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**‘It is our Bounden Duty’:  
The Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement,  
1868-1926**

**A Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy  
In  
History**

**at Massey University, Albany,  
New Zealand**

**Hugh Douglas Morrison**

**2004**



**CERTIFICATE OF REGULATORY COMPLIANCE**

This is to certify that the research carried out in the Doctoral Thesis entitled

**“ ‘It is our Bounden Duty’: The Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant  
Missionary Movement, 1868-1926”**

in the School of Social and Cultural Studies

at Massey University, New Zealand:

- (a) is the original work of the candidate, except as indicated by appropriate attribution in the text and/or in the acknowledgements;
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**CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION**

This is to certify that the research carried out for my Doctoral thesis entitled “ **‘It is our Bounden Duty’: The Emergence of the New Zealand Protestant Missionary Movement, 1868-1926**” in the School of Social and Cultural Studies, Massey University, Albany, New Zealand, is my own work and that the thesis material has not been used in part or in whole for any other qualification.

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**Date:**

12/5/2004

## FRONTISPIECE



*Mr and Mrs McKenzie of Queenstown, with Pandita Ramabai (founder of the Ramabai Mukti Mission) and Indian children from the Mukti Mission orphanage.*

(Helen S. Dyer, *Pandita Ramabai: A Great Life in Indian Missions*, London: Pickering & Inglis, no date, facing p. 41)

*There are over a thousand millions of men and women who are not in any sense Christianised. Thirty-five millions of these pass every year, in one ghastly, reproachful, mournful procession, into Christless graves. Nineteen centuries have passed away, and only one-third of the population of our earth is even nominally Christian. These hopeless souls would belt this earth no less than forty times, if they stood with outstretched hands side by side, and this at the dawn of the Twentieth Century! Three millions, at least, have been baptised into the Christian faith during this century, and in that fact we greatly rejoice. But the natural increase of the heathen world in that time has been 200 millions.... It is surely time apathy gave place to enthusiasm, and niggardliness to generosity, selfishness to self-sacrifice, and indifference to compassion.* (Author unknown, *Missionary Messenger*, June (1899), p. 2)

## ABSTRACT

Between 1868 and 1926 a significant number of New Zealand Protestant Christians participated in the international missionary movement as missionaries and supporters. Early missionary sentiments were derived from historical British roots. A range of domestic and international influences progressively shaped the New Zealand movement from the 1890s, and there was demonstrable and sustained growth in the number of missionary departures. From 1900 onwards missionary support and enthusiasm was organised with increasing sophistication, and the base of national financial support grew accordingly. In the aftermath of World War One missionary interest and support continued to grow, with missionary departure rates in the 1920s reaching unprecedented levels. By the end of the 1920s greatest growth occurred amongst the non-denominational organisations, many of which identified with conservative evangelical churches reacting to liberalising tendencies in society and theology. For the same reasons a hitherto variegated and broadly evangelical theology of mission became increasingly splintered. By the 1920s a formalised, sophisticated, articulated and well-supported foreign missions movement was a central feature of New Zealand church life, although this was varyingly expressed at the denominational, regional and congregational level. Whilst it was not strictly true that the missionary movement was solely a women's movement, women were influentially central to it as supporters, participants and thinkers. Missionary service was an important vehicle by which they could enter public spheres of church life and exercise an influence. Children, young people and students were also prominent. The missionary movement was a religious movement, steeped in a theological rationale and drawing upon a prevailing set of spiritual sentiments that encouraged personal activism, consecration and practical loving service. Theological and spiritual motivation was intertwined with a complex mix of extra-religious factors. Therefore motivation was partly differentiated along lines of gender and intersected with prevailing imperialist sentiments. The New Zealand Protestant missionary movement, set in these terms, was both an integral part of the wider international missionary movement, and an important way by which New Zealand's emerging religious identity was shaped in the late colonial period.

## PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This project has its origins in a variety of starting points: a childhood spent looking out from my Oamaru home at the wide Pacific Ocean, wondering what lay beyond the horizon; an undergraduate interest and grounding in social and religious history, and in the social sciences; time in the 1980s variously spent around the table of a New Zealand-Indonesian missionary family in Central Java, on the colourful streets of Penang, Malaysia, and amongst slum communities in Manila, Philippines; theological study; critical engagement with the issues raised by a study of mission history; the consequent growing seed of an idea to critically examine the early history of the western missionary project in New Zealand; and a more recent and much appreciated two year refresher course on issues of historical precept and practice. Whilst the parameters of this project have had to be modified, the potential for further research and writing has greatly expanded, and the need to widen the search for public and private archival material has become more urgent. Historiographically this project has been conceived and executed at the same time that international and domestic interest has been awakened to the interdisciplinary importance of missionary archives. These records are equally important for the church communities from which they emanate, for the wider society in which they are located, and for the recipient societies, communities and churches in a myriad of locations worldwide. Their potential for analytical, interpretative and enriching story telling is boundless. As such this project, and those that may one day eventuate, serves to link the history of Aotearoa New Zealand with the history of the wider world – a theme that has long underpinned my own developing sense of self-identity.

In their roles as supervisors Associate Professor Peter Lineham (Massey University at Albany), and the Rev. Dr Allan Davidson (St John's College and the University of Auckland) have been exemplary in their professional advice and support, their passionate interest in the subject material of the research topic, and their ready extension of friendship throughout. Each has been generous with the time given, wise in counsel, gentle in admonition, and consistently encouraging in their approach. I am supremely grateful. Thank you both most sincerely for what has been, and hopefully will remain to be, an enriching and enjoyable partnership.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJHR</i>	<i>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</i>
ASAM	Australasian South American Mission
ASCU	Australasian Student Christian Union
<i>BDCM</i>	<i>Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions</i>
BIM	Bolivian Indian Mission
BMS	Baptist Missionary Society
BWMU	Baptist Women's Missionary Union
CIM	China Inland Mission
CMS	Church Missionary Society
CVM	Canton Villages Mission
<i>DNZB</i>	<i>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</i>
FMC	Foreign Missions Committee
HO:DU	Hocken Library, Dunedin
<i>IBMR</i>	<i>International Bulletin of Missionary Research</i>
<i>JICH</i>	<i>Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History</i>
<i>JRH</i>	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>
LMM	Laymen's Missionary Movement
LMS	London Missionary Society
<i>MM</i>	<i>Missionary Messenger</i>
MWMU	Methodist Women's Missionary Union
NZABM	New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions
<i>NZB</i>	<i>New Zealand Baptist</i>
NZBHS	New Zealand Baptist Historical Society
NZBMS	New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society
NZBTI	New Zealand Bible Training Institute
NZBU	New Zealand Baptist Union
NZCMA/S	New Zealand Church Missionary Association/Society
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>
NZSCM	New Zealand Student Christian Movement
<i>OW</i>	<i>Otago Witness</i>
<i>PCNZ PGA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand</i>
<i>PCSO PS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Southland and Otago</i>
<i>PGS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand</i>
PIVM	Poona and Indian Village Mission
PWMU	Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union
PWTI	Presbyterian Women's Training Institute
SAEM	South American Evangelical Mission
SIM	Sudan Interior Mission
SPG	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
SUM	Sudan United Mission
SVM	Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions
WCTU	Women's Christian Temperance Union
WSCF	World's Student Christian Federation
WTU	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

## Chapter One Introduction

### 1.1 Introduction

#### Wednesday 30 September 1896

Yesterday was another red letter day in my life's history. In the afternoon we took farewell of Dunedin friends at the station. It was difficult to see and speak with everyone, the crowd was so great. The large rescue carriage put on to convey friends and relatives to the Port was so full that many had to stand. On arrival at the port we looked after luggage and then for some time, after which midst expressions of 'God Speed' – 'God bless you' etc we got away from Port Chalmers about 7.30 pm. Our send off made me think of and compare with the one that Judson and his companion received when they first started for the foreign field.... The young men went silently and alone and though there was not a minister who was willing to hazard his reputation by countenancing what was regarded as an enthusiastic and rather silly enterprise, yet when they threw themselves on their knees in their lonely cabin, they heard or felt a voice saying, "You are not alone, for I am with you". How different today! Thousands of sympathisers attended the farewell gatherings, including quite a number of ministers.... Truly, foreign missions are not a failure.<sup>1</sup>

These words, penned by the young John Takle of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, reflected the growing enthusiasm for foreign missions that emerged in New Zealand in the late nineteenth century. This movement amongst the settler churches was resplendent with all the brashness and confidence that marked the global advance of both Christianity and European civilisation during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. At the same time it was underscored by a deep-seated sense of obligation and sacrifice, thrusting its participants into relatively unknown cross-cultural circumstances. About to disembark at Calcutta on Christmas Day 1895, Emma Beckingsale (NZBMS) reflected that 'this is Bengal where I hope to do my life work and these are the people whom I hope to help, but it is all so queer and they talk in such an unknown tongue that it is hard to realise that I shall ever be able to do anything. One's feelings are very mixed'.<sup>2</sup> Some fourteen years later Ada Grocott (Bolivian Indian Mission) confided that

only God knows how hard it was for me to say Goodnight to dear Father that night.... Next morning, we went into Dad's shop for a last kiss and embrace.... [Later] By looking to Jesus we were able to keep our feelings in check.... Then, after much kissing and heartfelt blessings, we were off.<sup>3</sup>

Between 1868 and 1930 an estimated 736 New Zealanders departed overseas as Christian missionaries, of whom sixty per cent were women and forty per cent were

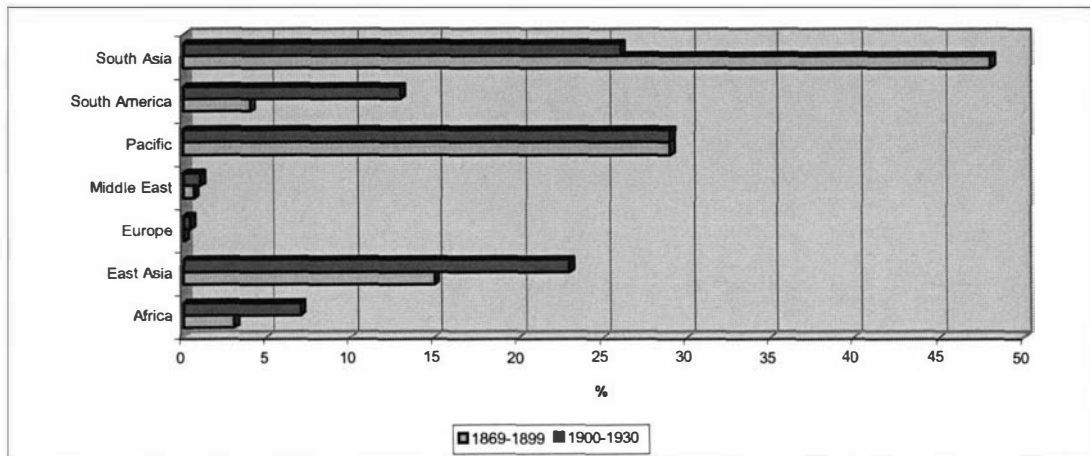
<sup>1</sup> Transcript of John Takle's Diary, 1896, John Takle Papers, Folder 1, Box 0210, New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society Archives, Ayson Clifford Library, Carey Baptist College, Auckland.

<sup>2</sup> 25 December 1895, Beckingsale's Diaries, 1895-1896, Book 1, Box 0189, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>3</sup> 'Bolivian Episode: Impressions and Experiences of Pioneer Missionaries in Bolivia, South America', unpublished manuscript by Horace Grocott, 1960, pp. 1-2, Bolivian Indian Mission Archives, SIM International Resource Centre, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA.

men. At least another 439 were interested enough to enquire or apply for missionary service.<sup>4</sup> Drawn from a broad spectrum of Protestant denominations (with Presbyterians, Brethren, Baptists, Methodists, and Anglicans in the majority), they went to a diverse range of destinations (Figure 1.1). These individuals were under girded by and dependent upon a growing raft of churches, organisations and individual supporters.

**Figure 1.1 – Destinations of New Zealand Missionaries, 1869-1930<sup>5</sup>**



This phenomenon took place within a broader historical context. From the late eighteenth century onwards European Christianity was transmitted worldwide by a growing array of Protestant and Catholic missionary societies and orders. Kenneth Scott Latourette labelled the nineteenth century the ‘great century’ of Christian advance, in which Christianity gained ‘a far larger place in human history than at any previous time’.<sup>6</sup> During the nineteenth century a number of factors converged to make this ‘great advance’ possible. These included political democracy, economic surpluses, the ability to move more freely into other parts of the world, and ‘a sufficiently centralized or relaxed (or ineffective) style of church organisation for such energetic religious activity to be tolerated outside its formal structures’.<sup>7</sup> It also coincided with the colonising impulse of Western imperialism, and the expansion of both capitalism and modernisation throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See Appendices One, Four and Six for a detailed breakdown of missionary and applicant data.

