticut. Returning to Melbourne he became director of religious education at the YMCA which he gave up in February 1927 to join Dr Strong as associate minister at the Australian Church, a position he filled as "an able and helpful colleague" until April 1928. (C.R. Badger, *The Reverend Charles Strong and the Australian Church*, Melbourne: Abacada Press, 1971, p. 152.) Also In 1928 he was married in that church to Lillian McCashney; the same year they moved to America where Cyprus became pastor to the Congregational led Federated Church of Pullman, Washington State. Returning to Yale he completed a PhD in 1931 with a dissertation on "Cardinal Newman's Theory of Religious Knowledge". He separated from Lillian who remained in America, becoming a naturalised citizen in 1936 and later they divorced. Returning to Australia in 1933 Cyprus provided temporary supply to the Melbourne Unitarian Church before coming to Wellington. His Auckland ministry was successful, particularly with radio broadcasts and his missionary work outside Auckland. He introduced *The Torch* in place of the Church's *Calendar* each month. In his sixtieth year when he returned to Australia it is not known if he resumed church work. However he maintained his friendship with Miles Franklin (1879-1954), the eminent feminist litterateur who wrote *My Brilliant Career*. (See Jill Roe, "Franklin, Stella Maria Sarah Miles (1879-1954)", *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu/biography/franklin-stella-maria-sarah-miles-6235/text1073>, accessed 17 October 2011.) By 1951 Cyprus was in a convalescent hospital suffering from Parkinson's disease and rheumatoid arthritis. Miles wrote from Carlton, New South Wales, that she "was sorry I could not make a second visit to you ...but I am so glad I saw you once again" and said she had since heard he had been moved to another hospital near Melbourne. Like Cyprus she had spent many years in America and went on to lament that "All my old American associates are passing..." Letter from Miles Franklin to Rev. Dr Cyprus Mitchell dated 23 March 1952 in the Rivett Family Correspondence, National Library of Australia, MS 6219.

deciding he has to do the “right” thing and treat the child, which his wife has been urging him to do all along.⁵³¹

William Jellie had long accommodated rationalism in his religious philosophy. The application of rational thought to Unitarian principles was well understood: “By Rationalism we mean that man has no other criterion of truth and goodness than those intellectual and moral faculties which, in different degrees of potency, are common to the race”⁵³² wrote fellow Unitarian minister the Rev. Frank Walters (1845-1908). Developing the theme that Unitarians were religious rationalists, he went on:⁵³³

Our chief objection to authoritative religion is that it detracts from the validity of a man’s immediate conviction of truth, deflects the mind from its own tendency, and weakens the sense of personal responsibility. As rationalists we uphold freedom of thought, and the solemn duty of every man to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good.

It was from this background that William Jellie found it easy to develop such a close working relationship with individual rationalists and their organisation. His greatest friend in this regard was Sir Robert Stout. “I remember my first interview with him, shortly after I came to New Zealand”, William Jellie wrote. “He said in a challenging way, as if he expected to shock me, ‘My religion is based on evolution,’ and when I said straight out, ‘So is mine, and without a but,’ we became friends

⁵³¹ The script of the play is in the R.A.K. Mason Papers, Hocken Library, MS-0990/028. It was his only play to deal with a New Zealand issue. After its performance at the Auckland Unitarian Church the play appeared at Labour Party branches and Fabian clubrooms. Rachel Barrowman, *A Popular Vision*, p. 239. The following three services in October 1939 were taken by James Chapple, William Jellie and Ken Thomas respectively. The service on 29 October was another play, this time put on by the children from the Sunday school and although Joseph Coyne had given up his regular teaching at the Sunday school he helped with the production of this play. (The Unitarian Church leaflet, October 1939, replaced the *Torch*; copy in the R.A.K. Mason Papers, Hocken Library, MS-0990/028.) In 1940 Joseph Coyne married Eileen May Smee (1911-1992) an active member of the People’s Theatre who worked for Progressive Books and was involved with family planning. Rachel Barrowman, *A Popular Vision*, pp. 111-129.

⁵³² Frank Walters, “Rationalism What It Is and What It Is Not”, in Robert B. Drummond ed., *Free Thought and Christian Faith*, London, B&FUA, 1890, pp. 3-4.

⁵³³ Frank Walters, “Rationalism What It Is and What It Is Not”, p.6.

at once.” He went on to describe the common features of rationalist and Unitarian thought each exemplified:⁵³⁴

He wanted, above all things, freedom of thought for the attainment of truth. In what other way can truth be attained? Can truth be found by any other than the Freethinker? And when a Unitarian Church was established in Wellington on the basis of freedom of thought Sir Robert became a member, after preaching for it and in it, and of late years was its president. He was a rationalist. But Rationalism and Unitarianism are not incompatible. I also claim to be a Rationalist repudiating any authority for truth outside of the human spirit and the final court of appeal within myself. I am a Rationalist in religion and not so very far removed from many supporters of the rationalist movement.

When William Jellie joined in the fight once more against his old foes who wanted to introduce religion in state schools, it was to those with a familiar outlook to his own that he aligned himself. The Rationalist Association and Sunday Freedom League, which was affiliated to the Auckland WEA, took an uncompromising stand on the issue. Even before his retirement he appeared with Fred de la Mare at an Auckland meeting discussing the Bible in Schools League and the Roman Catholic Church (provoked no doubt by the change of heart by the Catholic Church which had thrown its lot in with the League), promotion of the Religious Instruction in Primary Schools Enabling Bill. A year later he returned to the same topic speaking at the Rationalist Association Sunday evening at the Majestic Theatre.⁵³⁵

⁵³⁴ Extracts from a sermon by Rev. W. Jellie published in *The Truth Seeker*, 6 September 1930, p.1. An earlier report in *The Truth Seeker*, 2 August 1930, pp. 1-2, on Sir Robert's death reported William Jellie as saying that Sir Robert did not take upon himself the name of Christian or of any form of religion but had been loyal to the great law of love to man. A fuller account of his sermon was published in the later edition at William Jellie's request.

⁵³⁵ Bill Cooke, *Heathen in Godzone*, Auckland: NZ Association of Rationalists & Humanists. 1998, pp. 42-43. The first meeting was on 16 October 1930 organised by the State Education Defence League, the second 12 July 1931, see n 62, p. 49. Four days later on 16 July 1931 William Jellie chaired a meeting of the State Education Defence League, see Bill Cooke, "Rationalist Association Chronology 11 January 1923 to 9 June 1994 ", unpublished manuscript, n.d. I am grateful to Dr Cooke for providing a copy of this document.

By now William Jellie was playing a much more prominent role in the campaign to defend the status quo: in 1931 he was sent to Wellington as a delegate for the State Education Defence League where he gave evidence to the Education Committee of Parliament.⁵³⁶ In 1937 he supported the Rationalist Association delegation to the Minister of Education Peter Fraser (1884-1950)⁵³⁷ who told the delegation the use of legal loop-holes by the Bible in Schools League to introduce religion into State Schools was “discreditable.”⁵³⁸ In his address to the Minister, William Jellie said:⁵³⁹

At the heart of the defence of the present system lay the fact that it was part of the world-wide struggle to liberate the State from ecclesiastical control and interference, and the secular system was a logical and integral part of our secular state.

Also, the secular state in New Zealand was not anti-religious. It was not even indifferent to the promotion of religion, in fact, it supported all forms of religion. Its policy was one of impartiality towards all forms and activities of religion and it also threw a necessary cloak of protection over those who objected to all forms of religion.

⁵³⁶ *The Truth Seeker* September 1931, p. 3. A delegation which met the Prime Minister and Minister of Education on 6 August 1931 included fellow Unitarian Hugh Ronald Atkinson (1863-1956) whose statement opposing the Bill was reproduced in the same issue of *The Truth Seeker*, pp. 3-4. Ronald Atkinson, as he was known, was the elder brother of Harry Albert Atkinson founder of the Socialist Church in Christchurch who joined Ronald and his wife Mary (née Gledstones, 1886-1964) at Katikati in the Bay of Plenty after the death of his wife Rose in 1955. Harry Atkinson died at his brother’s home and is buried along with Ronald and Mary in the Katikati cemetery.

⁵³⁷ Peter Fraser had grown up in a working class family in Scotland where he continued his education by reading many socialist writers and in New Zealand studying with the WEA. His exposure to religion had turned him to rationalism, although he was never a member of the Rationalist Association: “His distaste for organised religion in middle life stemmed from the narrowness of mind he observed in many strict adherents to the Bible, and their refusal to apply the gospel to burning social issues of the day.” Michael Bassett and Michael King, *Tomorrow Comes the Song A Life of Peter Fraser*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2000, p.20. His wife Janet was not religious and her son from a previous marriage attended the socialist Sunday school. (p. 77). When she died she “was given a state funeral service at St John’s Presbyterian Church, for which an elegant order of service was prepared by J. C. Beaglehole...” (p. 283). In later years after his wife’s death he occasionally attended evening church services, p. 350.

⁵³⁸ *The Truth Seeker*, December 1937, p. 1. The loop-hole referred to involved officially closing the school for a period of time during which religious instruction was given to pupils unless their parents did not want them to attend. This was often referred to as the Nelson system having originated in that province.

⁵³⁹ The January 1938 issue of *The Truth Seeker* published an abstract of William Jellie’s address to the Minister of Education, pp. 1-2.

Meanwhile the three-way shared responsibilities at the Auckland Unitarian Church were not working well. James Chapple was determined to follow the political line espoused by the local Communist Party in support of the Soviet Union.⁵⁴⁰ So long as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact held and Germany only waged war in Western Europe he was content to disparage the Allied war effort which he portrayed as aggression by imperialist powers. This he did at the Auckland Unitarian Church while waving the *People's Voice*, paper of the New Zealand Communist Party, from the pulpit, (before the paper was banned in June 1940) which did not endear him to most of his congregation. While he did a volte face when the Soviet Union was invaded in June 1941 the incongruity of the situation did not escape him and James Chapple decided not to continue delivering sermons: "somehow, we were sorry to lose him; exasperating as he was, we were beginning to develop an affection for him."⁵⁴¹ More importantly, church work now had to be undertaken by William Jellie and Ken Thomas,⁵⁴² who provided lay services around the demands of his clerical employment, for the next seven years until the arrival of the Rev Ellis Henry Morris (1897-1973) in 1948.

There was still one last battle for William Jellie to fight over religion in school. The Minister of Education Rex Mason (1885-1975)⁵⁴³ convened an educational conference in Christchurch in October 1944 and "Religion in Education" was on the Agenda.⁵⁴⁴ For this item speakers were chosen to lead

⁵⁴⁰ He attended meetings of the Movement Against War and Fascism according to Frank Castle, *Annals of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 30. Established in the four main cities in 1933 it did not survive past 1938; the mixture of Christian pacifism and "militant left-wing antimilitarism were poles apart." This organisation had been declared incompatible with Labour Party membership in 1935 because it was communist led. David Grant, *Out in the Cold*, Auckland: Reed Methuen, 1986, pp.27-30. I am grateful to Dr Kerry Taylor for drawing my attention to this reference.