<sup>5</sup> Extracted from the data sources listed in Appendix Four.

<sup>6</sup> Kenneth Scott Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 5, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1938, pp. 1, 195.

<sup>7</sup> Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History: Studies in the Transmission of Faith*, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1996, p. 259.

<sup>8</sup> Dana Robert, ‘The First Globalization: The Internationalization of the Protestant Missionary Movement Between the World Wars’, *IBMR*, 26:2 (2002), p. 50.

Christianity in colonial New Zealand was the product of at least two great nineteenth century forces. The first of these was the modern missionary movement itself. Christianity first came to New Zealand with the missionaries to the Maori. Missionaries and their families were the first effective European settlers, following on from the more itinerant whalers, sealers and traders of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Between 1814 and 1838 the personnel from three major missionary societies arrived and established themselves – two English (the Church Missionary Society in 1814 and the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1822) and one French (the Roman Catholic Marist Mission in 1838).<sup>9</sup> The internal transmission of Christianity, in this period, was accomplished as much by Maori agency as it was by the European missionaries. A large proportion of Maori adopted Christianity prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, and there were early signs of an evolving indigenous Maori church with access to parts of the Bible in Maori. Likewise New Zealand Christianity was also the product of the waves of mass migration from Europe that characterised most of the nineteenth century. With the advent of systematic Anglo-European settlement of New Zealand from the 1840s, it might well be argued that Christianity arrived for a second time. This time it came with the familiar denominational and cultural packaging characteristic of its British origins. By the late 1860s the six major denominations were Church of England (40%), Presbyterian (25%), Roman Catholic (14%), Wesleyan Methodist (8%), Baptist (2 %), and Congregational Independent (1.5%).<sup>10</sup> This pattern remained fairly constant for the period 1868-1926.

New Zealand Christianity owed its origins to this ‘great advance’ (of both Christianity and British migration), and then became further defined by its gradual participation in this ‘great advance’ to other parts of the world. Religious historians now find it helpful to differentiate between two streams of Christianity in New Zealand – the ‘Maori missionary’ stream and the ‘colonial settler’ stream. This did not mean that there was no interaction between the two streams. Rather it recognises that each had its own distinctive features, issues and development.<sup>11</sup> The focus of this thesis will be on the settler stream, for it was from this that a definable missionary movement emerged.

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<sup>9</sup> J. M. R. Owens, ‘New Zealand before Annexation’, in W. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 36-37.

<sup>10</sup> *Census of New Zealand*, 1871, p. x.

<sup>11</sup> Allan K. Davidson, ‘The Interaction of Missionary and Colonial Christianity in Nineteenth Century New Zealand’, *Studies in World Christianity*, 2:2 (1996), pp. 145-146.



## 1.2 Argument and Rationale

This thesis examines the extent to which a distinctive missionary movement developed amongst the Protestant churches of New Zealand. It argues that between 1868 and 1926 a pre-existing missionary consciousness evolved into an increasingly formalised, sophisticated, articulated and well supported movement for foreign missions. Furthermore this movement was both an integral part of the wider international movement, and an important way by which New Zealand's emerging religious identity was shaped in the late colonial period. Therefore this is an examination of the missionary phenomenon from the perspective of the New Zealand 'home base' (the sending and supporting churches), rather than an exhaustive examination of overseas missionary practice. As such the thesis focuses on five broad areas of concern. First, it seeks to outline and explain the precursors and contributory factors that stimulated and shaped the emerging movement. Second, it attempts to delineate and account for the movement's geographical, theological, denominational, financial, gendered and sociological contours. Third, it identifies a range of motivational factors and offers a contextual interpretation of these. Fourth, it delineates how this emerging movement was maintained and supported. Finally, it sets the movement within both its domestic and international historical and historiographical contexts.

The thesis is organised into two distinct groups. The first group of chapters is a chronological analysis of the missionary movement. Whilst periodisation is always a contentious issue, the entire period from 1868 to 1926 can be usefully divided into four phases, which are covered respectively in Chapters Two to Five. Each chapter includes a systematic attempt to outline representative developments, to understand the sociological and theological contours of the movement, and to explain or assess the movement's development within each set of decades. Chapter Two argues that the period between 1868 and 1889 was formative for the succeeding decades. Enduring patterns of support, theology and social composition can be traced to this period. Chapter Three argues that during the 1890s there was a substantial and identifiable rise in missionary enthusiasm that coincided with a range of domestic and international social and religious factors. Chapter Four argues that this growth was further maintained and consolidated between 1900 and 1918. Missionary enthusiasm was harnessed in increasingly sophisticated ways so that, by 1918, missionary awareness and support was

an integral feature of national and local church life. Chapter Five argues that the 1920s was a decade of further vigorous growth, in which the movement attained a central place in the life and objectives of the New Zealand churches. It began to reflect some of the diversity evident in the broader international missionary movement, whilst still retaining most of its earlier features.

A second group of chapters addresses thematic and interpretative issues and spans the entire period. Chapter Six argues that a range of domestic and international contributory factors significantly shaped the theology, spirituality and ethos of this movement. Whilst not exhaustive, they indicate the way in which a pervasive New Zealand missionary *mentalité* was formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Chapter Seven tackles the more problematic issue of missionary motivation. It argues that motivation for New Zealanders can best be understood by considering the intersection of personal missionary narratives with their wider historical, socio-religious and mental contexts, and it assesses the relative interpretative importance of theology, spirituality, gender and imperialism/colonialism. Chapter Eight examines the notion of missionary support. It argues that the movement had an increasingly wide base of financial support by the 1920s. It also argues that support was complexly nuanced with respect to a range of factors that included gender, age, region and denomination.

There are four qualifications that need to be made with respect to the conception and rationale of this thesis. In the first instance analysis is restricted to Protestant denominations and organisations, with no attempt to cover New Zealand Catholic involvement in the same period. This is both a function of time and resources (with respect to the necessary archival research) and of the structural differences between Protestant and Catholic missionary work.<sup>12</sup> The Catholic story needs to be better understood, but this is not the appropriate venue. Similarly, whilst the thesis examines Protestant mission, it does so via three representative denominations (the Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, and the Anglican New Zealand Church Missionary Society) and two representative non-denominational organisations (the Bolivian Indian Mission and the China Inland Mission). In each case the aim is not to provide an exhaustive history

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<sup>12</sup> Although it could be argued, with respect to issues like missionary motivation and practice, that there were many similarities between the two. See for example Eileen Duggan (ed.), *Blazing the Trail in the Solomons: Letters from the North Solomons of Rev. Emmet McHardy, S. M.*, Sydney: Dominion Publishing Co., 1935.

of these but, instead, to outline their origins and early development and to identify the features that were representative of the wider movement. Two obvious omissions are the Brethren and Methodist denominations. Whilst important, the decision was made to omit these due to the diffuse location of Brethren source material, time constraints, and because there has already been significant work done for the Methodist Church<sup>13</sup>. At the same time material from a range of other denominations and groups is considered where appropriate. In terms of overall periodisation the rationale is as follows. 1868 marked the beginning of missionary work in the New Hebrides by the Presbyterian churches. Apart from the earlier work by Methodist and Anglican missionaries in Tonga and the Solomon Islands, this was arguably the beginning of comprehensively organised overseas missionary activity by New Zealand churches (see Chapter 2.2). In 1926 a seminally ecumenical National Missionary Conference was held in Dunedin, which drew together delegates from a wide range of denominational and non-denominational groups. From it emerged the National Missionary Council that was affiliated to the International Missionary Council. This marked a new phase in national missionary awareness, and came in the context of changing international attitudes towards foreign missions. For the sake of continuity, however, statistical analysis has been continued up until 1930. Finally throughout the thesis there is an underlying commitment to comparative and contextual analysis and interpretation – in terms of the wider international missionary movement, late nineteenth and early twentieth century society and religion, and the self-referential ways in which the participants may have understood and constructed their identity through missionary participation and support.

### **1.3 Historiographical Context**

Whilst historiographical comment and dialogue is integrated within the body of the thesis, the following comments set the wider historiographical context. Mission history occupies a well-excavated niche within Anglo-American and continental European Catholic and Protestant scholarship. It has been less well developed in the Australasian context. Whilst populist literature has always been a part of the propaganda machinery of Western Christian mission, missiological scholarship itself first originated in

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<sup>13</sup> Daphne Beniston, 'New Zealand Women of the Methodist Solomons Mission 1922-1992', MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1992; Lisa Early "'If we win the Women": The Lives and Work of Methodist Missionary Women in the Solomon Islands, 1902-1942', PhD Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1998.

nineteenth-century Germany.<sup>14</sup> Eugene Stock's history of the Church Missionary Society marked a significant step forward in Anglo-American scholarship.<sup>15</sup> European continental scholarship was certainly one of the formative factors behind preparations for the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference. Two decades later Latourette's magisterial *oeuvre* signalled that the global growth of Christianity deserved serious historical analysis.<sup>16</sup> By 1970, however, mission history had arrived at something of an impasse. Stephen Neill noted that 'few, except the experts in missions themselves, have come to the point of taking this study seriously as a necessary part of the theological encyclopaedia'.<sup>17</sup> Nineteenth century suppositions about European growth and progress were now redundant. Mission history needed to be re-written from a range of new perspectives in keeping with the post-1945 era. Too much of the writing was hagiographical, unreflective, and written without consideration of wider contextual factors.<sup>18</sup> Even amongst Church historians mission history was largely marginal, remaining in 'the sphere of the enthusiasts, not of the main tradition. Consequently we know curiously little about some of the most crucial events and processes in Christian history'.<sup>19</sup> Since the 1960s mission history has, in many respects, launched out from the concerns noted above. While by no means exhaustive, the following is representative of recent trends in Anglo-American scholarship.

Firstly, scholarship has built upon Latourette's work of the 1930s. His objective was to understand Christianity's expansion in its various environmental and historical contexts. He held a dynamic view of world religions that he readily admitted was shaped by his own specific authorial location as an American Baptist.<sup>20</sup> Contextual issues have

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<sup>14</sup> Eric J. Sharpe, 'Reflections on Missionary Historiography', *IBMR*, 13:2 (1989), p. 78. A representative example is Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions from the Reformation to the Present Time*, 3<sup>rd</sup> English Edition, Edinburgh & London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1906.

<sup>15</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 4 vols, London: Church Missionary Society, 1899 and 1916.

<sup>16</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, 7 vols. This grand narrative approach was later mirrored in Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: Penguin Books, 1986.

<sup>17</sup> S. Neill, 'The History of Missions: An Academic Discipline', in G. J. Cuming (ed.), *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, Studies in Church History vol. 6, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970, p. 151.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Hinchcliff, 'The Selection and Training of Missionaries in the Early Nineteenth Century', in G. J. Cuming (ed.), *The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith*, pp. 131-135; M. Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, London: SCM Press, 1965; M. Warren, *Social History and Christian Mission*, London: SCM Press, 1967.

<sup>19</sup> Andrew Walls, 'The American Dimension in the History of the Missionary Movement', in J. A. Carpenter and W. R. Shenk (eds), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990, p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 1, pp. xvi-xvii.

remained high on the agenda. Max Warren has paid closer attention to political, economic, and social factors shaping the nineteenth century British missionary movement.<sup>21</sup> Andrew Walls has comprehensively analysed Christianity's historical interaction with the cultures and contexts that have received and shaped it. He challenges scholarship to avoid generalisations about the hypothesised link between Christian mission and cultural imperialism, highlighting the complexities involved.<sup>22</sup> A recent review argues that Wall's analysis reveals that mission history to be 'nothing less than the study of the emergence of a global fellowship, united in apostolic lineage ... and in race, culture, and language, and style as diverse as the world itself'.<sup>23</sup>

Secondly, there has been a greater degree of critical or reflective analysis by scholars from within the Christian community. This is exemplified by two relatively recent collections of essays examining aspects of the American and Australian missionary movements.<sup>24</sup> They are by no means exhaustive, but they are significant for at least two reasons - they argue that Christian missionary activity needs to be understood on its own terms, and that contextual factors were also important in missionary motivation, participation, and support. More recently Dana Robert has argued that by adopting many of the modern interpretative perspectives of historical scholarship – such as women's, gender and ethnic histories – American mission historiography from within the Christian community has been essentially liberated.<sup>25</sup>

Thirdly, scholars from a range of sub-disciplines are now treating mission history and missionary archives more seriously. This has deeply enriched our overall understanding of the missionary movement within the context of the late nineteenth and early

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<sup>21</sup> See footnote 16.

<sup>22</sup> Andrew Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*; Andrew Porter, '“Cultural Imperialism” and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914', *JICH*, 25:3 (1997), pp. 367-391; Andrew Porter, 'Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise Since the Late Eighteenth Century', *Church History*, 71:14 (2002), pp. 555-584; D. W. Treadgold, 'Christianity's Encounters with Non-western Cultures', *JRH*, 17:4 (1993), pp. 383-392.

<sup>23</sup> Lamin Sanneh and Grant Wacker, 'Christianity Appropriated: Conversion and the Intercultural Process', *Church History*, 68:4 (1999), pp. 954-961.

<sup>24</sup> J. A. Carpenter and W. R. Shenk (eds), *Earthen Vessels: American Evangelicals and Foreign Missions, 1880-1980*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1990; M. Hutchinson and G. Treloar (eds), *This Gospel Shall be Preached: Essays on the Australian Contribution to World Mission*, Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1998.

<sup>25</sup> Dana Robert, 'From Missions to Mission to Beyond Missions: The Historiography of American Protestant Foreign Missions Since World War II', *IBMR*, 18:4 (1994), pp. 146-162. Robert later showed how this could dynamically re-shape the writing of mission history. See *American Women in Mission: A Social History of their Thought and Practice*, Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1997.

twentieth centuries. Mission history has been given a greater degree of legitimacy and analytical power in the process. In particular missionary archives have been rediscovered<sup>26</sup> and used by scholars concerned with a range of research interests, including: the interaction of motivational factors and sociological background; gender and women's history; the process of imperial expansion and consolidation; the impact of the colonial process on the imperial metropole; and the intersection of race, class, gender, imperialism and colonialism.<sup>27</sup> Overall, the direction of scholarship since the 1960s is perceptively summed up in Eric Sharpe's contention that the historian of Christian needs to be primarily an interpreter:

to some extent a social, political, and economic historian; a geographer, ethnologist, and historian of religions; as well as a Christian historian in the more usual sense. Attention must be paid not only to the Christian message as delivered, but to the message as received.... Missionary intentions must be weighed against consequences, successes against failures. There are ironies, ambiguities, and tragedies to be taken into account.<sup>28</sup>

In some senses there is a well-established tradition of mission history in New Zealand. The activities of British and French missionaries during the early and mid nineteenth century have been a major focus of historical writing and debate since Harrison Wright's landmark work on culture contact in 1959.<sup>29</sup> Historical works have been both analytical and biographical in approach, written from a range of perspectives,<sup>30</sup> and have added depth and richness to both our understanding of culture contact and of the process of religious transmission, adoption and adaptation. The same cannot so easily be said of New Zealand's foreign missionary movement from the later nineteenth century onwards. In 1991 Allan Davidson noted critically that 'historians ... have taken little note of either the contribution made by the New Zealand Church to overseas mission, or the impact of missionaries who have worked overseas and their supporters on church and society in New Zealand'.<sup>31</sup> Davidson's article programmatically outlined a number of areas worthy of further research. These include: an analysis of the

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<sup>26</sup> Kevin Ward and Brian Stanley (eds), *Testimony and Transformation: The Church Missionary Society and World Mission, 1799-1999*, London: Curzon Press, 1999, pp. 3-5; Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996.

<sup>27</sup> The literature is increasingly voluminous and is cited specifically in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

<sup>28</sup> Eric J. Sharpe, 'Reflections on Missionary Historiography', p. 76.

<sup>29</sup> Harrison Wright, *New Zealand 1769-1840: Early Years of Western Contact*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959.

<sup>30</sup> J. M. R. Owens, 'New Zealand before Annexation', pp. 36-39, 516-519; Robert Glen (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 1824-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992.

<sup>31</sup> Allan K. Davidson, 'The New Zealand Overseas Missionary Contribution: The Need for Further Research', in Allan K. Davidson and Godfrey Nicholson (eds), *With All Humility and Gentleness*, Auckland: St John's College, 1991, p. 41.

differences and similarities between mission agencies with respect to theology, support, and strategy; changes in theology and practice, and the influence of individual leaders on these; the role and place of women and of missionary children; the contributions of missionaries to places they worked in; and the reflex impact of missionaries and missions on churches in New Zealand.

There is, however, an existing body of New Zealand literature that would now be enriched by critical, contextual and comparative studies. This literature tends to fall into four categories. The first category encompasses organisational histories that were often written for centennials or anniversaries.<sup>32</sup> The earliest of these works date from the first decades of the twentieth century, indicating the heightened profile that missionary work had attained by that stage.<sup>33</sup> Denominational histories, to varying extents, briefly cover aspects of missionary involvement. Equivalent publications are more sporadic for the various non-denominational missionary organisations.<sup>34</sup>

The second category encompasses a wide variety of autobiographies, biographies, personal narratives and recollections dating from the early twentieth century onwards. These include a mixture of pure biography and narrative designed more to provide information or devotional inspiration than to help people engage critically with the issues. Denominational publishing houses raised the profile of such works. Missionaries from the non-denominational groups in this period often published their own stories.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Kenneth Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually: Whaatoro Tonu Atu: A History of the New Zealand Church Missionary Society, 1892-1972*, Christchurch: The author, 1972; C. E. Fox, *Lord of the Southern Isles: Being the Story of the Anglican Mission in Melanesia, 1849-1949*, London: A. R. Mowbray & Co. Limited, 1958; Stan E. Edgar and M. J. Eade, *Towards the Sunrise: The Centenary History of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society*, Auckland: NZBHS for the NZBMS, 1985; J. Stan Murray, *A Century of Growth: Presbyterian Overseas Mission Work, 1869-1969*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1969; George Carter, *A Family Affair: A Brief Survey of New Zealand Methodism's Involvement in Mission Overseas*, Proceedings Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, vol. 28, Numbers 3 and 4, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society (NZ), 1973; George Trew (ed.), *Looking Back; Forging Ahead: A Century of Participation in Overseas Mission by New Zealand Brethren Assemblies*, 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Palmerston North: Missionary Services New Zealand, 1996.

<sup>33</sup> Alexander Don, *Light in Dark Isles: A Jubilee Record and Study of the New Hebrides Mission of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Dunedin: Foreign Missions Committee, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1918; H. H. Driver, *Our Work for God in India: A Brief History of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society*, Dunedin: H.H. Driver, 1914; Eugene Stock, *The Story of the New Zealand Mission*, London: Church Missionary Society, 1913.

<sup>34</sup> Two representative examples are: Marcus L. Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1964*, Sydney: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1965; and Margarita Allan Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit: A History of the Bolivian Indian Mission*, New Jersey: Harrington Press, 1958.

<sup>35</sup> For example D. N. MacDiarmid, *Ship Ahoy and Hallelujah! or From Fo'c'sle to Pulpit*, Kerikeri: The Author, 1968; Alf Roke, *They Went Forth*, Auckland: Alf Roke, 2003.

More recent biographies have attempted to place the individual stories within their wider domestic and international contexts.<sup>36</sup> Despite their analytical shortcomings these works are rich in detail, useful in terms of understanding motivation, and significant in profiling the important role of women in the missionary movement.

The third category encompasses university theses. A number of narrative based theses emerged from the 1940s, representative amongst which were works on the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society and early missionary work in the New Hebrides.<sup>37</sup> In the 1960s and 1970s a handful of research essays tackled such topics as the origins and development of non-denominational missionary groups, and the home base policies and structure of southern Presbyterian work in the New Hebrides.<sup>38</sup> Since 1990 a further batch of theses has emerged which reflect current historiographical concerns – particularly women's history, Pacific history and culture contact, and the interface between Europeans and twentieth century nationalist movements.<sup>39</sup> They use the conceptual and analytical language of feminist, gender and postcolonial studies, and are more or less aware of the theological factors important to the missionary movement. They have engaged extensively with existing New Zealand mission archives, and have helped to set mission history on the agenda for wider historical research.

The fourth category encompasses works that have made some attempt to reflect more widely, and sometimes academically, on New Zealand's overseas missionary involvement. Early attempts at this were represented by two small volumes: one by the Rev. Alan Brash assessing the activity of a range of New Zealand missionary organisations, and the other summing up the origins and growth of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union up until 1939 by ex-missionary Alice Henderson.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> For example Tom Newnham, *He Mingqing: The Life of Kathleen Hall*, Beijing & Auckland: New World Press & Graphic Publications, 1992; Gordon Ogilvie, *Little Feet in a Big Room: Frances Ogilvie of China*, Christchurch: Shoal Bay Press, 1994.

<sup>37</sup> E. P. Y. Simpson, 'A History of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', MA Thesis in History, Canterbury University College, 1948; G. S. Parsonson, 'Early Protestant Missions in the New Hebrides, 1839-1861', MA Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1941.

<sup>38</sup> R. L. Roberts, 'The Growth of Inter-Denominational Mission Societies in New Zealand', MA Dissertation in History, University of Auckland, 1977; V. L. Marshall, 'The Policy of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Synod of Otago and Southland in relation to the New Hebrides 1867-1901', MA Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1967.

<sup>39</sup> Again these are cited in the appropriate sections of the following chapters.

<sup>40</sup> Alan A. Brash (ed.), *How Did the Church Get There? A Study of the Missionary Activity of the Churches and Missionary Societies Belonging to the National Missionary Council of New Zealand*, Christchurch & Dunedin: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1948; Alice Henderson, *Women's Work for Missions*:



Matthew Dalzell has provided an example of the kind of comparative analysis that is now needed, in his trans-organisational study of New Zealanders working in republican China.<sup>41</sup> Yet, as Davidson noted, such works have been few and far between. It is only more recently that these have begun to appear, raising many of the questions still to be answered in the New Zealand context.<sup>42</sup> Mission history has much to offer the maturing sub-discipline of Australasian religious history,<sup>43</sup> as well as wider antipodean historical scholarship.<sup>44</sup> This has already been demonstrated through recent thesis research. Furthermore whilst the 'principle of nationality' has partially dominated New Zealand historiography for much of the twentieth century, it may be that analysis of missionary involvement also fits more usefully into alternative historiographical paradigms such as Peter Gibbons' notion of a 'world system archipelago' - in which the emphasis is on New Zealand's global links rather than on national identity *per se*.<sup>45</sup>

#### 1.4 Methodology and Terminology

This thesis is primarily a work of religious history. At the same time it is informed both by the social sciences and by wider scholarship concerning the history of New Zealand, women and imperialism. As such this approach reflects the historical and contextual parameters in which the New Zealand missionary movement was set, the historiographical emphases highlighted above, and the academic background and location of the author. It attempts to understand the early foreign missionary movement across the spectrum of denominations and organisations, by taking a broadly

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*The Story of the Beginnings and Growth of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union of New Zealand, 1905-1939*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1939.

<sup>41</sup> Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China, 1912-1949*, Auckland: The University of Auckland New Zealand Asia Institute, 1995.

<sup>42</sup> Allan K. Davidson, "'Enlarging Our Hearts": The Founding of the New Zealand Church Missionary Association', *Stimulus*, 7:2 (1999), pp 23-27; Peter Lineham, 'Missions in the Consciousness of the New Zealand Churches', *Stimulus*, 7:2 (1999), pp. 33-39; Peter J. Lineham, 'Missionary Motivation in New Zealand', *The Proceedings of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Mission Studies Conference*, November (2000).

<sup>43</sup> Recent overviews of New Zealand and Australasian Christian history have helpfully set mission in a wider set of contexts: Ian Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001; Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa: A History of Church and Society in New Zealand*, Wellington: The New Zealand Education for Ministry Board, 1991; Stuart Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996.

<sup>44</sup> It has become somewhat commonplace for religious historians to comment upon the neglect of religion in wider New Zealand historiography. For example: Ian Breward, 'Religion and New Zealand Society', *NZJH*, 13:2 (1979), p. 139; Jane Simpson, 'Women, Religion and Society in New Zealand: A Literature Review', *JRH*, 18:2 (1994), pp. 198-199, 215-216.