⁵⁴¹ Frank Castle, *Annals of the Auckland Unitarian Church*, p. 30. James Chapple had also maintained a close relationship with the Rationalist Association, having offered his services to the Association, he became the second most frequent speaker at their Free Forums between 1935 and 1941. The Forums were held at the Strand Cinema, Queen Street, Auckland City, on Sunday evenings with a lecture delivered before a film was shown. Bill Cooke, *Heathen in Godzone*, p.64 and Bill Cooke, "The Rationalist Association's Free Forums, 1935-1941: An Examination", Paper Presented to the Religious History Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand Conference, University of Auckland 28-29 November 2008. See Appendix 6 for James Chapple's lecture topics.

⁵⁴² By 1942 William Jellie was referred to as Minister Emeritus and Ken Thomas as Lay Officer-in-Charge.

⁵⁴³ Rex Mason became Minister of Education in 1940 when Peter Fraser was appointed Prime Minister. Jonathan Hunt, "'Mason, Henry Greathead Rex", DNZB, <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m45> accessed 21 November 2011.

⁵⁴⁴ Ministerial Conference on Education, Christchurch October 1944, Reports and Memoranda, Wellington: Government Printer, 1944.

the debate, those from the Rationalist Association and Sunday Freedom League and the New Zealand Educational Institute, opposed any change to the secular system, while speakers from the Catholic Church and National Council of Churches were in favour of introducing religion into schools. The Auckland Unitarian Church made a written submission on behalf of its “Ministers, Congregation and Committee”, one of ten published in the Conference papers on this topic, strongly supporting the principle of separation of Church and State, which said in summary:⁵⁴⁵

We believe that it would injure our schools, impair the structure and administration of democracy, curtail our liberties - and, furthermore, that it would, in the long run, injure the cause of true religion - if the State decided to impose upon our State schools the important but delicate duties of religious worship and instruction. We believe that New Zealand will best be served in the future as it has been in the past by faithful maintenance of the policy of free, secular, and compulsory education in State schools.

Faced with an impasse the Conference appointed a committee to examine the issue which reported back that it was unable to make any recommendations. This was taken as a win by those opposed to the introduction of religion into State schools.⁵⁴⁶ By August the following year the war ended with the surrender of Japan. It was William Jellie who led the Thanksgiving Service at the Auckland Unitarian Church on Wednesday 15 August 1945: “on a day of joy the like of which, it is to be hoped and prayed for, none of us will live to see again” he said. His sermon continued to rejoice at the salvation shared by all the peoples of the United Nations and observed the terrible fate New Zealand had been delivered from which had been experienced by so many others. There was no alternative in his view than to fight: “Resistance to evil rose before us as a duty, the most sacred imaginable” he said. As he expressed thanks to God “that the awful and cruel struggle is over” he also saw grounds

⁵⁴⁵ Ministerial Conference in Education, Christchurch October 1944, Reports and Memoranda, pp. 56-57. William Jellie is identified as the author of this submission by Joan Walsh writing as President of the New Zealand Society of Unitarians who quotes from the submission and says “The Liberal Religious position in New Zealand is set out in a paper prepared in 1944 by the late Rev. W. Jellie.” *Motive*, 4, 18 (1963), p. 23.

⁵⁴⁶ See the Editorial “A win for Secular Education”, *Truth Seeker*, December 1944-January 1945, p.7.

for hope that once again humanity could look forward to a better world which “may open itself to the Brotherhood of Man”. It was a sermon for the times, giving thanks for the end of a terrible era nationally and for the world; few if any, appreciated the implications that the dropping of the atomic bombs on Japan meant for humankind.

As time went by his thoughts turned once more to those Unitarians who had travelled to New Zealand before him, names of families he had recognised on his arrival and their descendents he met or had corresponded with. He had already written about the development of New Zealand Unitarianism after being in the country for just over a decade; then he was able to survey matters with some satisfaction. Following the establishment of the Auckland Church other Unitarian churches were established in Wellington, Timaru and Dunedin. New Zealand he thought had a great future and was a “Unitarian field that must never be abandoned.”⁵⁴⁷ When forty-five years later he assisted in writing an article that once again looked at the history of Unitarianism it was a different story, now there was only one church left, in Auckland. The New Zealand Unitarian Association formed in 1912 to support four churches and their missionary work had lapsed he wrote because of the “effects upon the national community of the major wars.”⁵⁴⁸ Elsewhere he recognised the attrition of Unitarian descendants “largely absorbed into other churches” as cause for regret.⁵⁴⁹ The reasons for the decline received no detailed examination although the contrast with fifty years earlier would have been painfully obvious.

One of the early families who stayed true to the church was the Gribbles. William Jellie had nurtured the ambitions of Lincoln Gribble to attend Manchester College at Oxford to study for the Unitarian ministry. When he left in 1952 William Jellie wrote him a long letter of encouragement. Telling him that as a young New Zealander in England he would meet many sorts of people, he warned that “In matters of belief many are somewhat conservative, and they may meet your forthright, radical

⁵⁴⁷ “Unitarianism in New Zealand”, *The Christian Life*, 10 May 1913, pp. 290-291.

⁵⁴⁸ “Unitarians in Early New Zealand”, *Motive*, Winter 1958, pp.5-6.

⁵⁴⁹ “Unitarians in Early New Zealand”, *Motive*, Winter 1958, pp.5-6.

opinions, many of which must naturally be expressed negatively, with chilling silence.” But he cautioned have patience and tact, for on the other hand:⁵⁵⁰

[M]ost of our Unitarian people are Liberal at heart. They were reared in the Liberal School of thought, religious and political of which they were leaders when I was young. And while many have become Labourites, Socialists, perhaps even Communists, they have not lost the Liberal tradition of freedom for themselves and for others. I have always found that with patience and tact I could steer my way through the different grades of belief and criticism in any congregation because of the fundamental liberal tradition.

This simple rule of patience and tact would, he believed, allow Lincoln Gribble to hold and cherish his most radical opinions. And he also saw him being able to make an important contribution to broadening the world view of people he met in Oxford and Manchester through what he would bring as a New Zealander. Lincoln Gribble completed an MA with honours in English at Auckland University College before entering Manchester College on an Exhibition (scholarship) in October 1952.⁵⁵¹ Did William Jellie see similarities with his hopes for Frederick Sinclair fifty years earlier?

⁵⁵⁰ William Jellie letter dated 1 July 1952 to Lincoln Gribble. Letter held by writer.

⁵⁵¹ Born in 1930 Lincoln Ashton Gribble was dedicated as an infant at the Auckland Unitarian Church by Rev. Wilna Constable. The family association began when his grandfather William Gribble (1858-1939) was the first church organist. Lincoln’s father Horace Victor Gribble (1893-1955) and several aunts were members during William Jellie’s ministries; his mother Avis Ida Maude (née Simpson) was Anglican. Lincoln joined the church in 1948 while attending university when the Rev. Ellis Henry Morris was minister. In his first year at MCO he won the Mansfield Evans Prize in Philosophy for his essay on “The Relation between Religion and Science.” Upon completing his studies he intended going to St. Lawrence University in New York to study religious education before returning home. However he met Dolores Micallef at the London hostel of the International Voluntary Service for Peace; he was applying for an American visa, she was intending to return to Malta. They married in 1956. Lincoln was inducted into a joint pastorate of the Memorial Church, Wallasey and Matthew Henry’s Chapel, Chester in 1957, the charge being given to him by the Rev. Ellis Morris. By now Lincoln had met the Rev. Will Hayes (1890-1959) or “Brother John” as he was known, at his Church of the Great Companions, Chatham. Will Hayes taught a Universalist religious view which Lincoln readily adopted. When he returned with his family at Christmas 1960 the Auckland Unitarian Church had filled Rev. Morris’ vacancy with Maurice James Wilsie (1908-1977) as lay charge a position he held until 1963. Lincoln became a secondary school teacher; while at Warkworth District School 1961-1964 he was also associate editor of *Motive*, at Motueka High 1964-66 he was head of French. In Fiji 1967-1970 he taught at Queen Victoria School and the University of the South Pacific. He returned as head of English to Dannevirke High School and went to Te Aute College in 1981 as House Master. His teaching career continued until 1990. Throughout this time he provided occasional supply to the Auckland Unitarian Church, participated as a key speaker at Unitarian conferences and led services when various celebrations occurred in the life of the church.

When Lincoln Gribble returned to New Zealand their friendship resumed. But in the subsequent eight years William Jellie had aged significantly.⁵⁵² When he joined *Motive* as an associate editor Lincoln Gribble wrote suggesting William Jellie might write an article. The reply was disheartening. "My friends I fear must learn to put no dependence on me. I am realising that the years have taken their toll. I am a spent force." He went on to talk about how he was now prevented from carrying out his favourite pastime, gardening: "In the garden when I attempt anything I fall back physically and have to be assisted to rise or actually to be lifted up. It is like that mentally. There seems no remedy."⁵⁵³ He was in his ninety seventh year. It was Lincoln Gribble who conducted the funeral service for William Jellie at the Auckland Unitarian Church on 20 April 1963.

⁵⁵² William Jellie donated his considerable collection of Dante and other Italian literature, part of a library of some 8,000 books, to the University of Auckland. In expressing their gratitude the Chancellor on behalf of the University Council said the Deed of Gift provided for William to retain the collection during his lifetime and for family members to select other books from his library. W. Cocker letter dated 26 June 1961 to William Jellie. Copy held by writer. When the residue of his library was sold after his death it included a collection of prints based on the *Liber Veritatis* (Book of Truth) by Claude Lorrain in three volumes, published in London in 1819. These were bought by Keith Townley. See "View of a Seaport" by Claude Lorrain, *New Zealand Herald*, 1 February 1964, in the Beverley Simmons Collection, Fine Arts Library, Elam School of Fine Arts. Most are now in the Auckland City Art Gallery and four in the writer's possession.

⁵⁵³ William Jellie letter dated 13 December 1961 to Lincoln Gribble. The day before he had written to Lincoln telling him he was unable to attend the Christmas service Lincoln was to conduct at the Auckland Unitarian Church. William Jellie letter dated 12 December 1961 to Lincoln Gribble. Letters held by the writer.

Conclusion

This thesis has explored a cardinal question about the intellectual developments that occurred in late Victorian English Unitarianism and how those developments shaped the views held by William Jellie about society. The man who was his teacher, Philip Wicksteed, was paramount in this regard: economics and sociology were to be used as tools to analyse society's problems and seek remedies for its inequalities, remedies which must provide social justice. Furthermore it was Wicksteed who introduced William Jellie to his passion for Dante, a passion that both would share throughout their respective lifetimes. Just as economics and sociology were to be vehicles for social change they saw Dante as a moral pioneer of the Renaissance advocating liberation of the human spirit and demanding political and religious change for the good of humanity.

If William Jellie needed any further evidence of Victorian social ills he soon found it in his first parish. Six years work in the Stamford Street-Blackfriars area of London reinforced all of Philip Wicksteed's teaching. It made perfect sense why his classmate John Trevor had founded the Labour Church movement with Philip Wicksteed's backing. These experiences produced a social vision in William Jellie where ethical socialism was the goal of social justice and the gradualism of Fabian political thought was its method of attainment. The ethical socialism derived from T.H. Green and propounded by Philip Wicksteed stressed individual moral development and required the state to provide conditions that allowed people to live moral lives. It was based on an optimistic view of human nature. Furthermore, individuals could only reach their potential with the help of others, which requires community involvement.⁵⁵⁴ This was a cooperative model for organising economic affairs, in stark opposition to economic relations based on state intervention.⁵⁵⁵ It was this sympathy for social justice together with contemporary notions about human progress that were to lead William Jellie to New Zealand.