<sup>45</sup> Erik Olssen, 'Where to From Here? Reflections on the Twentieth-century Historiography of Nineteenth-century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 26:1 (1992), p. 70; Peter Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity: Reconsidering New Zealand History', *NZJH*, 37:1 (2003), p. 41.

comparative approach based in representative primary sources and interacting with a wide body of secondary literature. In these respects it is an exploratory work that steers a precarious course between the general and the specific, and between the verifiable and the conjectural. Whilst it substantively answers many questions, it also raises a host of others by virtue of its broad approach. It aims to keep clear of the kinds of reductionist conclusions that so easily arise from such a broad approach, but acknowledges that some conclusions, at this stage, must remain tentative.

There is a substantial corpus of relevant primary source material. Whilst comments on the use of these sources are made in context throughout the thesis, the following sets the broader picture. Comprehensive official records (committee minutes, annual reports, finance records, correspondence files and official publications) still exist, and these have been systematically and thoroughly researched.<sup>46</sup> Applicant material has proved to be a rich source of sociological, theological and motivational data. Where it exists this material has been thoroughly and extensively worked through. There is also a rich base of parish or congregational archival material, which has been more selectively mined. Such material is easier to locate for the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations but, even so, much of it is widely distributed in regional archives and remains largely untapped in terms of its potential for understanding the micro-level dynamics of missionary support and enthusiasm. There is also a rich source of information in local and regional newspapers, in which there was regular reporting and comment on missionary related topics and events. Sociological, motivational and personnel data has also been found in a range of memoirs, diaries and published autobiographical and biographical works. In the latter stages of the research it became clear that more effort should have gone into looking for and using privately held material (letters, diaries, personal reminiscences, and photographs). The location and identification of such material, especially for the 1920s onwards, is a crucial next step in the research process. Likewise, because of the extensive involvement of New Zealanders in overseas-based organisations, there is significant off shore archival material – some of which has been identified and used in the process of researching this thesis, and much that still needs to be identified. The initiation of the MUNDUS web-based gateway<sup>47</sup>, linking and

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<sup>46</sup> Note, however, that significant South Island CIM Council records no longer exist, resulting in a somewhat truncated view of the organisation's operations prior to 1939. See Appendix Two.

<sup>47</sup> [www.mundus.ac.uk/database.html](http://www.mundus.ac.uk/database.html)

detailing British missionary archives, is a major step forward in this process. So too is the progressive consolidation of Anglo-American missionary organisation records (manuscript, bound volumes and microfilm) by the Yale Divinity School Library.

Quantitative analysis has been integrated throughout the thesis, particularly with respect to missionary and applicant statistics, sociological data, and financial material. The emphasis is on simple data analysis and representation. The main methods employed are descriptive statistics (mean, median, mode and range), percentages and percentage change, and the nominal ranking of data. Where the mean seems anomalously high or low the median is also used, as this is more often a more accurate measure of central tendency and dispersion. This analysis has then been augmented, where appropriate, with such techniques as chi-square analysis, moving averages, and semi-logarithmic graphing. Where the data for the sociological categories is incomplete then the analysis is based on sample statistics, as opposed to 'whole population' statistics. The nature of each sample's dimensions is given in Appendix Four, as is an outline of the raw data, and an explanation of chi-square analysis is given in Appendix Five.

Likewise textual analysis has been employed, particularly with respect to analysing the theological and spiritual contours of both the movement itself and of missionary motivation. This was not an attempt at a formal content analysis of textual data. Rather it was a thorough and systematic sieving of words, phrases and imagery from a wide range of documents that, amongst other things, sought to differentiate language with respect to gender and denomination. The arrangement of this data into a ranked format then allowed a more qualitative form of analysis to be employed. With respect to missionary theology, data was ranked into categories that were not necessarily mutually exclusive. That is, phrases fell into one or more of these categories from which a number of theological clusters were then identified and explicated.

Throughout the text of the thesis two particular terms have been used without qualification or explanation – discourse and *mentalité*. Discourse is multi-layered in meaning, and in current literature may be philosophically and semantically understood in a variety of ways. At its simplest, in the context of this thesis, it acts as a form of shorthand for the ways in which contemporaries both conceived of and talked about their world. More particularly its usage reflects the notion that a discourse refers to:

historically specific systems of meaning which form the identities of subjects and objects. At this lower level of abstraction, discourses are concrete systems of social relations and practices that are intrinsically political, as their formulation is an act of radical institution which involves the construction of antagonisms and the drawing of political frontiers between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. The construction of discourses thus involves the exercise of power and a consequent structuring of the relations between different social agents. Moreover, discourses are contingent and historical constructions, which are always vulnerable to those political forces excluded in their production, as well as the dislocatory effects of events beyond their control.<sup>48</sup>

The second term, *mentalité*, is derived from the post-World War Two French Annaliste School of historical thought, reflecting that school's 'interest in the social composition of the past' and 'the drive to study the mental structures which more or less characterised an age or a given situation'.<sup>49</sup> The concept itself involves an emphasis upon 'collective attitudes', on 'unspoken or unconscious assumptions, on perception [and] on conscious thoughts or elaborated theories', and a 'concern with the structure of beliefs ... with categories, with metaphors and symbols, with how people think as well as what they think'. The French historian Lucien Febvre coined the phrase '*outillage mental*' (or mental toolkit) to explain the concept.<sup>50</sup> In the French language *mentalité* can also be defined as '*état d'esprit*' (state of mind) or '*manière de penser*' (way of thinking). An English rendering would be 'world-view'.

The use of both *mentalité* and discourse reflects two underlying assumptions in this thesis. The first is that language is important in the way people conceive of and construct historical reality. The use of language, in any given historical context, reflects nuances in perception, feelings of personal and social vulnerability, and positions of power or weakness. By pursuing the 'social logic'<sup>51</sup> of language within given contexts, we are better able to understand these positions and to meaningfully negotiate our way through the 'foreign' landscape of the past.<sup>52</sup> Therefore, secondly, one of the tasks of

<sup>48</sup> David Howarth, *Discourse*, Buckingham: Open University Press, 2000, pp. 8-10.

<sup>49</sup> Jean-Pierre Hérubel, *Annales Historiography and Theory: A Selective and Annotated Bibliography*, Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> Peter Burke, 'Strengths and Weaknesses of the History of Mentalities', *History of European Ideas*, 7:5 (1986), p. 439. Febvre's terminology is quoted in Patrick Hutton, 'The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History', *History and Theory*, XX (1981), p. 242.

<sup>51</sup> Gabrielle Spiegel argues that the notion of the 'social logic of the text' means that 'we are capable of recovering some sense of the material world of the past, a belief that in turn commits us to at least a partial acceptance of language's instrumental capacity to convey information about historical forms of life, for without that capacity we could never know in even a partial sense anything about history'. Gabrielle Spiegel, 'History and Postmodernism', in Keith Jenkins (ed.), *The Postmodern History Reader*, London and New York: Routledge, 1997, p. 266.

<sup>52</sup> Based on David Lowenthal's notion that 'the past is a foreign country'. David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

the historian is not 'to show that belief systems are ridiculous, but to discover why they were not ridiculous once'.<sup>53</sup> Various aspects of past missionary thinking and activity do not sit easily amongst the sentiments, sensibilities and sensitivities of the early twenty-first century. At the heart of *l'histoire de mentalité* is an attempt to internally excavate the apparent strangeness of these modes of thinking and living. It seems well suited to informing an understanding of the missionary movement and of the various shades of discourse that emerged.

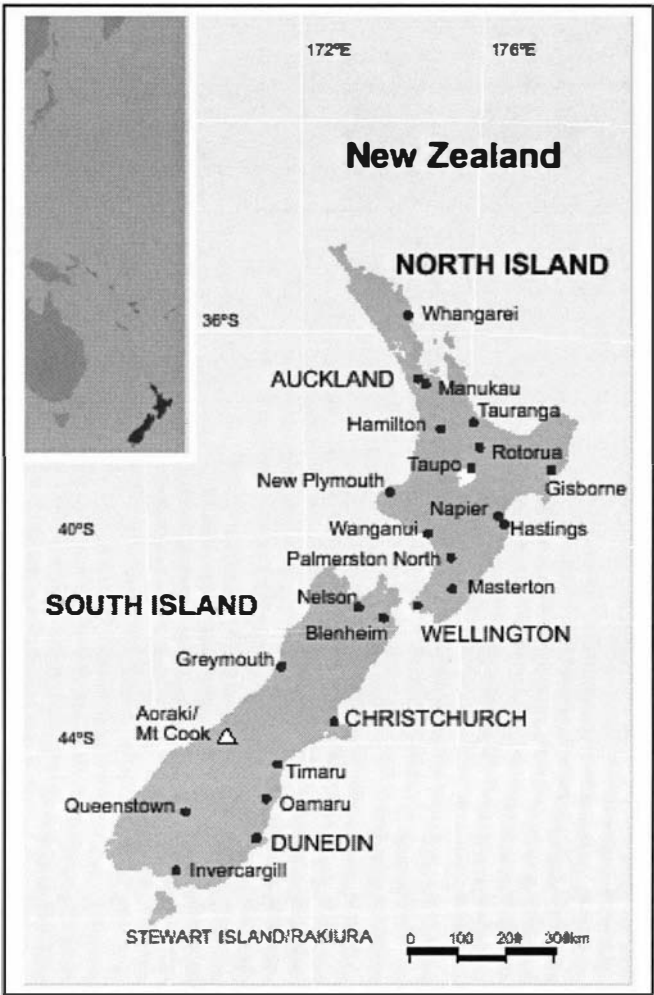
Finally the way that this thesis has approached its subject material has been influenced by recent scholarship in women's, feminist, and gender history. At its simplest it aims, among other things, to place the details of women's involvement (as thinkers, supporters and participants) squarely and humanly into the foreground of the story. This is not meant to marginalise men's involvement so much as to redress the historical and historiographical gender imbalance for the New Zealand context. More complexly it aims to differentiate, as much as possible, between male and female constructions, representations, and experiences of the missionary phenomenon. Gender is conceived of, in the words of American historian Joan Scott, as 'a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes' and as 'a primary way of signifying relationships of power'.<sup>54</sup> Therefore gender differentiation in the missionary experience is not relegated to a specialist chapter, but its discussion is integrated throughout the thesis as much as possible. This reflects a personal conviction, on the part of the author, that not to write about the missionary movement in this fashion would be to produce an *oeuvre* that is lacking in scholarly and contextual integrity, and qualitatively impoverished.

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<sup>53</sup> J. G. A. Pocock, 'Tangata Whenua and Enlightenment Anthropology', *NZJH*, 26:1 (1992), p. 29.

<sup>54</sup> Joan W. Scott, 'Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis', *American Historical Review*, 91 (1986), p. 1067.

Figure 1.2 – New Zealand’s Main Urban Centres<sup>55</sup>



<sup>55</sup> Outline map located at [www.statisticsnz.govt.nz/yearbook2000/](http://www.statisticsnz.govt.nz/yearbook2000/)

## Chapter Two

### The Stirrings of a Missionary Consciousness, 1868-1889

#### 2.1 Introduction

In 1881 the Rev John Inglis, Scottish Reformed Presbyterian missionary in the New Hebrides, wrote a treatise on Christian mission. Inglis was well known in New Zealand initially as a missionary to Maori in the lower North Island, then as a parish minister and, later, a missionary speaker. Between 1852 and 1876 he worked alongside the Nova Scotian Presbyterian missionary John Geddie, on the island of Aneityum.<sup>1</sup> His small treatise (just forty pages) traced both the theology and history of Christian mission, as he understood these, before turning to a closer consideration of missionary activity and results in the South Pacific. Perhaps typical of the late nineteenth-century missionary discourse, his view of the future was entirely optimistic, with an expectation that ‘the heathen inhabitants of all those islands shall be raised from their present state of ignorance and degradation, to enjoy all the advantages of pure and undefiled religion, of scriptural education, and of general civilisation’.<sup>2</sup> In the context of this optimistic future he ascribed a particularly prominent role to the churches of Australia and New Zealand.

Since the Australasian colonies have increased so largely in population and wealth, a strong missionary spirit has been developed; and all the missions being supported ... in Britain are being more or less taken over by the churches in the Colonies ... so that the time is evidently not far distant when all these missions south of the line will be supported by the Churches in Australia and New Zealand.... So there is every likelihood that the claims of those woefully degraded but deeply interesting natives will be fully acknowledged, and their necessities carefully considered by the colonial Churches.<sup>3</sup>

Some of this was more prophetic than it was descriptive of the status quo. New Zealand’s missionary movement gained some of its early impetus from British and Australian initiatives. Likewise missionary activity in the South Pacific would continue to loom large in the focus of New Zealand Anglican, Methodist and Presbyterian churches in particular. Inglis, however, was somewhat over-optimistic in ascribing a ‘strong missionary spirit’ to New Zealand in this early period, or in thinking that the Australasian colonial churches could soon wholly own South Pacific work.