⁵⁵⁴ Matt Carter, *T.H. Green and the Development of Ethical Socialism*, pp. 7-8.

⁵⁵⁵ "Ethical socialists typically defined socialism in terms of an inner spirituality and a sense of brotherhood, more than a set of economic relationships or institutional arrangements." Mark Bevir, "Labour Churches and Ethical Socialism", *History Today*, 47, 4 (1997), pp. 50-55.

The opportunity arose as the B&FUA refocused its missionary activities at the end of the nineteenth century. Previously “[t]here had been a tendency to emphasize the need for home missionary work and to disparage missions sent to foreign lands and peoples.”⁵⁵⁶ This situation was also a reflection of the relative size of British Unitarianism within the dissenting denominations. One study of the nonconformist ministries gave as its reason for excluding Unitarians that there were always fewer than four hundred ministers in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵⁷

The New Zealand that William Jellie found on his arrival was a populist democracy, and did not quite measure up to the utopian vision he may have imagined. Nonetheless the English radical tradition was already well established in New Zealand and William Jellie naturally found himself part of this world. An important contention running through this thesis has been the relationship between Unitarianism which “stood at the left pole of the theological spectrum”⁵⁵⁸ and the political left. His lifelong friend Sir George Fowlds was part of this left wing tradition who sought to combine Labour and left wing Liberals within the United Labour Party. The Auckland Unitarian Church drew support from those who held left wing sympathies and attracted working class men and women from its inception. It did this while enjoying support from middle class members who also welcomed social reform. However William Jellie’s skill as a minister meant that he never let overt party politics become entangled with its religious mission. (This was a principle he was to forget to his cost when it came to Irish independence.)

The Wellington Unitarian Free Church was born in the crucible of the social gospel: the Forward Movement was a powerful expression of Christian socialism and served as the meeting place for the

⁵⁵⁶ Sydney Herbert Malone, *Liberty and Religion the First Century of the British & Foreign Unitarian Association*, London: Lindsey Press, 1925, p. 175. This comment was aimed more at foreign countries and the author notes that “friendly correspondence was maintained with....the Dominions overseas and financial aid sent from time to time.” P. 178 However the Dominions of the British Empire were brought more into focus at this time and missionary activity increased.

⁵⁵⁷ Kenneth D. Brown, *A Social History of the Nonconformist Ministry in England and Wales 1800-1930*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988, p. 17.

⁵⁵⁸ Frederick Hale, “Interpreting South African Cultural Clashes through Darwinian Eyes: Ramsden Balmforth in Cape Town (1902-1911)”, *South African Journal of Cultural History*, 25:1 (2011), pp. 26-45. Unitarianism “is still the most radical and thoroughgoing element in modern Liberal Christianity; it is the left-wing...” according to F. Kenworthy, “The Unitarian Tradition in Liberal Christianity”, *TUHS*, 8:2 (1944), pp. 58-67.

main players who formed the church. Later in the South Island both the Timaru and Christchurch Unitarian churches owed their establishment to a man who openly mixed socialist politics with his religious beliefs: James Chapple attracted many followers into both churches and his radical convictions continued after his retirement in the form of the Free Religious Movement. James Chapple is a neglected figure in the historiography of New Zealand socialism generally and religious socialism in particular. However the class conscious socialism he advocated created a dichotomy which could not be easily reconciled with the ethical socialism taught by Philip Wicksteed. William Jellie was instrumental in ensuring all these churches came about, getting the B&FUA to support the Wellington cause, continuing Sir Robert Stout's involvement and bringing James Chapple into the Unitarian fold.

As the twentieth century unfolded Unitarianism became the victim of the growing liberalisation of mainstream Protestant theology. Theological liberalism spread to other dissenting denominations: the Quakers rapidly turned liberal; the Congregationalists followed and later still the Presbyterians. The Unitarians were losing their distinction as a solitary theological outpost. This trend was reinforced by the growing tendency within Protestantism for dogmatic and especially denominationally based thinking to become marginalised. The academic teaching of theology at overseas universities, notably Oxford and Cambridge in England and Harvard in America, served to strengthen this trend. Much later this trend would reach New Zealand, but only after the Second World War. William Jellie's views were congruent with the liberal and ecumenical Protestant thinking which emerged internationally.

Concurrent with this direction in liberal theology was a change in social mores, a trend not uniquely affecting Unitarianism but one that became more apparent when William Jellie finished his ministry in Timaru. Church attendances had fallen since the war. Young people were attracted to other

Sunday activities, sports, sailing, tramping and excursions. The description of the problem in England was just as applicable to the situation in New Zealand:⁵⁵⁹

The old laments that younger members of Unitarian families no longer came, that congregations were being depleted by deaths and removals, became more disheartening as the twentieth century wore on. The close ties and the like mindedness that had characterized Unitarian life fell victims to mobility, the breaching of social barriers, intermarriage, an educational system beholden to other gods, and a culture that has swamped older, thoughtfully Christian religions.

By now William Jellie was committed to a fulfilling career as a WEA tutor. This late flowering into a teaching role allowed full play of his educational abilities and his love of English language and drama. The WEA provided intellectual input into the burgeoning workers movement generally and the Labour Party in particular; a lot of its future leaders were WEA students. Many of those in the first Labour government who would build the modern welfare state had come through its ranks. Philip Wicksteed had foreseen the merging of the sacred and the secular when he asked: "Shall a less zealous service be rendered in our age to Sociology? Can the question 'What shall I do to be saved?' be separated from that other question, 'What shall I do to save?' and can that, in its turn be answered without an appeal to Sociology?"⁵⁶⁰ The same now occurred for William Jellie: his Unitarianism became triumphant through the teaching of the workers.

The work on this subject matter indicates areas where future research might be undertaken. Two aspects that could be explored would be first, an examination of how the Forward Movement relates to the radical traditions in New Zealand intellectual history in the 1890's and 1930's and what role it had in influencing those traditions. Also worthy of examination is how Unitarianism can assist us to look at the continuing, some would say problematic, discussion over the secularisation thesis.

⁵⁵⁹ R.K. Webb, "The Unitarian Background" in Barbara Smith ed., *Truth, Liberty, Religion*, pp. 1-30.

⁵⁶⁰ Philip Wicksteed quoted in R.K. Webb, "Views of Unitarianism from Halley's Comet", *TUHS*, 18:4 (1986), pp. 180-195.

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**A SYNOPSIS OF WICKSTEED'S LECTURES:
ON SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC THEORY⁵⁶¹**

**Elements of Sociology - the Structure, Institutions
& Vital Processes of Human Societies**

<i>Lecture and Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
Lecture I: The Human Environment n.d.	The social element is the most important in the environment of each man., but not with animals where the social element is comparatively insignificant. Workers exchange their products and services with many others; by comparison a single worker would be able to create very little for himself.(cf. Henry George <i>Progress and Poverty</i>) Social interaction is even more important for mental and intellectual life. Our emotions are part of our social life. Our contact with divine things comes through our fellow men. The moral sphere is also part of the social sphere. The action of society creates our social environment in which human relations occur. From this arises continuity of successive generations and solidarity i.e. pairing, bonding, families. Read [Auguste] Comte and also [Herbert] Spencer, but make personal observations.
Lecture II: [Instruments and Organs of Continuity and Solidarity] n.d.	Man can exert power on nature and society greater than the individual. Material wealth is any substance that supplies a want or furthers a purpose; or 'utility fixed in a material substance' which [John] Ruskin is down upon as a definition of wealth. ["There is no wealth but life..."] We will only look at wealth that has human effort expended on it to make it supply a want. Cf. J. S. Mill, Book 1, Chapter 1, paragraph 2. According to this definition animals have wealth, e.g. birds' nests, burrows and ant hills. Civilized man uses wealth to obtain more wealth. The surplus of production over consumption is the main instrument which makes possible the physical continuity and solidarity of mankind. [Henry] Sedgwick says that most of a country's savings must go into tools to enable them to make things they want rapidly. Language is the chief way humans combine forces. Comte gives an interesting account of the origin of language. The

⁵⁶¹ There are two notebooks stuck together containing notes of Philip Wicksteed's lectures entitled *Social Problems In the light of Economic Theory* at Manchester New College, 1888-89. Jellie has signed the outside of one notebook and both are written in his hand. HMC, MSS, Wicksteed 2e. See also Dennis Porter, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts in Harris Manchester College Oxford*, Oxford: Harris Manchester College, 1998, p.302.

language of signs is more natural than that of sounds and we always revert to it when we can't use conventional language. The power of language is that it gives existence to ideas and allows thought to occur. It also allows people to act in solidarity and allows reason to occur. (Sayce, *Science of Language*) The Hebrews and other Semites with the same language characteristics have similar reasoning and logical concepts. We depend on language for development of our emotional life. Religious beliefs are built up around certain statements and beliefs. Language also holds us in bondage by its concepts and limitations.

Lecture III: [Society as an Organism]

26 October 1888

The material universe acts on man through society in a way it could not otherwise act upon him. Men can act on the environment in a way impossible to individuals. Society has its own actions which man does not have in isolation; and it has its own laws. Society has the attributes of an organism; we sometimes look on humanity or some particular society as an organism. Society consists of members who are mutually dependent on each other. Spencer has said that in social insects the difference of function follows the lines of sex. In man this division of labour is carried to a great extent. All books on Political Economy discuss in detail the question of division of labour. Even St Paul urges men to cultivate some special function. Dante [Alighieri] is right to be mentioned here as doubtful. In the beginning of *De Monarchia* he says that society as a whole has functions, aims and goals that individuals do not. Part of human destiny is only to be realized in society, cf. with the mediaeval aim of men and angels. Hobbes says that "Sovereignty is an artificial soul." All of Comte's works are relevant to the question of man in society. Spencer has worked with great ingenuity in the comparison of human function with that of society. Specialization of function equals division of labour; so too with intellectual actions. As soon as knowledge is acquired the imparting of it makes for human intercourse. However it is only with the individual that the result of collective action can be governed.

Lecture IV: [The Goal of Society and the Problem of Civilisation (i)]

2 November 1888

To speak of society as an organism is to use a metaphor. Altruistic impulses are assumed part of human nature; the happiness of others is an object we pursue. Egotistical impulses may be strongest in some individuals but altruism is strong in society. The goal of society must be found in each individual; society must impartially pursue the good of each member. This

must include the feeling of communion with others, including the divine. Religion is any kind of communion, including a religion of nature. Communion may have great variety and led to the poets Schiller and Wordsworth to regret the passing of old polytheistic beliefs. We may also have a scientific communion with nature. It is less necessary to dwell on the religion of humanity. We might conceive of a religion of humanity parallel to our religion of nature which should glorify and transfigure humanity. The good of each individual comes in the raising of his intercourse with nature, man and god, into communion. It is idle to talk of Sociology and Political Economy without that good for which men should toil. The problem of civilization is to subordinate nature to man and coordinate men with each other. History shows great success with the first but much less with the second. Self sacrifice is required, not a surrendering of the inner self. This seems capable in the family and sometimes town and country.