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<sup>1</sup> J. R. Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1940*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1940, pp. 272, 274, 407; Darrell Whiteman, ‘John Inglis’, in Gerald Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, New York: MacMillan Reference USA, 1998, p. 318. This branch of Presbyterianism tended to be more obscure and conservative. Yet Inglis’ later views on mission were more mainstream because of his immersion in the international Presbyterian missionary community in the New Hebrides.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. John Inglis, *Thesis-The Doctrine of Christian Missions, with Special Reference to the South Sea Islands*, Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb, 1881, pp. 39-40, PCANZ Archives, Dunedin.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid*, p. 32.

This chapter argues that in the period up to 1889 we find the stirrings of a missionary consciousness that would find fuller expression and support from the 1890s onwards. The support structures, theology and sociological patterns of the movement had their roots in this period. It is probably an overstatement to suggest that there was a strongly developed ‘missionary spirit’ evident among church people and clergy up to 1889. It may be more realistic to argue that a missionary consciousness existed as a sub-structure, as a partially developed *mentalité*, in the growing awareness of what it meant for the colonial churches to be Christian in this initial period. The chapter will address three questions. First, to what extent did a recognisable missionary movement begin to emerge by 1889? Second, to what extent was this period indicative of later patterns of missionary thought, support and involvement? Third, how do we account for the missionary sentiments and involvement that characterised this early period? The chapter will focus on missionary beginnings as witnessed in the Melanesian Mission, the genesis of the missionary work of the New Zealand Baptist and Presbyterian Churches, the discernible sociological and theological themes and trends of the period, and the likely sources of this emerging consciousness.

## 2.2 Missionary Beginnings in New Zealand

In some ways New Zealand’s foreign missionary beginnings were ambiguous. The first New Zealand missionaries were arguably those Maori helpers who accompanied the first Methodist missionaries from Australia and New Zealand to Tonga in 1822 and 1827. Similarly the Rev. Nathaniel and Mrs Turner, formerly Methodist missionaries on the Hokianga Harbour, were also the first New Zealand missionaries due to their residence in New Zealand prior to their appointment to Tonga.<sup>4</sup> The intricate links between Australasian Methodists and the South Pacific, whilst reflecting organisational structures, also indicated the early existence of missionary consciousness or awareness.<sup>5</sup>

New Zealand’s first recognisable missionary venture overseas was the Melanesian Mission of the Church of England, in the Solomon Islands and the northern New Hebrides. As David Hilliard so aptly puts it ‘Victorian Anglicanism entered Melanesia not as the result of an upsurge in missionary interest within the Church of England, but through the imagination and restless energy of one man: George Augustus Selwyn, first

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<sup>4</sup> George C. Carter, *A Family Affair*, pp. 3, 10-17.

<sup>5</sup> See also Allan K. Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p. 60.



Bishop of New Zealand'.<sup>6</sup> Selwyn placed a high value on both the missionary task of the Church and on New Zealand's unique geographical location in the South Pacific. Missionary duty was an essential ingredient of the Church. Selwyn argued that the colonial Church had a special obligation to pass on the Christian Gospel to its geographical neighbours, irrespective of how young or ill-resourced the colonial Church might be.<sup>7</sup> The shape of this missionary task became clearer for Selwyn during his first South Pacific voyage in 1847-1848. His return from a second voyage in 1848, with five young male students from the Loyalty Islands for St John's College in Auckland, perhaps marked the beginning of the Melanesian Mission proper.<sup>8</sup> A second milestone, some thirteen years later, came with the consecration of John Patteson as the first Bishop of the Missionary Diocese of Melanesia in 1861.

Constitutionally the Melanesian Mission was an institutional part of the Church of England in New Zealand. Missionary dioceses were given formal recognition in the 1857 Constitution.<sup>9</sup> Therefore it was expected that the Melanesian Mission would be the major missionary focus of the Australasian Anglican Church. The reality was somewhat different. As long as St John's College, in Auckland, remained the mission's headquarters and educational focus there would be a higher profile for the mission in New Zealand. Hilliard suggests that initial support for the Mission came mostly from 'an elite circle of friends and devotees of Selwyn's centred on St John's'.<sup>10</sup> Financial support in the early period was minimal and narrowly based. The relocation of the Mission's headquarters to Norfolk Island in 1866-1867, and a lack of visiting speakers on the Mission's behalf, did not help to keep its profile prominently before Church members. The first such speaker to tour the country, the Rev. Charles Bice, did not appear until 1875.<sup>11</sup> Financial support did not grow significantly until at least 1890. Subscriptions and donations from the six New Zealand dioceses in 1880 amounted to £813, just sixteen per cent of the total given. This had increased to £1,432, or thirty-six

<sup>6</sup> David Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942*, St. Lucia, Queensland: Queensland University Press, 1978, p. 1. See also David Hilliard, 'Bishop G. A. Selwyn and the Melanesian Mission', *NZJH*, 4:2 (1970), pp. 120-137.

<sup>7</sup> A. K. Davidson, 'An "Interesting Experiment": The Founding of the Melanesian Mission', in Allan K. Davidson (ed.), *The Church Of Melanesia, 1849-1999: 1999 Selwyn Lectures*, Auckland: The College of St. John the Evangelist, 2000, p. 19; Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Davidson, 'An Interesting Experiment', pp. 14-15.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid*, p. 32.

<sup>10</sup> This is also the impression gained from Janet Crawford, "'Christian Wives for Christian Lads": Aspects of Women's Work in the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1877', in Allan K. Davidson and Godfrey Nicholson (eds), *With All Humility and Gentleness*, pp. 51-66.

<sup>11</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, pp. 12-13, 43-45; *Evangelist*, 7 1875, p. 13.

per cent of the share, by 1890 (although this was inflated by a large one-off special donation of £500). The lion's share of the money still came from England.<sup>12</sup> In the 1880s Anglican financial support was further fragmented, with financial support also going to missionary work in South America,<sup>13</sup> and to the Church Missionary Society.

Missionary personnel were also predominantly of English origin until the 1890s. The Rev. John and Mrs Sarah Palmer and the Rev. Joseph Atkin were the first ordained New Zealanders to join the Mission, in the 1860s. New Zealand workers did not join the Mission in larger numbers until at least the 1890s.<sup>14</sup> England was still the heartland of the Melanesian Mission's support and recruitment. It would be so until the end of the nineteenth century. To trace the origins of what might be conceived of as a missionary movement more genuinely rooted in New Zealand soil, we need to turn to the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches.

### 2.3 New Zealand Presbyterian Foreign Missions, 1868-1889

Early Presbyterian settlement of New Zealand followed the wider settlement patterns of the early colonial period. Congregations were established in most of the main centres by the mid 1850s. The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland had also established a Maori Mission in the Manawatu from 1843. Peter Matheson notes that Presbyterianism came to New Zealand as a settler faith, in which 'evangelical enthusiasm was ... yoked to entrepreneurial restlessness, a good recipe for pioneering survival'.<sup>15</sup> By the mid-1850s, with the establishment of a number of regional presbyteries, this 'evangelical enthusiasm' was slowly focussed upon the foreign missionary task of the Church.

At its inaugural meeting, in 1856, the Auckland Presbytery unanimously affirmed the importance of Christian mission. The task of Christian mission was at once a 'duty of the Church of Christ', an act of 'obedience' and 'gratitude to God', and a task that was

<sup>12</sup> 'Subscription List of the Melanesian Mission for the Year 1880', *Church Gazette*, Supplement, April 1881, pp. VIII-XII; 'Subscription List of the Melanesian Mission for the Year 1890', *Church Gazette*, Supplement, April 1891, pp. XII-XVIII.

<sup>13</sup> *Church Gazette*, April 1881, p. 34.

<sup>14</sup> Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen*, p. 11; W. P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973, p. 146; *New Zealand Herald*, 1 November 1871, pp. 4-5; 'List of Melanesian Missionaries Compiled at the London Office of the Mission, From Commencement of the Mission to Date, June 1971', MS Papers 1155, Alexander Turnbull Library.

<sup>15</sup> In Dennis McEldowney (ed.), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa: The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand, 1840-1990*, Wellington: Director of Communication for the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1990, pp. 21-24, 38; Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, pp. 69-73.

integral to the Church's 'spiritual welfare'. This statement anticipated a time when the New Zealand Church would be more directly involved in foreign missions, and to that end recommended 'to all the ministers in their public instruction, to bring the importance of Missions before the minds of their people, and endeavour by all commendable means to encourage a missionary spirit among them'.<sup>16</sup> It was perhaps a sign of the limited nature of the Presbytery's time and energies, however, that this ideal was not turned into reality overnight. In 1857 a resolution was passed to correspond with the other New Zealand presbyteries, to explore their willingness to 'co-operate with this Presbytery in any Missionary undertaking, and what part of the foreign field of labour they might all agree to occupy'. This consultation took two years before the New Hebrides were chosen. The New Hebrides was the obvious choice for at least three reasons. Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of Nova Scotia and, later, the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland had been working in the southern New Hebrides group since 1848, and would have been known to some in New Zealand.<sup>17</sup> In 1852, the Rev John Inglis, who had been in New Zealand since 1844, joined the Mission and created a more personal link between the Mission and the colonial churches. In the early 1860s, after major disruptions caused by measles and the murder of two missionaries, the New Hebrides Mission began to look to Australia and New Zealand for support and growth.<sup>18</sup>

In 1860, the Auckland Presbytery was invited by the New Hebrides Mission to participate in the 'Evangelizing of the South Pacific Islands'.<sup>19</sup> This was agreed to at the joint conference of Presbyterian churches (1861) and the first General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (1862). The Conference of 1861 agreed:

That in order to foster and develope [sic] the principles of an extended Christian sympathy, it is expedient to select and occupy a Foreign Mission field – that some of the islands of the New Hebrides group be fixed upon as affording the most eligible sphere of operations, and that, as soon as possible, one or more missionaries should be appointed.<sup>20</sup>

By the General Assembly of 1863 enough public interest had been shown, and along with it enough money raised, that the Assembly approved the process of selecting and

<sup>16</sup> 15 October 1856, Minute Book of the Presbytery of Auckland, 14 October 1856-7 July 1869, MS 1501.P928, Box 1, Auckland Institute and Museum Library, Auckland.

<sup>17</sup> For a fuller treatment of the early New Hebrides Mission, see Parsonson, 'Early Protestant Missions in the New Hebrides, 1839-1861'.

<sup>18</sup> W. P. Morrell, *Britain in the Pacific Islands*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 93-98.

<sup>19</sup> 3 October 1860, Minute Book of the Presbytery of Auckland, 14 October 1856-7 July 1869.

<sup>20</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1861-1930, 20 November 1861, p. 14.

appointing New Zealand's first Presbyterian missionary.<sup>21</sup> That process was complicated by a lack of local applicants and a denominational split. The 1866 Assembly recommended either recruiting from Great Britain or adopting one of the missionaries already working in the New Hebrides.<sup>22</sup> The split between the northern and southern Presbyterian Churches (1866-1901) effectively created two parallel structures – the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (with its General Assembly and committees), and the Synod of Otago and Southland. Both appointed their own Foreign Missions Committees, and both continued to aspire to appoint missionaries to the New Hebrides, thus compounding the shortage of local missionary recruits.

A number of developments further raised the profile of mission for New Zealand Presbyterians. Both the northern and southern Church appointed their first missionaries in 1867-1868, sending them out in 1869. The northern Church chose and appointed the Rev. William Watt, a young Scot recently ordained into the Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and his wife Agnes. The southern Church chose and appointed the Rev. Peter Milne, also a Scot but this time a newly ordained minister of the Free Church of Scotland, and his wife Mary.<sup>23</sup> Each spent a number of months in New Zealand speaking to various audiences prior to their departure in 1869.<sup>24</sup> New Zealand also had its first visit from the New Hebrides Mission ship the *Dayspring*. The ship spent considerable time in each of Dunedin, Wellington and Auckland, leaving with the Watts again in late March 1869. The Rev. John Inglis accompanied the ship and spoke widely on behalf of the Mission. He was perhaps one of the first of many visiting missionary speakers who would become commonplace from the 1890s.<sup>25</sup> The southern Synod also agreed to a home mission venture amongst the many Chinese immigrants who had come to the south with the Gold Rushes of the 1860s. This venture brought a segment of the Presbyterian Church potentially closer to the 'oriental other'. Longer term it was the progenitor of the later Presbyterian Canton Villages Mission in southern China.

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<sup>21</sup> PCNZ PGA 1863, p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> PCNZ PGA 1866, p. 18.

<sup>23</sup> 'William Watt' and 'Peter Milne', Register of Missionaries, Deaconesses and Missionaries, [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz). In this early stage both the PCNZ and the Synod sought male, ordained missionaries. Therefore the best solution was to seek recruits from Britain or to adopt British missionaries already in the New Hebrides. Such recruits were still all too thin on the ground locally.

<sup>24</sup> Murray, *A Century of Growth*, pp. 11-14; OW, 19 June 1869, p. 7; *Evangelist*, 1:7 (1869), pp. 21-24.

<sup>25</sup> *Evangelist*, 1:3 (1869), pp. 7-10; 17 March 1869, Minutes of the Missions Committee of the Synod of Otago and Southland, 1867-1880, Series 1, PCANZ Archive, Dunedin.

From 1869 to 1889, and indeed on into the 1890s, New Zealand's Presbyterian missionary work and awareness developed slowly. Underpinning it, for both segments of the Church, were the respective Foreign Missions Committees. Each was a working committee of the General Assembly/Synod, reporting to those bodies on an annual basis and executing the decisions reached at the annual meetings. Business revolved around missionary recruitment, appointment, and finance raising; keeping contact with the missionaries; and keeping the Presbyterian public aware of missionary life, issues and needs.<sup>26</sup> The time given to committee work by members was discretionary and additional to other demands. The position of convenor was non-stipendiary and often demanding – perhaps one best suited to such enthusiasts for the missionary cause as the Rev. William Bannerman, convenor of the Synod's Committee from 1872 until 1901. The lack of a paid administrative secretary may account for the modest growth in missionary numbers into the 1890s. The southern Church added two more couples – the Rev. Oscar Michelsen in 1878 (joined by his new wife Jane Langmuir of Dunedin in 1880), and the Rev. Thomas Smaill, from Scotland in 1889 (and his new wife Helen Grant of Leeston in 1890). The northern Church added one more couple in 1885 – the Rev. Charles and Mrs Flora Murray of Scotland.<sup>27</sup> Reports constantly lamented the lack of personnel or inadequate finances. The recruitment process was slowed down even further because both committees sought missionaries from Great Britain. Even then applicants were not easy to come by.<sup>28</sup> They also began to consider the place of laypeople in the missionary workforce, to supplement the shortage in ordained missionary candidates.<sup>29</sup> By the late 1880s there was a handful of local enquiries.<sup>30</sup>

## 2.4 The New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1889

In 1883 the Rev. Charles Carter suggested that one of the New Zealand Baptist Union's objectives should be to accomplish 'our part in fulfilling the last commission of our Lord to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to the whole creation'.<sup>31</sup> The Union,

<sup>26</sup> Marshall, 'The Policy of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Synod of Otago and Southland in relation to the New Hebrides 1867 – 1901', pp. 21-22.

<sup>27</sup> 'Oscar Michelsen', 'Thomas Smaill' and Charles Murray', Register of Missionaries, Deaconesses and Missionaries; 'Smaill', Series 6, Staff Files, New Hebrides Mission (GA0146), PCANZ Archive.

<sup>28</sup> 'Missions Report, 1877', *PCSO PS*, pp. 6-7; Inglis, p. 25.

<sup>29</sup> 11 July 1888, Minutes of the Foreign Missions Committee of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1888-1901, Series 1, PCANZ Archive; 'Missions Report, 1878', *PCSO PS*, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> 'Missions Report, 1887', *PCSO PS*, p. 62; 11 July 1888, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1888-1901, Series 1, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>31</sup> 'Presidential Address', *New Zealand Baptist*, 3:11 (1883), p. 355.

formed in November 1882, was a significant development in an emerging Baptist national identity. Baptists figured amongst the European settlers from the 1840s. The first Baptist church was established in Nelson in 1851. By the early 1860s there were Baptist churches in most of the main and provincial centres<sup>32</sup> and, by 1881, there were 11,476 Baptists (two per cent of the population), largely urban based.<sup>33</sup> In 1885 twenty Baptist ministers oversaw thirty-four preaching places.<sup>34</sup>

Baptist historiography has presented a truncated view of overall New Zealand missionary activity in the 1880s. S. L. Edgar omits any reference to the Melanesian Mission, and wrongly cites 1866 as the initial year of Presbyterian work in the New Hebrides. E. P. Y. Simpson suggests that a lack of missionary activity in the mid 1880s contrasted with early 'Baptist missionary enthusiasm'.<sup>35</sup> A time lag of thirty-four years, between the first church's foundation and the formation of the NZBMS, is hardly evidence of enthusiasm. Two things remain clear – that there was missionary awareness amongst New Zealand Baptists in this early period, and that Union was the pre-requisite for any future missionary initiatives. The Union ultimately brought together individual churches that, whilst not theologically estranged, were often isolated and autonomous centres of mission and worship. Isolation by ethos was not tenable when the geography of the country threatened to accentuate that isolation even further. Missionary support became an important vehicle by which a common Baptist identity was forged.

The initial impetus for Baptist missionary involvement came from Australia. Late in 1884 the Baptist Union received a letter from the Rev. Silas Mead, minister of the Flinders Street Baptist Church in Adelaide. Mead, a missionary enthusiast, was instrumental in forming the South Australian Baptist Missionary Society in 1864. This, along with a Victoria BMS, initially existed to support and publicise existing BMS work in East Bengal. In 1882 the first Australian Baptist missionaries (both single women) went to work in East Bengal, as *zenana*<sup>36</sup> workers employed by the South

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<sup>32</sup> Paul Tonson, *A Handful of Grain: The Centenary History of the Baptist Union of New Zealand*, Volume 1 – 1851-1882, Wellington: The New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, 1982, pp. 2-5, 50.

<sup>33</sup> *Census of New Zealand*, 1881, pp. 217, 221.

<sup>34</sup> 'Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 1884-1885', *NZB*, January 1886, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> Edgar and Eade, *Towards the Sunrise*, p. 4; Simpson, 'A History of the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', pp. 37-38.

<sup>36</sup> The *zenana* was the secluded portion of a Hindu or Muslim Indian home or household, reserved for women and therefore inaccessible to male missionaries. Early impetus for the entrance of single women into the missionary workforce came from increasing concern for the Indian women of the *zenanas*.

Australian Baptist Missionary Society.<sup>37</sup> Mead's letter was addressed to all the Australasian Baptist Unions. It outlined a co-operative plan for Baptist missionary work in East Bengal close to Dacca. It envisaged a federation of Australasian Missionary Societies, working together but each taking responsibility for one specific district.<sup>38</sup>

Although it did not go ahead, Mead's plan served to push New Zealand Baptists more directly towards the idea of a New Zealand based missionary society. His letter was published in the *New Zealand Baptist* in January 1885. It struck a chord with similarly minded Baptist leaders. The editorial comment, presumably written by the Rev. Alfred North of Dunedin, strongly suggested that it was 'needless to say that our churches must deeply sympathise with mission-work in India, and that we should all be glad to take our place and part in the great and glorious work'.<sup>39</sup> The *New Zealand Baptist* continued to give Mead's ideas a high profile, publishing correspondence with the BMS in England and a further article by Mead, and advertising his impending visit to Auckland in March of 1885.<sup>40</sup> North had also introduced a regular missionary column to the monthly newspaper. Through this column Baptists regularly read BMS news updates and reports, interesting stories and news from other mission organizations, biographical sketches of 'native' converts, topical issues, and exhortations on missionary support.

The drive for a missionary society gathered further momentum with Ellen Arnold's visit to New Zealand in March and April of 1885. One of the two original Australian Baptist missionaries in India, Ellen was on furlough and had been asked by Mead to do a grand tour of the Australasian colonies in support of his scheme.<sup>41</sup> Her tour covered at least all the main centres, including Sunday church meetings as well as small groups and children's meetings. It was the first time that many Baptists had heard from someone actually working in a missionary context overseas. She came primarily to foster public support for a Baptist Missionary Society in New Zealand. The editor of the *New Zealand Baptist* hoped that 'our Churches will be so healthfully influenced by [her]

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<sup>37</sup> Margaret Allen, "'White Already to Harvest': South Australian Women Missionaries in India", *Feminist Review*, No. 65, (Summer 2000), pp. 96, 101; Ros Gooden, "'We Trust them to Establish the Work': Significant Roles for Early Australian Baptist Women in Overseas Mission, 1864-1913", in M. Hutchinson and G. Treloar (eds), *This Gospel Shall be Preached: Essays on the Australian Contribution to World Mission*, Sydney: Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity, 1998, pp. 132-133.

<sup>38</sup> *NZB*, January 1885, pp. 10-12.

<sup>39</sup> *ibid*, p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> *NZB*, March 1885, p. 41; *ibid*, April 1885, pp. 56-57; *ibid*, May 1885, pp. 65-66.

<sup>41</sup> Gooden, 'We Trust them to Establish the Work', p. 134. See also Donovan F. Mitchell, *Ellen Arnold: Pioneer and Pathfinder*, Adelaide: South Australian Baptist Union Foreign Missionary and Book and Publication Departments, 1932.

addresses that when they send their representatives to the Union meetings in October next, they will send them under instructions to support the formation of the NZBMS'.<sup>42</sup> On penning a few farewell words to the Baptist public, Ellen Arnold echoed these very same words suggesting that, ultimately, the responsibility lay with the people 'to make it a success'.<sup>43</sup> When Alfred North gave public notice of the two resolutions he would table at the Union meetings, there could have been few Baptist readers who were unaware of what was to transpire. A donation towards the NZBMS from a Waiuku supporter, prior to its formation, suggested a ready core of support.<sup>44</sup>

On Thursday 15 October 1885, the New Zealand Baptist Union unanimously agreed to the formation of a New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, for missionary work in India.<sup>45</sup> The business session had been preceded by the singing of 'Greenland's Icy Mountains', a hymn which included these apposite words: 'Can we, whose souls are lighted with wisdom from on high, can we to men benighted the lamp of life deny?'.<sup>46</sup> Introducing the issue in his Presidential address, Thomas Dick stated the hope that 'with most if not all of us, the hope and desire are sincere that ways and means should be devised for at least making a start this year in the mission-field which has been suggested and urged upon our attention'. He further argued that this venture was one more vindication of the act of union.<sup>47</sup> There were delegates from only half the existing Baptist churches, and there were only five lay representatives amongst that number. Furthermore those delegates in attendance were strongly pro-foreign missions.<sup>48</sup> Thus Dick's words may have been as much a pep talk for Union as anything, and it may be questioned as to how 'unanimous' the support for a missionary society was at this stage.

By the end of the Conference a constitution had been drawn up and a committee appointed. The Society existed to 'aid the diffusion of the religion of Jesus Christ primarily in India'. Society business was to be transacted by its committee that, in effect, was the committee of the New Zealand Baptist Union plus Secretary and

<sup>42</sup> NZB, March 1885, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> NZB, May 1885, p. 71.

<sup>44</sup> Mr. W. H. Coulter to A. Knight, 6 August 1885, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Folder 2, Box 0026, NZBMS Archives, Auckland.

<sup>45</sup> 'Minutes of the New Zealand Baptist Union Conference, 1885', in NZB, November 1885, p. 166.

<sup>46</sup> 'Hymns for Missionary Meetings', in B. Broomhall, *The Evangelisation of the World. A Missionary Band: A Record of Consecration, and an Appeal*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, London: Morgan & Scott, 1889, p. 254.

<sup>47</sup> 'Address of the President' in NZB, November 1885, pp. 163-164.

<sup>48</sup> Simpson, 'A History of the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', pp. 38-41.



Treasurer.<sup>49</sup> The Society's annual meeting would be a fixture of each year's Union meetings, with ongoing business done by an executive committee. The honorary Secretary handled the regular work of the Committee, in much the same way as the Foreign Missions Committee Convenor did for the Presbyterian Church. For the first seventeen years that Secretary was the Rev. Harry Driver. The committee was an all male mix of laymen and clergy. There was no hint, at this stage, of direct involvement by women either as an auxiliary or even as a sub-committee.