Lecture V: [The Goal of Society and the Problem of Civilisation (ii)]

9 November 1888

Frequently, a certain class recognizes its claims superseding the claims of others, including the family and have no consideration beyond their class; e.g. the sense of community among wage earners leads them not to compete with each other, but they may look on those outside their class as enemies. This spirit can be shown in national life when statesmen and even divine hold that selfishness is right and a self-sacrificing nation is weak. It can be found when one nation looks on another as chattel slaves. Slavery in early times was defended as necessary to maintain leisure; Greek art would have been impossible without slave labour. Humanity at large reaped great benefits from the martyrdom of slaves. There is an ideal balance when a worker enjoys the advantage from his work just to the point where the disadvantage is struck. When this balance is disturbed the principle of slavery enters. The power of social tyranny, implying slavery, increases with the increasing poor of society. The division of labour is the mechanism whereby the individual is thrown upon the cooperation of others. It would be good to keep the option open of returning to previous primitive arrangements, especially on the land. The lot of the Lancashire mechanic is better than that of the London poor.

Lecture VI: [Property]

16 November 1888

The institutions of society are instruments for furthering the good of society. I cannot give such an institution as property any intrinsic value. I cannot

attribute inherent absolute sanctity to it. Property, does it rest on a natural basis of right? If it is a good institution a good man will not violate it. If property is a satisfactory social instrument it must claim ethical sanction. In which case the commandment not to steal depends on property's social purpose. The claim for a natural basis is the belief that man has an absolute right to what he has made. This also means he has a right to his own person. Individualists and socialists accept this. Socialists used to say that capitalism took away from a man what was his own and demand the full enjoyment of what he had made. They differed in their methods of finding what he had made. Gradually the idea of contract was substituted for mere procession, that is a socially directed right to property. It changes the definition from what a man has made to what he is entitled to under certain conditions. Highest in the list of advantages of property is the sense of personal connection with material things, e.g. a house. The sense of fitness that applies to all relations, not just property, at times challenges the results of existing system of property, e.g. when there is a strong feeling that it is unjust that a large number of people live on interest, in itself constitute a moral weakness and social danger. Again chattel slavery rested on the principle of property as then understood. When it offended the sense of fitness it was challenged and had to be removed.

Lecture VII: [The Family]

23 November 1888

The family is the primitive type of organisation and rests on the permanent facts of sex and maternity. Maternity furnishes the citadel of altruism. This is the dominant factor of human and family life. Family life is general among the higher animals, i.e. the vertebrates. (Which Darwin has proved.) The maternal instinct may be impaired and infanticide occurs, often among savages; it may even become the norm in highly developed societies e.g. China, Greece and Rome. Family life impaired can recover with the development of human intelligence. The continuity and permanence of paternity came to be recognised as much as maternity. Brotherhood is the weakest of the ties and an addition to established family relations. The primal connection of male and female is the test of real progress toward civilization. Spencer tells of an island [populated] by Indians with higher and lower races on it, in which the lower treat their [wives] better than the higher. Efficiency of civilization is gauged by its power of transforming the sexual life. It is an instance of how the spiritual life of man is built

upon a lower material physical basis. So literature, romance, poetry, which stirs feelings is built upon the relationship of the sexes. Dr Elizabeth Blackwell among others, attempts to direct this passion in positive ways. The most awful form of human tyranny is when men are carried away to subjugating women. The greatest oppression is done when the sexual instinct is allowed to become the tyrant, instead of being the central fire of the human family. The Monastic Ideal deserves attention. Those who think social life can only come through the family are disproved by monastic life. The ideas expressed in Romantic literature are based on the notion of property: woman is the property of the father, next given to the husband. No claim of chastity is laid on the man, only the woman as a breach of property rights. However these ideas of property do not satisfy modern people. The most beautiful ideal of family life is the Teutonic. The family is the natural unit of society. The family keeps alive the ideal of contributing according to means and receiving according to needs. Spencer defines Justice as "the right to get for work what competition of the market determines as the market value." This is inadequate. Justice demands that everyone should give according to his power and should receive according to his needs. The state i.e. industry should make a contribution as favourable as possible to individual needs. The public ethic is survival of the fittest, the family ethic care for the weakest, sacrifice by the strong. The religious sanction controls the flesh more than any other. In its decay the institution of family may be threatened. The family is also threatened by Individualism and Socialism My hope for humanity depends on the institution of the family, "the cement of society" as Dr Martineau calls it.

Lecture VIII: Government

n.d.

Government primarily is any organizing power in society with command of adequate physical force. Law is the system of principles that regulate members of society and it rests ultimately on force. Ideal law is force completely moralized, force that has put itself at the service of the moral sense. The ideal government is completely socialized cf. with Professor [Thomas] Green's work, volume 2 On relation of Government to the morals of the people. There is universal agreement the government must secure the protection of the person and property. Many think this exhausts its function. It may include acts that Spencer protests against e.g. laws against adulteration of food;

compulsory vaccination, a striking case of interference with personal liberty; regulations about mines. Spence on the other hand would extend no protection to persons except from physical violence; he would allow man to mutilate himself if he contracted to do so. The protection of property opens the question of contracts and what constitutes property. But there are other functions of government: what of the protection of helpless members of society: the recent land Laws in Ireland affected tenants who were helpless. Previously the Factory Acts only interfered with employment of women and children, adult men made their own contracts. Now there is a change in principle- a step toward state socialism. Enforcing conduct deemed to be for the public good such as closing businesses on Sunday's. These are acts of prohibition, protection and prevention. Then there are socialistic acts; collective action taken for the public good. There is no reason why government should not exercise an industrial function, the only question is would the state do it better than the private sector? Is government to protect the moral sense from outrage? If the state is to perform the development of the moral sense its course is accompanied by extreme danger. It is one of its most desirable functions and yet it commits to a theory of moral censorship which in extreme becomes enslaving and tyrannical. It has recently become the suppression of anti-religious polemics; see the prosecution of [George W.] Foote. The socialistic ideal of government abandons the idea of it being a check on anti-social behavior; its concept is for government to give direction for the collective action of society. The danger of socialism is in this contraction of the scope, initiative and enterprise of individuals. See [William] Stanley Jevons *Methods of Social Reform*.

Lecture IX: Education and the Spiritual Power

n.d.

Education is closely connected with the higher organizing power of society. Education involves 'learning the acts and acquiring the powers required for living.' There is a growing importance of education which increases with the growth of things to be learnt. Human beings are only human in society. Learning is required in order to associate with other human beings. The first requirement of education is language, which allows for the passing on of material and spiritual efforts. Then a man has to be able to earn a living to obtain his wants. Technical education in making something that others want, or doing something that others want. The artist or literary man performs in the higher life for himself and others.

Machiavelli says in the *Prince*, about political changes, that there is an advantage in governing a state which has not had many changes, and every revolution leaves a basis for further revolution. So every change in education should leave the way to further change. There is a special interest in economic education as it contributes to deeper knowledge over the conditions of life. In a narrow sense education should be aimed at getting power over one's own will. The question of the separation of church and state is really a question of the separation of spiritual and temporal power.

Lecture X: The Place of Economics in Sociology

n.d.

The higher spiritual life depends on material life. Property rests on wealth; government on organized physical force; family on the physical facts of animal nature. Industrial organisations bring men into fellowship with each other. The study of wealth, i.e. accumulation and disposal of human effort to secure changes in material substance, is doing well and occupies a great place in the study of society. But it is not the study of wealth but of life itself that is the study of sociology. Wealth is a means of human life; economics is the study of human effort upon material things. Dante in *De Monarchia* says 'Some studies we can contemplate and cannot modify (as Astronomy and Mathematics); others we can contemplate and modify, and in them speculation exists for the sake of action.' The orthodox view holds that economics is a speculative study; the most outspoken exponent of this is [Nassau W.]Senior. He separates government and political economy: the former is the welfare of mankind, the latter the study of wealth. We cannot study wealth without coming into contact with other things: wealth has a living element to it, wealth is only of value if it ministers to human want. If want changes wealth may also change. "How is the wealth of a community to be increased?" Mill in his *Essays on Political Economy* describes economic man as only seeking wealth, averse to labour and liking expensive luxuries. Walker, *Political Economy*, p. 16, opposes this idea. See also *On Wages* and female labour. The fallacy in regarding economic man as being solely actuated by wealth; if all were millionaires we should all live in cottages. Under the present system the desire for wealth is permanent and universal among those engaged in industry. It is a habit of the business mind to strive for wealth. We must avoid the idea that the economic man is the normal one or that in him we study the actual action of human behavior. The Political Economists have not succeeded in gaining

public favour because their science is seen as only speculative. Jevons in his primer takes up a position nearer my own, saying that political economy “deals with wealth of nations and aims at teaching what should be done that the poor may be as few as possible and that all should be as well paid for their work as possible. Various social sciences are needed in addition e.g. jurisprudence. But Political Economy treats of what wealth is, how best to get it and how best to consume it when got,” Read the *Alphabet of Economic Theory* by P.H. Wicksteed, MacMillan & Co., 2/6.

Social Problems in the light of Economic Theory

Introduction: Mathematical Elements
21 December 1888

Description of mathematical applications used to solve problems in economics; use of algebra; representing data on a curve; increase and decrease in rates for data plotted on a curve.

Lecture I: Value-The Problem
11 January 1889

The theory of value-John Stuart Mill [*A System of Logic*] Book 111 says ‘almost every speculation of the economic interests of society implies the theory of value’; still more true of Jevons ; the connection between value in use and value in exchange.

Lecture II: Value-The Solution(i)
18 January 1889

The theory of utility; value in exchange is determined by utility; Jevons and final utility i.e. marginal utility; [Carl] Menger and the Austrian School of Economics (see article in the *American Quarterly Journal of Economics*, October 1888) demonstrate how to determine the exchange value of any article.

Lecture III: Value- The Solution (ii)
25 January 1889

Distinguish the total effect from marginal effectiveness; marginal effectiveness [utility] which is the measure of value in exchange; importance in understanding diagrammatic explanations, especially measuring rates of change.

Lecture IV: The Test of the Solution
1 February 1889

When a good is produced for sale we find who wants it relative to other things-its marginal usefulness. Only two things modify the marginal desirousness for an item: [supply] and [demand]. Laws of diminishing and increasing returns.

Lecture V: Exchange
1 March 1889

Law of increasing returns, the advantage gained from producing articles in larger amounts. Law of diminishing returns occurs when all the best opportunities are taken up first. The development of exchange secures the additional advantage of division of labour. Each man is best employed on the tasks he does best relative to the tasks of others. International

trade-restrictions on free trade are analogous to domestic restrictions on divisions of labour.

Lecture VI: Free Trade and Fair Trade
n.d.

The British example of adopting free trade has not been followed, not even in the colonies. Fair trade is advocated as a step toward free trade. Free traders believe that closer commercial relations between countries help maintain peace. Free trade is conditional on reciprocity.

Lecture VII: Population and Immigration
n.d.

These questions are connected to free trade. If there is universal peace and free trade there is no reason why England should not manufacture for the world, if that is advantageous. Will a multiplication of workers result in diminished per capita return to workers? Will two men working with the same 'natural powers' get more or less if there are 10 working? Competition is a law of nature; the law of self-preservation conflicts with the desire of cooperation. The fittest to survive are not those swayed by altruism but those with the power to secure enough for them. A man with 8 or 10 children causes increased struggle. If Malthusianism is true a man with a large family sins against the family and is a social malefactor, for he has intensified the struggle and caused the deaths of others. Malthus' argument that doubling the population does not result in a doubling of production, especially food, rests on the law of decreasing returns. Regarding the facts in England see [John Elliot] Cairnes, *Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded*. The truth or falsity of the Malthusian theory cannot be found in abstract argument; it must be demonstrated in experience. Free growth of population implies readiness to immigrate. Socialists object to emigration because it is an outlet rather than dealing with change at home.