The committee moved quickly to mobilise Baptist support for the Society. The role of the *New Zealand Baptist* was pivotal in this process. Articles argued that the NZBMS should be regarded as an important aspect of the Baptist Church's life and witness, worthy of broad support.<sup>50</sup> This appeal found relatively wide favour between 1886 and 1889. Within two months financial gifts were being received, including a small donation from the Dunedin Congregational Church.<sup>51</sup> By early 1886 a NZBMS Auckland auxiliary had been formed, and plans made for a special missionary Sunday, prayer meetings and public meetings of support. At least 350 people attended that first prayer meeting in the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle.<sup>52</sup> Other early indications of support came from churches in Invercargill, Wellington, Thames and Otahuhu.<sup>53</sup>

There was a very small time lag between the formation of the NZBMS and the departure of the first missionaries. Between 1886 and 1889 five single women had shown an interest in zenana work with the Society. Of the five, three had come from the Hanover Street Church in Dunedin (where Alfred North was minister), one from the Oxford Terrace Church in Christchurch, and one from a Congregational background in Victoria, Australia. Furthermore two of the women applicants were sisters, and three ended up working in India – Rosalie Macgeorge (leaving in 1886), Annie Newcombe (1887) and Hopestill Pillow (1889). By 1895 both Rosalie and Hopestill had died in India from illness, and Annie had been twice convalesced home. Rosalie Macgeorge has achieved something of an iconic status in New Zealand Baptist circles. That aside, she does serve as a useful prototype for some of the patterns and sentiments that would soon

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<sup>49</sup> *NZB*, January 1885, p. 2.

<sup>50</sup> *NZB*, February 1886, pp. 17-18; *ibid*, April 1886, p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> *NZB*, January 1886, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> *NZB*, January 1886, p. 9; *ibid*, February 1886, p. 25; *ibid*, March 1886, p. 36.

<sup>53</sup> *NZB*, March 1886, p. 39; *ibid*, April 1886, p. 57; *ibid*, June 1886, p. 89.

predominate in church and missionary circles. On application she was a single, twenty six year old teacher, and a member of the Hanover Street Baptist Church, Dunedin.<sup>54</sup> Her farewell, held in the Church, brought together a large gathering of people, including ministers of other denominations and the local Member of Parliament. The speeches drew the public's attention to the wider missionary cause. Rosalie herself addressed the meeting, giving an insight into the missionary mindset of the period. She had

no regrets whatever in going away, rather had constant pleasure in looking forward to her departure, and wished to be altogether the Lord's servant. She had given her all to Him, and had confidence in God's grace being sufficient for her.... She did not expect to return again to Dunedin, but trusted that she would be spared many years to labour in India.<sup>55</sup>

Baptist interest in missionary employment was hardly a gold rush. Yet there was a latent seam of interest and awareness that, once tapped into, would become very productive.

## 2.5 An Assessment of Early Presbyterian and Baptist Missions

Over this period both denominations established a range of missionary support initiatives that would become normative across the movement. Primary amongst these were formal support structures aimed at perpetuating and increasing interest and financial support. Presbyterian congregations were encouraged to establish Missionary Associations with Dunedin's Knox Presbyterian Church the first in 1869.<sup>56</sup> Baptist structures were initially more regional than congregational. The Auckland Auxiliary, established in 1886, acted as a branch of the NZBMS, fulfilling the same sorts of roles as the Presbyterian Missionary Associations.<sup>57</sup> Other Baptist Union auxiliaries, in Otago and Canterbury for example, incorporated a missionary component in their wider portfolios. Missionary literature was also important to both denominations. Early Presbyterians subscribed to the Scottish *Reformed Presbyterian* magazine, which carried news of the New Hebrides Mission.<sup>58</sup> Each of the Presbyterian newspapers of the period also carried news and letters from the New Zealand missionaries, as well as stories and articles of wider missionary interest.<sup>59</sup> For Baptists the *New Zealand Baptist*

<sup>54</sup> Dunedin Teachers' College, *Centennial Register of Students, 1876-1975*, Dunedin: Dunedin Teachers' College Centennial Committee, 1975, p. 14; Church Meeting Minutes, 1863-1890, Hanover Street Baptist Church, Dunedin, 96-116-05/01, HO:DU.

<sup>55</sup> *NZB*, November 1886, pp. 173-174.

<sup>56</sup> *Evangelist*, August 1869, p. 21; *ibid*, 2 November 1874, pp. 10-12.

<sup>57</sup> This auxiliary printed subscription and recording cards for collectors and supporters. Auckland Baptist Missionary Committee Correspondence, 1887-1892, Book 1, Box 0027, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>58</sup> *PCNZ PGA* 1867, p. 16. It was printed in Edinburgh. There are no copies in New Zealand.

<sup>59</sup> *The: Evangelist* (1869); *New Zealand Presbyterian* (1879); *New Zealand Missionary Record* (1882).

continued a regular missionary column from 1886 and included a four page bi-monthly supplement called the *Missionary Messenger*. By 1889 it had a circulation of 2,000 copies, which suggests quite a wide coverage of the Church's 4,573 members recorded by 1890.<sup>60</sup> Children's sympathies and pennies were widely sought. The recruitment of children's support was more than financial in motivation. For Presbyterians it was an issue of character formation, as well as creating a base of future adult supporters.<sup>61</sup> Early Baptist children's literature placed great emphasis on prayer, and on the importance of seemingly insignificant actions (for example every child giving one halfpenny each Sunday).<sup>62</sup> Children's events, with speakers and food, were common.

There were early Presbyterian attempts to solicit women's support. The idea of a Church wide 'Ladies' Missionary Society' was put to the 1883 General Assembly.<sup>63</sup> This was not achieved until 1905. Churches and Sabbath Schools also took on projects like the support of New Hebridean 'Native Teachers' and some looked at the concept of sponsoring individual children.<sup>64</sup> Baptist special missionary days and events were introduced. The NZBMS promoted the idea of 'Missions Sunday', and provided ideas and resources for churches to use. In 1887 Harry Driver published a sermon outline, based on the Old Testament text of Jeremiah 7:18, with an underlying message promoting the virtues of sacrificial giving.<sup>65</sup> Other events were commonly based around the theme of prayer for missions, or the few visiting speakers that appeared.

Yet this fledgling movement was fragile. Presbyterian Missionary Associations were still being drawn to congregational attention up to 1890.<sup>66</sup> Debate surrounded the fragmentation of missionary support and the pros and cons of domestic versus foreign missions. In the south this debate extended to the efficacy and necessity of working with the Chinese immigrants to New Zealand.<sup>67</sup> Some lamented that a lack of missionary spirit was simply indicative of the dire religious state of the colony.<sup>68</sup> Baptists were

<sup>60</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1888', *MM*, December 1888, p. 2; 'Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 1889-1890', *NZB*, January 1890, p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> *New Zealand Missionary Record*, February 1884, pp. 44-49.

<sup>62</sup> *NZB*, April 1885, p. 60.

<sup>63</sup> *Evangelist*, April 1872, p. 123; 'Missions Report, 1883', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 41.

<sup>64</sup> 'Missions Report, 1885', *PCSO PS*, p. 55; *New Zealand Missionary Record*, February 1884, p. 47.

<sup>65</sup> *NZB*, August 1887, p. 116.

<sup>66</sup> Mission Reports, 1879, p. 12 and 1886, p. 71, *PCSO PS*; and 1890, p. 81, *PCNZ PGA*.

<sup>67</sup> *Evangelist*, 8 May 1876, p. 9; *New Zealand Presbyterian*, September 1879, p. 45; *ibid*, January 1885, pp. 123-124; *ibid*, March 1885, p. 178.

<sup>68</sup> *New Zealand Presbyterian*, September 1879, p. 43.

concerned about problems in finding local missionary recruits. Between 1886 and 1895 seven of the twelve NZBMS missionaries were either from Australia or England, reflecting a shortage of New Zealand male applicants. There was also concern over the state of NZBMS finances. Harry Driver openly solicited missionary support from the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle in 1887.<sup>69</sup> An 1888 article entitled 'Wanted' suggested that this was more than a local problem.<sup>70</sup>

Early Presbyterian and Baptist missionary giving was both widespread and concentrated. This was set against a backdrop of boom economic conditions in the South Island, in the 1860s and early 1870s, and a prolonged period of economic stagnation from the late 1870s until the mid 1890s – years marked by low wages and unemployment.<sup>71</sup> Both denominations unsuccessfully sought to establish systematic giving. Presbyterian reports noted that whole presbyteries, or a large proportion of congregations, were not contributing anything at various points through the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>72</sup> Debt was never far away.<sup>73</sup> Intermittent legacies sometimes made the difference but also helped to form a perception that mission funds were relatively healthy. With the growth of personnel and capital projects came a perpetual host of financial pressures.<sup>74</sup>

Taken altogether Presbyterian Church missionary giving rose from £407 in 1867 to £1,154 in 1885.<sup>75</sup> That was an increase of 184 per cent over seventeen years. Total Baptist annual giving rose from £384 in 1886 to £518 in 1889 – an increase of thirty-five per cent over three years. It was obvious, though, that the majority was coming from a small proportion of individual congregations. In 1880, just eight per cent of Presbyterian congregations were contributing sixty-three per cent of missionary funds. Similarly between fourteen and sixteen per cent of Baptist congregations gave seventy per cent of the total funds. Between 1885-1889 the overall percentage of Baptist churches giving to the NZBMS rose from fifty-nine to seventy-four per cent. Whilst the

<sup>69</sup> Driver to Carter, 10 March 1887, Auckland Baptist Missionary Committee Correspondence, 1887-1892, Book 1, Box 0027, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>70</sup> *NZB*, April 1888, p. 56.

<sup>71</sup> W. J. Gardner, 'A Colonial Economy', in W. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, Wellington: Oxford University Press, 1981, pp. 75-80.

<sup>72</sup> 'Missions Report, 1872', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 9; 'Missions Report, 1881', *PCSO PS*, p. 21.

<sup>73</sup> *Evangelist*, June 1870, p. 188.

<sup>74</sup> *New Zealand Presbyterian*, April 1881, pp. 199-200.

<sup>75</sup> Figures in this section are taken from tables of financial statistics in *PCNZ PGA*, 1867-1885 and *PCSO PS*, 1867-1885; and from the NZBMS reports for 1886 and 1890.

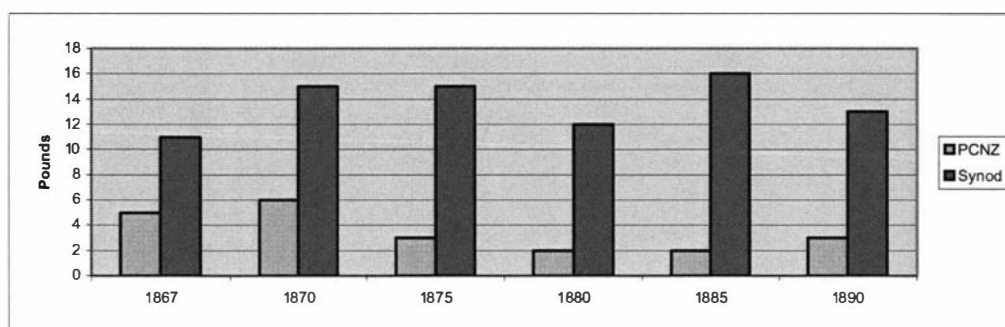
percentage of Presbyterian and Baptist congregations, within presbyteries or regions, giving to foreign missions varied widely, Baptist giving tended to be more comprehensive than that of Presbyterian congregations (Table 2.1).<sup>76</sup>

**Table 2.1 - Congregations within Presbyteries or Regions Giving to Missions, 1880 and 1889 ( %s)**

<b>Presbyteries (1880)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Baptist Region (1889)</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Dunedin	87	Nelson	100
Oamaru	75	Wellington	100
Southland	67	Hawkes Bay	100
Christchurch	67	Southland	100
Clutha	64	Otago	86
Hawkes Bay	56	Auckland	60
Nelson	50	Canterbury	54
Timaru	50		
Auckland	47		
Westland	33		

There were also distinct differences between the giving of the southern and northern churches. Otago and Southland Presbyterian congregations (Dunedin, Oamaru, Clutha and Southland Presbyteries) filled the top ten slots of individual congregational giving in 1880. Whilst overall mean congregational giving fluctuated around £8 and £9, mean congregational giving in Otago and Southland was considerably higher (Figure 2.1).

**Figure 2.1 – Presbyterian Mean congregational Giving, 1867-1890<sup>77</sup>**



Similarly Baptist median congregational giving varied between £4 and £5. The four largest urban congregations dominated the financial statistics. Hanover Street Church, Dunedin, contributed considerably more than any other in the period, and Otago congregations constituted three of the top six giving congregations. A large proportion of those in Otago and Southland gave to the NZBMS, compared with other regions.