Lecture VIII: Low Wages
n.d.

The right distribution of workers amongst occupations is as important as the right geographical distribution. Wrong distribution of labour causes overproduction and trade depression. Relative overproduction in some localities is the cause of low wages in those occupations. When this happens the wage earner is at a disadvantage to the capitalist because capital is perpetually replacing itself. Business ability can shift with ease, but Adam Smith said "Of all kinds of luggage man is the least removable". The results of long term over production fall on wage earners almost exclusively, which results in degrading labour. See [Francis A.] Walker *The Wages Question*. Survival of the "fittest" is for them to live in the most degraded

and de-humanised circumstances. Cairnes pointed out that the trades open to the humbler classes are very few and they are obliged to keep within a narrow group. Walker says in most cases there is no choice at all. A person who works hard ought to secure a minimum comfort. Who is to pay it? Not employers, they can't or else they would be making a gift of their capital. When we decide what a fair wage is? The unanswerable question follows- who is to pay it? The ultimate cause of low wages is the fact that poor workers have no alternative and compete with each other in a trade already over supplied with labour. Public opinion does not accept the idea that firms should take a greater interest in worker welfare. By providing an asylum for refugees London also suffers from imported cheap labour. There is less foundation for the idea that Jewish clothing firms are the worst. English firms that cannot compete with cheap foreign labour will leave the trade entirely. The only way to escape from low wages is to leave low paid trades. Women and children are paid worst of all and their employment often deprives men of work. We should be getting the employers to compete for labour as much as labour to compete for employment.

Lecture IX: Land Nationalisation - The Case for It
n.d.

Agriculture is the natural equilibrating industry. It is important to keep agriculture open, by various ways to many people e.g. by allotments, which teach men to farm at home or abroad. Or by succession [? inheritance] of land. Competent men have found agricultural work to be the nearest possible to the ideal state, compared with the dens of London. Without idealizing the peasant life, e.g. Mill and the French peasant proprietor, it must be admitted that the life got from the soil is desirable. Why is land going out of production and people swarming into London? The reason is in private ownership of land. There must be a surplus, however small, so that the landlord is able to let part of the land to the labourer.

Lecture IX *continued*
29 March 1889

Another problem is land being acquired for building resulting in greater rents. When agricultural values are falling, the fact that land is held in private ownership is an obstacle to its proper use, because owners demand a rent that is not payable by users. Thus the question of land nationalization arises from the position of municipal ownership. This leads to the question of whether private ownership of land is on the same footing as private property in general. The first

question is that of "economic rent". By this the political economist includes what is paid for the "prairie value" of the land, the primitive inalienable proprietor of the soil. If land were in unlimited supply there would be no economic rent because everyone could get as much as they wanted. But it is not clear that the rent should go to the 'owner'; who is the primitive proprietor of the soil? A Land premium is paid for the advantage one kind of land has over another. The greater part of the premium is due to the position of the land and it is the community that gives the value to the land. In our country the Crown holds [i.e. owns] the whole country and allows land to be held to certain tenants in return for service. [Herbert] Spencer condemns the individual holding of land and advocates nationalisation, The arguments for land nationalisation are: [1] the land premium belongs by right to the people for it is owing to the community; [2] the restoration of public ownership would ultimately abolish the necessity of taxation so make free trade possible; [3] it would remove the need for public debt; [4] it would tend to keep agriculture in small holdings as an alternative to larger industries; [5] it would provide clear spaces in large towns for parks, railway stations, markets and improvements generally without expense, except for the cost of buildings destroyed.

Lecture X: Land Nationalisation-The Case Against

5 April 1889

Objections to private ownership of land have been admitted by writers such as [Francis A.] Walker in *Land and its Rent* [1883] and *Political Economy* [1883] and many opponents admit that private property in land should never have been allowed to occur. [Arnold] Toynbee [1852-1883, economic historian of the industrial revolution] said in his lecture on Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*: "I agree with George that it has been a mistake to sell land to private individuals instead of keeping it for the use of the people." [Alfred] Marshall also complained of the mistake in allowing private ownership of land to become absolute. However if it is later found to be a mistake to buy out the landlords this could not be rectified without inflicting injustice and the expense involved may be greater than the wrong righted. The annual amount of the "land premium" "is a "trivial fraction of the total resources of the country". Toynbee thought £60 m p.a. compared with £1300 m p.a. income. Also land values may not continue to rise. Transport has reduced the advantage of corn fields in England to the market. Buying out the landlords would

put too heavy a burden on the nation. To restore the land to the people without adequate compensation would undermine public confidence in the government and invite the devil into the crusade. Land nationalization is now adopted by the socialists "on the grounds that land is exactly the same as other property." It could be seen as the preliminary step to seizing other forms of property. The government would have to administer a huge land department. Henry George's proposal to tax the land would only secure the revenue and not meet all the objections to private ownership. Charles Wicksteed [Philips brother] in *The land for The People* [1885] proposed full compensation, expecting the value of land to increase. Philip Wicksteed proposed borrowing against the security of the land and paying the current interest until the principal is paid in full. Or a substantial land tax could raise the funds to gradually purchase land. Both methods could be used together.

Lecture XI: Socialism and Business Profits

n.d.

If land should be public property, what about other forms of property? "We are all socialists to some extent nowadays" says [probably liberal politician Sir William] Harcourt. This is a change in the last 30 years. Part of a desire to secure equal opportunities for all. Jevons defined socialism as the desire to give equal rewards to unequal sacrifices. Hardships are seen as the result of the general working of society and this must be corrected by collective regulation. Connected with this is distrust of economic motives and the principle of laissez faire. The basis of capitalism is competition, with the goal of unqualified victory or defeat of the competitors. Socialism would substitute co-operation for competition so all will get a share. To date society has been organized by the commercial and professional classes: "England is the heaven of the rich, the hell of the poor and the purgatory of the wise and seeing", (Parker). The notion of class interests has largely superseded patriotic motives; workers feel greater sympathy for fellow workers in other countries than their fellow countrymen. Real socialists are impatient with "drawing room socialists". Co-operation they see as a bribe to the worker. They want to change the present system so that all instruments of production, i.e. land and capital, are national property and then interest and business profits will become extinct. The most intelligent of the labour system in the future is found in [Edward Bellamy's] *Looking Backward 2000-1887*, [1888]. Marx's theory of surplus value is very subtle, but when stripped of its hard logic

is inadequate. Marx accepts the Ricardian theory of value and says that the exchange value of anything is determined by its labour content. There is no such thing as the exchange value of labour. Marx admits the facts do not agree with the theory. [Francis Amasa Walker's theory of profits in *Political Economy* [1883] begins with the no-profit employer at the lowest scale of the system and by analogy with rent increases according to personal ability. What prospect is there of socializing profit? Ultimately the best option for the socialist is income tax to redistribute, but this is merely tinkering with the present inequitable capitalist system.

Lecture XII: Socialism and Interest

3 May 1889

Aristotle says a coin does not breed and therefore interest is contrary to nature; Dante puts users among those guilty of unnatural offences. Interest is a species of hire; it represents the cost of capital. The function of capital is to render human labour more efficient. Men will take from the industry that gives less interest and invest their capital in businesses that gives more. Public debt prevents the interest falling low. Prudent people are changing industrial investments for mortgages or property. If there were no public debt there would be no public security. The land-premium or "economic rent" is admitted to be a public fund as a matter of abstract right. Interest is a fund that tends to extinguish itself in favour of earnings. Profit is a differential personal fund that can only be attacked in open defiance of the individualistic theory of competition.

Ethical and Theological Aspects of Sociology

Lecture I: Economics and Ethics

n.d.

The theory of the economic man says he wants to get the maximum wealth with the minimum effort; but we have dealt with the normal man who might have more wealth than he desires. There are moral and emotional reasons why people desire wealth. What the motives are and what they should be takes us into the study of economics from the sociological, philosophical and ethical areas. The true function of economics is to analyse and formulate the facts of industry with a view to bringing out the moral and vital significance of our industrial actions and industrial machinery. There is no political Economy which stands for the entire world; this is especially true for the English school of economics. We can measure how much of one unit is worth in terms of another i.e. equivalence of worth at the margins. This will change with the quantity processed. This applies to the law of indifference, and is key too much of

economics. Economics says under certain conditions what will follow: it states [1] universal underlying facts and laws [2] the particular form in which these manifest themselves in any society. Re-examines exchange value, a relative scale of equivalence of marginal worth. If people cease to desire something it ceases to have value. The introduction of the Drink Bill indicates that the desire for intoxicating drink is diminishing; which can be attributed to moral feeling. The desire to have a mortgage on those supplying drink is increasing, although the breweries don't seem to be aware of this moral objection to them. "My utopia would be a state of [affairs]... where we should know we were doing best for the world where we got most for our labours." But different wants and privations mean different amounts of suffering. As ministers we are gravely responsible in this matter. "We must have purity, simplicity and directness of life or we shall not be a transforming influence on others. cf. Jacobs blessing in Dante." If we feel that that wealth is only a means toward life that conviction will stamp itself on those we come into contact with and lead them to make wealth a means in support of life. We must have some material well-being to build a higher life on.

Lecture II: The Social Sense and the Devotional Life

n.d.

Extra ecclesiam nulla salus or the social and spiritual relation between man and God in the Roman Catholic church, which involves social collective relations between human society and God. The Protestant reaction against abuses in the church has gone too far in ignoring what this expression stood for and thinking that religious life is a matter for each individual. Protestantism is in harmony with modern ideas of industry; there is an affinity between its maxims and morals and individualistic capitalism, which is accepted in Protestant countries. The only protests to it are to accidents and not its principles, this means that individualistic theory has gone too far in ethics as in religion. The wants of others are an important factor in our daily lives; and unless they are pure and perfect contamination enters our lives. Some wants are illegitimate: love of beauty degenerating into slavery for fashion; a doctor with evil patients asks him to assist with gross immorality and sin; a shop girl ministering to frivolity and vanity. There is collective responsibility and guilt regarding the products of civilization. Abstinence may not help, such as abstaining from sugar because it is slave grown. To change conditions the only possibility may be

collective action: for free education, or sanitary housing. Therefore there is no use striving for personal perfection. There is a growing sense of solidarity in our devotional life, to find unity with our fellow man. There is a great danger in substituting social furor for moral furor.

Lecture III: Social Studies and Theology

n.d.

Imagine theology constructed on a dualism between two different principles in the universe; or of Evolution, with no conflict between the different principles. The theology of dualism where the purposes of human life are permanently thwarted by the conditions of human life; but evolutionary theology allows the conditions of life to be made into a support for the purposes of life. The dualistic contradiction is the battle between two hostile systems, but the evolutionary is the growing pains, the strain arising from unequal progress anticipating the next stage. Should the creator be regarded as essentially one being or should we accept that self-existent matter is alien to the spiritual being? It is practically impossible to regard Ethical Idealism as a byproduct of evolution. It is an error to confound the evolution of the fittest and the evolution of the best; which is the best ethically depends on the circumstances. The idea that happy and pure homes are purchased by the degradation of other homes and pushing competitors over the edge is a contradiction. In evolution the ethical element must be the leading principle. The goals of life are fixed by our moral and spiritual nature. To achieve our goals requires harmony amongst ourselves and the Supreme (cf. Dante) It is in investigating the contradiction and harmony issue that Sociology and Economics bear on Theology. The material life is necessary for the spiritual life as lived on earth. Issues: Is there enough room on the planet for all the humans, what of human reproduction? Will we require the sacrifice of the many for the benefit of the few? Is there antagonism between the public good and private wants? [Herbert] Spencer points out that well-disposed individuals have motives which if followed by the majority would be destructive. Can selfish motives be socialized? If our ministry is to be helpful we must take up these problems, which have a real and vital connection with everyone. (Read Dr Herbert Carpenter's article 'Evolution and the Existence of Satan' in the *Christian Reformer*, May 1886, no. 5)

Addendum

Publications referred to in the lectures by author and sometimes title, are listed below. If the title is not given in the lecture notes it has, wherever possible, been ascertained from the author's writings.

Editions of each work have been identified prior to the date of lecture.

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⁵⁶² This edition of *De Monarchia* is in Latin with Italian on opposite pages. It was one of the books in the Dante Collection given by Jellie to the University of Auckland.

⁵⁶³ This edition of *Commedia* is one of the books in the Dante Collection given by Jellie to the University of Auckland.

⁵⁶⁴ The publication year is variously given as 1513 and 1515, a few years after Machiavelli's death. The publication details are not readily found. It is difficult to know which edition Wicksteed would have used.

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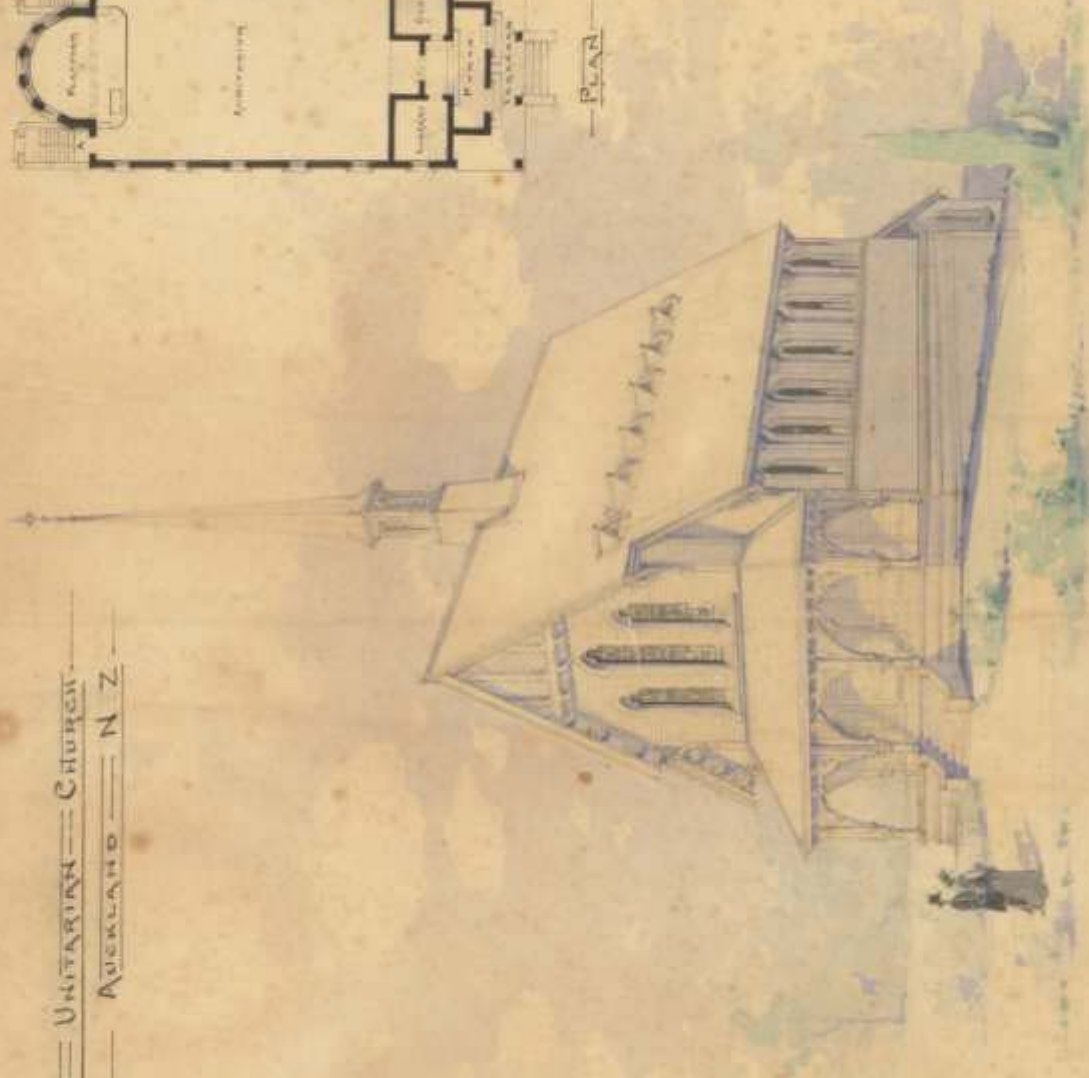
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APPENDIX 2

T.H. WHITE WATER COLOURS OF THE AUCKLAND UNITARIAN CHURCH AND ADMIRAL'S HOUSE

PROPOSED UNITARIAN CHURCH
AUCKLAND N.Z.



Thomas H. Smith
Architect
Auckland

Промыслъ Адмирала - Новаго
Александрова



Титулярный Советник
Александр
Васильевич
Александров

OFFICE HOLDERS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND UNITARIAN CONGREGATIONS
AND THE AUCKLAND UNITARIAN CHURCH

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Mr. R. Ridings, *Chairman*

Mr. J. Utting, *Secretary*

Mr. John Leech, *Treasurer*

Committee: Messrs Cox, Probert, Springall, A. Bradley, Ellen, Montgomery, A.E. Smith, C. Corbett, Burns, Eastwood and Morris.

Second Congregation, Meeting 3 March 1898

Mr. Shawcross, *Chairman*

Mr. Hugh C. McCready, *Secretary and Treasurer*

Committee: Miss Leech, Mrs Shawcross, Captain Lamb, Mr. and Mrs Robert Corbett-Cook, Mr. and Mrs Slack.

Annual Meeting of Congregation 26 March 1900

Mr. H. Tindale, *Chairman* [resigned September 1900]

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. A. Orr Polley, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs T. Read, senior, G. Read, R. Murray, F. E. Leith, T. H. White, Mrs. St John and Miss Leech.

Mr. McCready and Mr. Moore, *Wardens*

Mr. McCready, *Librarian*

Messrs C. Carter and T. Reid Junior, *Auditors*

Annual Meeting of Congregation 27 March 1901

Mr. Thomas Henry White, *Chairman*

Mr. Robert Young, *Secretary*

Mr. Charles Newland, *Treasurer*

Committee: Messrs Frank Castle senior, George Carter, Thomas Reid senior, George Edward Reid, Harry Sherriff, George Healy, Hugh. C. McCready [resigned 2 October 1901], William Moore, William Frederick Cheshire [resigned 11 December 1901], R. C. Foster [resigned 2 October 1901], James Ferner and Robert Murray.

Joseph Cochrane Macky [co-opted to the committee on 20 October 1901.]

Messrs T. Reid and C. Carter, *Auditors*

Miss Leech, *Treasurer* to Sunday school

Mrs Lepine, *Flower Secretary*

Messrs McCready and Foster, *Wardens* [appointed committee meeting 3 April 1901]

Special Meeting of the Congregation 4 September 1901

Trustees, Messrs:

R. Murray

J. C. Macky

T. H. White

R. C. Foster

George Healey

George Reid

T. Read, Junior

Charles Newland

Robert Young

Captain Adamson

Captain Lamb

J. Ferner

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 12 March 1902

Mr. Joseph Cochrane Macky, *Chairman*

Mr. Robert Young, *Secretary*

Mr. Charles Newland, *Treasurer*

Committee: Messrs J. Ferner, R. Murray, T.H. White, George Carter, B.C. Blakey, R.C. Foster, Captain Adamson.

Miss J. Leech, *Treasurer* to Sunday School

Miss Verrall *Secretary* to Sunday School

Miss Macky, *Flower Secretary*

Messrs J. Ferner and R.C. Foster, *Wardens* [appointed committee meeting 2 April 1902]

Mr. G. Healy, *Librarian*

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 11 March 1903

Mr. Robert C. Foster, *Chairman*

Mr. R. Young, *Secretary*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*.

Committee: Messrs J. Ferner, R. Murray, T. H. White, George Carter, B.C. Blakely, J.C. Macky, Captain Adamson.

G. Carter and T. Read, *Auditors*.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 9 March 1904

Mr. Thomas Read snr., *Chairman*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. R. Young, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs J. Ferner, R.C. Foster, R. Murray, T.H. White, Captain Adamson, George Read, B.C. Blakey, W.A. Chitham, George Carter, J.B. Guy. George Healy.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 8 March 1905

Mr. James Ferner, *Chairman*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. Robert Young, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs J.C. Macky, R. Murray, T. Read snr., George Read, J.B. Guy, B.C. Blakey, George Carter, W. A. Chitham, F. Lepine, G. Richardson, Watson.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 14 March 1906

Mr. George E. Read, *Chairman*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. R. Young, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs B.C. Blakey, A. Chitham, J.B. Elliot, J. Ferner, W. Fossey, R.C. Foster, J.B. Guy
F. Lepine, J.C. Macky, G. Read, G. Richardson, Watson.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 13 March 1907

Mr. B. C. Blakey, *Chairman*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. R. Young, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs A. Chitham, J.B. Elliot, J. Ferner, W. Fossey, R. Murray, F. C. Munro, J. B. Guy, J.C.
Macky, George Read, R.C. Foster, G. Richardson, A. Chilham.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 1908. There are no minutes in the Minute Book, but a list of committee members is recorded. The Minutes of the General Committee Meeting 1 April 1908 records that "minutes of the annual meeting were read" and elections were held to fill vacancies on the Committee.

Mr. R. Young, *Chairman*

Mr. .C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. W. A. Chitham, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs: J.C. Macky, George E. Read, J.B. Guy, R.C. Foster, B.C. Blakey, J. Ferner, J.B. Elliott,
F.C. Munro, G. Richardson, Ben Hobson, George Carter.

Annual Meeting of the Congregation 10 March 1909

Mr. J.C. Macky, *Chairman*

Mr. Robert Young, *Vice-Chairman*

Mr. C. Newland, *Treasurer*

Mr. W. Alfred Chitham, *Secretary*

Committee: Messrs B.C. Blakey, R.C. Foster [resigned] ,B. Hobson, R. Briffault, J.M. Melville, F.C. Munro,
J.B. Elliott, George E. Read, George Carter, J.B. Guy [co-opted to vacancy].

Auditors: Messrs T. Read and T. Macky

Sources:

Names for the first congregation are contained in an undated handwritten document "Unitarian Movement in Auckland." Those for the second congregation are taken from the Secretary's Report appended to the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Auckland Unitarian Congregation held 26 March 1900. Names for the Auckland Unitarian Church officers and committee members are taken from minutes of annual meetings and committee meetings.

APPENDIX 4

FORWARD MOVEMENT LITERARY SOCIETY LECTURES

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Lecturer</i>	<i>Topic</i>
17 April 1895 ¹	Rechabite Hall	Rev. W. A. Evans	An Introduction to the Study of Literature of the Nineteenth Century
17 April 1895 ²	Ballance Hall	Rev. W.A. Evans	Literature of the Century
8 May 1895 ³	Ballance Hall	Sir Robert Stout	A Night with a Novelist
22 May 1895 ⁴	Ballance Hall	Mr. C.W. Benbow	The Life of John Bright
5 June 1895 ⁵	Ballance Hall	Mrs W.A. Evans	George Eliot
19 June 1895 ⁶	Ballance Hall	Mrs J.S. Fleming	Two Pictures of Women Past and Present
26 June 1895 ⁷	Ballance Hall	Messrs D.E. Beaglehole and D. Gain	Extracts from the works of Alice Mevnell and Professor Fairbairn
3 July 1895 ⁸	Ballance Hall	Dr Findlay	John Ruskin
19 July 1895 ⁹	Ballance Hall	Mr. J.H. Holliwell	Arnold Toynbee
31 July 1895 ¹⁰	Ballance Hall	Mr. Justice Richmond	Robert Browning
21 August 1895 ¹¹	Ballance Hall	Mrs Fleming	The Higher Education of Women
28 August 1895 ¹²	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. T.W. Rowe, MA	Thomas Carlyle
11 September 1895 ¹³	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. D. Gain	The Life of J.G. Whittier
25 September 1895 ¹⁴	Forward Movement Hall	Rev. J.R. Glasson	Tolstoy
16 October 1895 ¹⁵	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. A.R. Atkinson	Sesame and Lilies
		Miss Kirk	A Satirical sketch from Barry Pain's writings

25 March 1896 ¹⁶	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. W.A. Evans	Study of the Eighteenth Century Literature
29 April 1896 ¹⁷	Forward Movement Hall	Sir Robert Stout	Addison
13 May 1896 ¹⁸	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. C. Wilson	A Night with Defoe
27 May 1896 ¹⁹	Forward Movement Hall	Rev. J. Reed Glasson	Pope
17 June 1896 ²⁰	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. W.R. Haselden	Gray
1 July 1896 ²¹	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. T.W. Rowe	The Novel of the 18 th Century
8 July 1896 ²²	Forward Movement Hall	Mrs Fleming	The Songstresses of Scotland
5 August 1896 ²³	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. Alfred W. Duncan	Dr. Johnson's "Rasselas"
12 August 1896 ²⁴	Forward Movement Hall	Dr. Findlay	Dr. Johnson
26 August 1896 ²⁵	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. C.W. Benbow	Goldsmith
23 September 1896 ²⁶	Forward Movement Hall	Mr. A. R. Atkinson	Burke
18 May 1897 ²⁷	Forward Movement hall	Mr. T.W. Rowe	Elizabethan Literature

Endnotes

¹ *Evening Post*, 17 April 1895, p.2.

² *Evening Post*, 18 April 1895, p.3.

³ *Evening Post*, 4 May 1895, p.3.

⁴ *Evening Post*, 23 May 1895, p.2.

⁵ *Evening Post*, 8 May 1895, p.3.

⁶ *Evening Post*, 20 June 1895, p.2.

⁷ *Evening Post*, 27 June 1895, p.2.

⁸ *Evening Post*, 8 May 1895, p.3.

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- ⁹ *Evening Post*, 11 July 1895, p.2.
- ¹⁰ *Evening Post*, 8 May 1895, p.3.
- ¹¹ *Evening Post*, 22 August 1895, p.2.
- ¹² *Evening Post*, 8 May 1895, p.3.
- ¹³ *Evening Post*, 12 September 1895, p.2.
- ¹⁴ *Evening Post*, 8 May 1895, p.3.
- ¹⁵ *Evening Post*, 17 October 1895, p.2.
- ¹⁶ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1896, p.3.
- ¹⁷ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1896, p.3.
- ¹⁸ *Evening Post*, 14 May 1896, p.2.
- ¹⁹ *Evening Post*, 20 March 1896, p.3.
- ²⁰ *Evening Post*, 18 June 1896, p.5.
- ²¹ *Evening Post*, 30 June 1896, p. 5
- ²² *Evening Post*, 2 July 1896, p.5
- ²³ *Evening Post*, 6 August 1896, p.5.
- ²⁴ *Evening Post*, 11 August 1896, p.6.
- ²⁵ *Evening Post*, 26 August 1896, p.6.
- ²⁶ *Evening Post*, 24 September 1896, p.4.
- ²⁷ *Evening Post*, 19 May 1897, p.4.

WILLIAM JELLIE'S PUBLIC EDUCATION COURSES

Year	Topic and Length	Description and Notes
<i>WELLINGTON UNITARIAN FREE CHURCH LITERARY CLUB</i>		
1913	Emerson Readings ¹ 10 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	Lectures by Jellie, essay presentations from class members and poetry readings. Club open to the public, not just church members.
<i>SOUTH CANTERBURY WORKERS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION</i>		
1924	Some aspects of life in the Middle Ages ²	One lecture given in Timaru
<i>AUCKLAND WORKERS EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION</i>		
1921	Dante and the Divine Commedia ³ 1 Lecture and Tutorial	Includes biographical sketch of Dante
1926	The Appreciation of Poetry ⁴ 2 Lectures and Tutorials	Illustrated from Wordsworth, Byron, Shelly and Keats. Given at Auckland and New Lynn.
	Lectures on Tennyson ⁵ 2 Lectures and Tutorials	Given at Auckland and New Lynn.
1927	Lectures on Shakespeare ⁶ 11 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	Spirit of the Age; Shakespeare's life; <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> ; The Elizabethan Playhouse; <i>Richard III</i> ; Beginnings of English Drama; <i>Merchant of Venice</i> ; <i>The Lady of Belmont</i> .
1928	English Literature – Milton and his age ⁷ 24 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	The Study of Literature for Workers. The Dedicated Poet. His Early Poems. England's Struggle for Constitutional and Religious Liberty. Milton, the Champion of Human Liberty. His Prose Works. The Great Spirit in Defeat. His Triumph in <i>Paradise Lost</i> . The Great Epics of the World. Milton and Classical Mythology. Cavalier and Puritan in Life and Song. Bunyan, the true expression of Puritan England. Pepys' Diary. Samson Agonistes and Greek Drama.
1929	Modern Poets ⁸	Thomas Hardy, Roy Campbell, Laurence Binyon, Humbert Wolfe, Edith Sitwell, John Masefield. American literature. Given at WEA Summer Camp, Hunua.
	English Literature – Development of the Novel ⁹	A study in the historical order of twelve representative works of fiction in the light of the Author's life, and the time (its events, movements, manners) in which each was written. The

	24 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	Novel – its popularity, influence, what to look for in a Novel, the Novel as a work of art. Cervantes and <i>Don Quixote</i> . Fielding and <i>Tom Jones</i> . Goldsmith and <i>The Vicar of Wakefield</i> . Jane Austen and <i>Emma</i> . Sir Walter Scott and <i>The Heart of Midlothian</i> . Dickens and <i>David Copperfield</i> . Thackeray and <i>Esmond</i> . George Eliot and <i>Adam Bede</i> . Melville and <i>Moby Dick</i> . Meredith and <i>The Egoist</i> . Hardy and <i>Tess of the D'Urbervilles</i> , Galsworthy and <i>The Forsyte Saga</i> .
1930	Modern Poetry ¹⁰ 24 Weekly lectures and Tutorials	A study of some modern poets (1) as a means of adding to life's enjoyment the peculiar pleasure that poetry affords, and (2) as an aid to the understanding of our own age. Among the subjects will be: Thomas Hardy, A.E. Houseman, John Masefield, Ralph Hodgson, De la Mare, W.H. Davies, Gordon Bottomley, Humbert Wolfe, John Freeman, Laurence Binyon, Siegfried Sassoon, Charles Williams, Robert bridges, Alice Meynell, Herbert Read, D.H. Lawrence, War Poetry, National Poetry, Humour, and Satire.
1931	Contemporary Poetry ¹¹ 24 Weekly lectures and Tutorials	An attempt to understand our own age – the stream of life in which we move and have our being – as its moods, thoughts and tendencies, revolt, pain and despair, satire, sources of hope, relief of fancy and of humour, etc, are reflected in one branch of its art, viz., poetry. The course will deal with some poets dealt with last year, but will mainly take notice of others, such as H. Wolfe, Roy Campbell, Lascelles Abercrombie, Gordon Bottomley, Sturge Moore. Note will also be taken of contemporary American, Scottish and New Zealand poetry.
1932	Landmarks in Western Literature ¹² 20 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	Studies in a series of classical works which at once draw to a focus the ideas of a previous age and transmit them in artistic form to the ages that follow. An attempt to survey the process of Western Civilisation as recorded in great literature. Homers <i>Iliad</i> and <i>Odyssey</i> , c. 950 BC; Vergil's <i>Aeneid</i> , 19 BC; St. Augustine's <i>City of God</i> , 413-26; Shakespeare's Plays. 1591-1611; The English Bible, 1611; Milton's <i>Paradise Lost</i> , 1658-65; Goethe's <i>Faust</i> , 1775-1832; Emerson's Essays, 1840-70; Browning's <i>Ring and the Book</i> , 1868-9. Translations, where necessary, will be provided in the class library; and an attempt is being made to procure screen-pictures illustrative of each age.
1933	Dante's <i>Divine Comedy</i> – A Reflection of the Middle Ages ¹³ 24 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	Dante was one of the few supreme geniuses of the race – poet, prophet and teacher. His age was most important in the development of European history, preparing for changes which produced the modes of life of the present day. His poem, in the form of a voyage through Hell, Purgatory and Paradise, sums up the knowledge and practice, the politics and religion, philosophy and science of the Middle Ages. Its crimes and tragedies, its struggles after reform, its hopes and aspirations, the highest ideals of its men and communities pass over its pages. The poem is human and dramatic.
1933/1934	Landmarks in Literature ¹⁴	Dante-spirit of the Middle Ages; Shakespeare-spirit of Romanticism; English Bible - spirit of the Reformation; Milton - spirit of Puritanism; Goethe- spirit of Modern Science;

		Browning - spirit of the 19 th Century; Eliot - spirit of Modernism. Given at WEA Summer School.
1934	Literature of the French Revolution ¹⁵ 22 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	In these days of revolutions, Russian, German, Spanish, a study of their great forerunner in France, parent of them all, should be of interest and value. The study here projected will be neither political nor economic, but literary. The subject will be, generally, the movement of thought and feeling in the 18 th century which, reacting on the sufferings of the common people throughout Europe, gave impulse and form, in France, to the Revolution and in England to reform. More specifically this subject will be the expression of that movement of the spirit of Literature. Beginning with sketches of the Russian and French Revolutions, the course will proceed to deal with some of the work of such writers as Voltaire, Condorcet, Rousseau, Goethe, Schiller, Cowper, Burns, Wordsworth, Godwin, Mary Wollstonecraft, Burke, Paine, Byron and Shelley.
	The French Revolution in English Literature ¹⁶	The second in a series of four WEA weekly Radio Broadcasts on 1YA
1936	Literature: The Age of Liberalism, 1860-1900 ¹⁷ 24 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials	The Age between the ancient race of real Victorians and that race of yesterday – The Georgians. A direct continuance of last year's course, tracing the transformation and gradual working out of those Revolutions in Politics, Economics, Science and Religion from which flowed the manifold changes in man's ways of life in the 19 th century; changes which were to be followed by further changes after the Boer War. Britain is the main orderly, rich, expanding in commerce, consolidating her position in the world; Liberalism victorious and passing over into Socialism; Victorian conventions and orthodoxies breaking up; but the main stream of movement crossed by many divergent currents. The age of us, our parents and grandparents. The course will include: the historical background. Currents and cross currents. Tennyson, Browning and Matthew Arnold in their later phases. George Meredith, poet and novelist. Rossetti and the Pre-Raphaelites. Walter Pater and Art for Art's sake. Oscar Wilde and Aestheticism run to seed. William Morris and the Socialist Movement. Swinburne and Paganism. The victory of Evolution. Fitzgerald. Some Pessimists. Thomas Hardy. Samuel Butler. Stevenson and Romance. Kipling and Imperialism. The Celtic Movement and Yeats. Robert Bridges and Normality. The class will be invited to discuss the value of these movements for to-day.
1937	Literature: Stages in the Progress of the Human Spirit as revealed in Great Books ¹⁸	Books, said Milton, are not dead things: they have a potency of life in them as active as the soul from which they sprang. "Good books are the precious life-blood of master-spirits." What has flowed from one such heart and mind may be relied

22 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials

on to reach others. Some books, we may add, contain the life-blood of the age in which they were written: in them we have the “articulate, audible voice of the Past:” they are historical documents, yet alive. Some books have moulded the thought and nourished and strengthened the feelings of millions, century after century. Some have made revolutions, pulling down and building up social and religious systems, exercising and influence mightier than armies, overleaping the barriers of race and language and time. Some books are among the greatest achievements of the human spirit, and stand out as landmarks on its progressive march. The course is designed as an introduction to a few such books, for pleasure and for instruction.

Homer’s *Iliad* (c.850 B.C). Aeschylus’ *Oresteia* (525-456). Plato’s *Republic* (428-348). The Book of Job (c. 400). Virgil’s *Aeneid* (70-19). The revelation of St. John (c. 95 A.D.). Marcus Aurelius’ *Thoughts* (121-180). Boethius’ *Consolation of Philosophy* (470 – 524). Nibelungelied (c. 1200). Dante’s *Divine Comedy* (1265-1321). Chaucer’s *Canterbury Pilgrims* (1340 – 1400). Thomas á Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* (1380 – 1471). Machiavelli’s *Prince* (1469-1527). Calvin’s *Institution of the Christian Religion* (1509 -1564). Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (1565-1615). Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1608-1764). Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* (1667-1745). Boswell’s *Life of Dr. Johnson* (1709-1784). Wordsworth’s *Prelude* (1770-1850). Darwin’s *Origin of Species* (1809-1882). Marx’s *Capital* (1818-1883).

1938 Literature: The Works of Shakespeare¹⁹

22 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials

The course will be a challenge to our students to read through the poems and plays during the winter. How many have made the acquaintance of more than the one or two plays studied at school, and how many have been put off from further explanation by school methods? Yet surely it behoves all lovers of literature to know our supreme poet and dramatist, who is acknowledged in all countries to be one of the world’s supreme poets and dramatists. It were shame on us to learn of plays like *King Lear* being performed in Russia before popular audiences and to have to confess that we know nothing but the name. We shall avoid school methods, and try to re-discover his magic for ourselves/ As the plays were written for the stage we shall make some effort to combine class reading with general understanding; and we shall direct attention, where possible, to the political and social conditions of the time.

1. Introductory. 2-5. Early histories: *Henry VI, Richard III, Richard II, King John, Henry IV and Henry V*. Early Comedies: *Comedy of Errors, Taming of the Shrew, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Love’s Labour Lost*. 8. *Romeo and Juliet*. 9. *Midsummer Night’s Dream*. 10. *Merchant of Venice*. 11. Poems and Sonnets. 11-13. The Supreme Comedies: *Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, Twelfth Night, Merry Wives of Windsor*. 14-16. The Roman and Greek Plays – *Julius Caesar, Troilus and Cressida, Antony and Cleopatra. Coriolanus, Timon*

of Athens. 17. Hamlet. 18. Othello and Measure for Measure. 19. King Lear. 20. Macbeth. 21. Cymbeline and Winter's Tale. 22. Tempest and Henry VIII.

- 1939** Literature: Utopias through the Ages²⁰
22 Weekly Lectures and Tutorials
- Studies in the literature of political and social discontent and change, aspiration and prophecy; the literature of the forward look and the work of men who dreamed of reorganising human life in better ways: from the time when Europe began to think about the social order till the present age of confused and conflicting answers to the questions: What is the ideal goal of human effort? And how are we going to reach it?
- The course will deal with books such as Plato's *Republic* (c. 400 BC), St Augustine's *City of God* (c. 400 AD), Dante's *De Monarchia* (1309), Moore's *Utopia* (1516), Bacon's *New Atlantis* (1623), Harrington's *Oceana* (1656), Fourier's "*Le Monde Nouveau Industrial*" (1829), Marx's *Communist Manifesto* (1848), Pemberton's *Happy Colony* (1854), *Utopia in New Zealand*. Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1888), Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1891), Wells' *Modern Utopia* (1905), Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932) and others. Were they the work mere of amiable visionaries? Have they done any good for the world? and if, what? Has such a survey of a long line of social dreams any lesson for us of to-day?

WOMEN'S INSTITUTE

- 1927** Shakespeare²¹
1 Lecture
Given at Swanson
- Enjoying Shakespeare²²
1 Lecture
Illustrated from *The Merchant of Venice*. Given at Henderson.

ACADEMIC CLUB

- 1929** No topic²³
1 Lecture
Beauty and Property-Forsythe Saga. Osbert Sitwell.

BRITISH EMPIRE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

- 1932** Lecture on Shakespeare²⁴
1 lecture
The universal genius; His Life; The man and his Age - Elizabethan England; His private view of Life; Anti-Shakespearean influences.
- 1936** Some Questions on Art²⁵
1 Lecture
The Art Movement in the latter half of the 19th Century; The Pendulum of Taste; What is Beauty?

JEWISH LITERARY SOCIETY

- 1937** Dante's *Divine Comedy*²⁶ A study in Medievalism
1 Lecture

FABIAN CLUB

- 1937** Dante's *Divine Comedy*²⁷ A study in Medievalism
1 Lecture

ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS OF ENGLISH, AUCKLAND UNIVERSITY COLLEGE

- 1938** The Teaching of English²⁸ T.S. Eliot and the "Waste Land" Literature
1 Lecture

WOMENS' INSTITUTE

- 1944** Dante: the National Poet of Italy²⁹ Given at Titirangi
1 Lecture

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LITERARY CLUB

- 1950** Dante³⁰ "Impossible to understand & appreciate T.S. Eliot, the major poet of our time, without a good working acquaintance with Dante."
1 Lecture

PENWOMENS' CLUB

- 1952** Dante's *Divine Comedy*³¹ Given at Auckland
1 Lecture

Endnotes

- 1 Wellington Unitarian Free Church *Calendars*, August 1912, September 1912, April 1913, May 1913. Literary Club, Unitarian Free Church, Wellington. Emerson Readings. UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS A-70
- 2 *Timaru Herald*, 20 August 1924, p.1
- 3 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS A-70. The date given in the inventory A-70 of 26 January 1921 is incorrect: William Jellie was still in Stockport at that date.
- 4 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
- 5 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
- 6 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
- 7 WEA Auckland University District City Classes for 1928
- 8 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
- 9 WEA Auckland University District City Classes for 1929
- 10 WEA Auckland University District City Classes for 1930
- 11 WEA Auckland University District, 1931 Tutorial Classes
- 12 WEA Auckland University District 1932 Tutorial Classes

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- 13 WEA Auckland University District 1933 Tutorial Classes
 - 14 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 15 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1934
 - 16 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1934
 - 17 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1936
 - 18 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1937
 - 19 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1938
 - 20 WEA Auckland University District City Programme 1939
 - 21 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 22 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 23 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 24 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 25 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 26 Uoa, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 27 Uoa, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 28 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS 91/4
 - 29 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS A-70
 - 30 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS A-70
 - 31 UoA, SC, William Jellie MSS A-70

**ADDRESSES BY REV. JAMES CHAPPLE AT THE RATIONALIST ASSOCIATION SUNDAY EVENING
PUBLIC MEETINGS: A LECTURE FOLLOWED BY A FILM**

DATE	VENUE	TOPIC	FILM
30 September 1934	Strand(?)	“Robert Green Ingersoll – Champion of Freethought”	(unknown)
14 April 1935	Strand(?)	“Why the Bible Should be kept out of Schools”	(unknown)
1 September 1935	Strand	“Fascism a Menace to Freedom: New Zealand at the Crossroads”	<i>Love's Old Sweet Song</i>
27 October 1935	Strand	“Evolution: Its implications regarding the state”	<i>His Wife's Mother</i>
1 December 1935	Strand	“Humanism and the Gospel of Reason”	<i>Oh What a Night!</i>
12 January 1936	Strand	“Mark Twain: his philosophy”	<i>Sleepless Nights</i>
8 March 1936	Strand	“Samuel Butler of <i>Erewhon</i> Fame: wanted - a Modern Satirist”	<i>The Flame of Love</i>
5 April 1936	Strand	“Kindness to Animals; Justice to Sub-humans”	<i>Children of Chance</i>
9 August 1936	Strand	“Voltaire: the Champion of Tolerance”	<i>A Lucky Girl</i>
8 November 1936	Strand	“The Menace of Empire”	<i>Invitation to the Waltz</i>
10 January 1937	Strand	“The Bible: A Stumbling Block to Progress”	<i>Reunion</i>
31 January 1937	Strand	“Thomas Paine”	<i>Radio Pirate</i>
30 May 1937	Strand	“Godless Russia ns, Godly (?) New Zealand”	<i>Ex-Flame</i>
11 July 1937	Strand	“The Martyrdom of Ferrer, the Great Spanish Patriot”	<i>The Scotland Yard Mystery</i>
15 August 1937	Strand	“Why Reactionaries want the Bible in our Schools”	<i>The Awful Truth</i>
7 November 1937	Strand	“Make Way for Tomorrow”	<i>My Song goes around the World</i>
5 December 1937	Strand	“Free thought's Call to Youth”	<i>The Rosary</i>
30 January 1938	Strand	“Orthodox Christianity: will it drift Left or Right politically?”	<i>For the Love of Mike</i>
27 February 1938	Strand	“Bruno – Freethought Martyr”	<i>The Lottery Bride</i>

27 March 1938	Strand	"The Devil: are Churchgoers ashamed of him?"	<i>Blossom Fair</i>
15 May 1938	Strand	"The Crusade for Peace"	<i>Love at Second Sight</i>
22 May 1938	Strand	"The Bible in Schools: is it a book to put in the hands of Children?"	<i>The Joy Ride</i>
14 August 1938	Strand	"New Zealand as a Peace-Loving Commonwealth"	<i>Rampant Age</i>
11 September 1938	Strand	"The Freethought Congress"	<i>Laburnum Grove</i>
1 January 1939	Strand	"Great Thinkers and their Ideals"	--
19 February 1939	Strand	"A New Zealand Renaissance"	<i>The Dominant Sex</i>
7 April 1940	Strand	"Ingersoll"	<i>Sing While You're Able</i>
4 August 1940	Strand	"Robert Burns"	<i>Sins of Children</i>

Source: Bill Cooke, "Rationalist Association Chronology, 11 January 1923 to 9 June 1994", unpublished manuscript, n.d.