<sup>76</sup> In some regions, however, there were only one or two congregations in total.

<sup>77</sup> 'Financial Statistics', *PCNZ PGA*, 1870-1890; 'Statement of Contributions', *PCSO PS*, 1867-1900.

On the eve of his departure for the New Hebrides Peter Milne wrote to his brother in Scotland, confessing that ‘I have not enjoyed our stay here in Auckland so much as we did our sojourn in Otago. The people here are kind but they have not the interest in us that the Otago people had’.<sup>78</sup> Foreign missions were a part of the mandate and activity of early Presbyterians and Baptists. Yet at the grass roots missionary enthusiasm was random, diffuse and geographically differentiated. Support was more to be found where individuals and groups had perceived the importance of foreign missions, rather than amongst a broader constituency, and it was predominantly urban and southern.

## 2.6 Sociological Contours of the Early Movement

At least thirty-one men and women worked as New Zealand missionaries in the period 1868-1889 – ten for the two branches of the Presbyterian Church, at least eight for the Melanesian Mission, three for the NZBMS, at least six for the Methodist Missionary Society, one for the Church Missionary Society, and one for each of the China Inland Mission<sup>79</sup> and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. At least another five people had enquired about missionary service. These figures include missionary wives who, as international literature now shows, were an integral part of the missionary work force. Social and geographical data for this period is sparse. Enough information has been gleaned from a range of sources to at least make the following observations. Comparative statistics are drawn from two recent international studies of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>80</sup>

As Figures 2.2 and 2.3 show, growth in estimated missionary numbers was slow. On average there was only one missionary departure per annum, but of course this figure is misleading, as there were initially several years without any departures at all. The significant rise in missionary numbers, in the 1890s, was prefigured by the modest

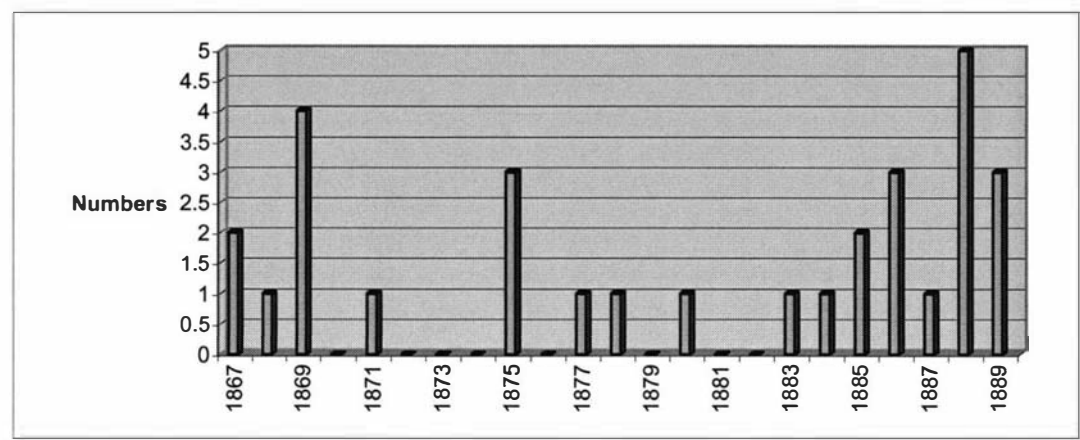
<sup>78</sup> Milne to Brother, 2 August 1869, Letters of Peter Milne, 1869-1893, Micro MS Collection 08-0197, WTU.

<sup>79</sup> A Mr Dyer (Invercargill) wrote a letter in 1875 that suggested that he was with the China Inland Mission, nineteen years before a New Zealand branch was founded. *Evangelist*, December 1875, p. 4.

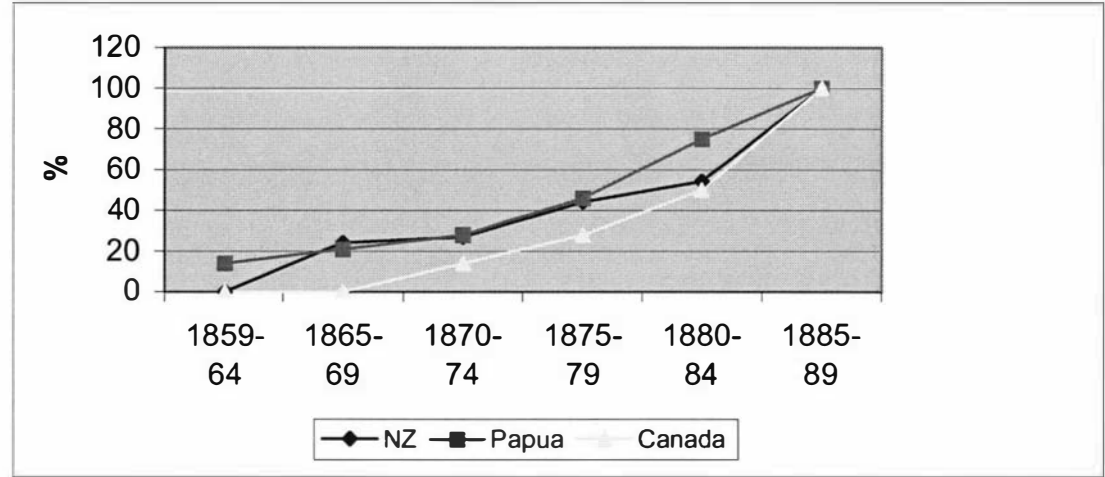
<sup>80</sup> R. C. Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990, Appendix B, pp. 198-220; Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874-1914*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989, Appendices 2 & 3, pp. 275-318. Brouwer's database covered 114 Canadian Presbyterian single women who went as missionaries to China, India, Korea and Trinidad between 1876 and 1914. Langmore's database covered both Catholic and Protestant missions working in Papua between 1874 and 1914. For comparative purposes this thesis has only considered the 207 Protestant male and female missionaries (single and married) who worked in Papua for the Australian Anglican Mission, for the LMS, or for the Australasian Methodist Mission, and who originated from Britain, Australia or New Zealand.

annual increases occurring from 1885. That this was not an isolated phenomenon is seen when New Zealand figures are compared with those of Canadian women missionaries and those departing for Papua in the same period (Figure 2.3).

**Figure 2.2 – Estimated New Zealand Missionary Departures, 1867-1889<sup>81</sup>**



**Figure 2.3 – Cumulative Percentage Growth of Missionaries, 1859-1889**



Both for New Zealand and for Canada, around half of all missionary departures for the period occurred between 1885 and 1889. This was perhaps reflective of the developmental stage, and the consolidation of churches, within each country. Almost certainly it also reflected the fact that, internationally, single women increasingly played a major role in the missionary movement and work force from at least 1880.

<sup>81</sup> Data extracted from the range of sources outlined in Appendix Two. The graph begins at 1867 because this was the first verifiable date of missionaries departing New Zealand for the Melanesian Mission.

Table 2.2 illustrates some of the salient features of departing missionaries in this period.

**Table 2.2 – Selected Features of New Zealand’s Missionary Work Force, 1867-1889<sup>82</sup>**

Attribute	Males	Females	Total
Numbers	16 (53%)	15 (47%)	31
Age at Departure <sup>83</sup>			
Mean	28.9 years	27 years	28.3 years
Median	26.5 years	26 years	26.5 years
Mode	26 years	-	26 years
Marital Status at Departure			
Single	50%	27%	39%
Married	50%	73%	61%
Length of Service			
Mean	18.7 years	12 years	15.4 years
Median	12.5 years	5.5 years	11 years
Mode	3 years	2 years	3 years
Origin (Ranked)			
Region #1	Otago	Otago	Otago
Region #2	Scotland	Scotland	Scotland
Region #3	Auckland	Various	Auckland
Birthplace			
New Zealand	47%	58%	54%
Overseas	53%	42%	46%
Denomination (Ranked)			
Denomination #1	Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Denomination #2	Anglican	Methodist	Anglican
Denomination #3	Methodist	Anglican/Baptist	Methodist
Service Ended (Ranked)			
Reason #1	Ill health	Death	Death
Reason #2	Retired	Ill health	Ill health
Reason #3	Death	Retired	Retired

The New Zealand figures for age at departure displayed little gender differentiation. They were also consistent with the Papua and Canadian data, with median ages of twenty-five and twenty seven years of age respectively. What may have been changing was the difference between age at application and at final departure. For most of this early period there was often a year at the most between the two, irrespective of gender. The four-year gap between Thomas Smail’s application in 1885, and final departure in 1889, on completion of theological studies in Dunedin, was to become more typical. This was especially so for men until at least the early 1900s, when women were

<sup>82</sup> See Appendix Three for the details of the analytical categories. See Appendix Four for a detailed breakdown of these figures.

<sup>83</sup> Data for age at departure is more incomplete than for the other attributes. The information on age in this table is based on ten, or 43 per cent, of the twenty-three listed New Zealand missionaries, 1867-1889.



increasingly applying during tertiary study, professional training or from specific missionary training homes in New Zealand or Australia. The figures are also consistent with international trends for the marital status of women missionaries. Whilst women made up a significant proportion of the missionary work force, they were mostly all married women. Langmore's figures are similar for missionaries in Papua between 1859 and 1889. Women made up forty-three per cent of that missionary grouping, of whom none were single. 'Missionary wives' had long been the description of women's involvement in the earlier nineteenth century missionary movement. Brouwer's figures for single Canadian women, and the presence of the three Baptist women in the New Zealand data, are indicators that this was beginning to change by the late 1880s.

There are further indicators in these figures that the early missionary experience varied with gender. The median length of missionary service was significantly shorter for women, regardless of marital status – due largely to deaths and ill health. Two of the initial three Baptist women missionaries to India died early on in their time. Of the first five Presbyterian missionary couples to the New Hebrides, two of the wives had died early and two died after a longer period of service. Only one of the men died in the same period. Langmore's figures do not bear this pattern out, with more men than women dying. This may have reflected the particular exigencies faced by some of the early missionary pioneers in the Papua context. There is a hint in the early New Zealand figures that, for both men and women, being a single missionary was a more difficult proposition. Length of service was shorter for both the early single men of the Melanesian Mission and the single women of the NZBMS. Thus, as Langmore further argues, the experience of being missionary, as witnessed in such things as statistics on mortality, length of service and reasons for leaving missionary service, was a variegated one with complex contributory factors.<sup>84</sup>

Geographically there is an indication that the southern part of New Zealand (Otago, Southland and most particularly the city of Dunedin) would be an important heartland of missionary support and a focus for missionary recruitment. This was particularly so for the early Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries and applicants. Auckland was the main source for initial Melanesian Mission workers. At the same time there was still a

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<sup>84</sup> Diane Langmore, 'Exchanging Earth for Heaven: Death in the Papuan Missionfields', *JRH*, 13:3 (1985), pp. 383-392.

significant component of missionaries either recruited from overseas or who were born overseas. The 1890s would bring some changes to this latter pattern.

It is more difficult to outline the educational and occupational backgrounds of these early missionaries. The evidence suggests that most of the men had some form of theological training or university education, and were ordained prior to or shortly after their departure. Understandably some of these men had also been employed in some form of parish ministry. Only two of the men's occupations are known – Oscar Michelsen had been a Bible Society colporteur in Otago, and Thomas Smaill an apprentice joiner before studying at Otago University.<sup>85</sup> Conversely even less is known about the backgrounds of the early women involved. Rosalie Macgeorge, previously profiled, was the only woman with any detailed background information. This gendered lacuna in information would be rectified from the 1890s, as women took on roles in the missionary movement that served to mark them out from their male counterparts. These new women missionaries would be an increasingly well-educated and professionally trained component of the missionary workforce.<sup>86</sup>

However limited this data might be, we do perhaps find a reason here for the early problems of recruitment faced by the Presbyterian Church and for the lack of male Baptist missionary applicants. It was expected that male missionaries would be ordained ministers of their respective denominations, which meant that they needed training. Up until the mid 1880s, at least, trained ministers still largely came from Great Britain, because local theological training was in its relative infancy. Thus there was a very small pool of local men to draw upon for missionary work. It was completely different for women. Wives went to be companions to their husbands, ready to apply whatever education or experience they had hitherto gained in the context of their own families and of the women and children of the societies in which they lived.<sup>87</sup> Single women went to the specific context of zenana work. For such contexts there was a far larger potential pool of ready applicants.

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<sup>85</sup> Ewan Johnston, “‘Cannibals Won for Christ’: Oscar Michelsen Presbyterian Missionary in the New Hebrides, 1878-1932”, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1995, pp. 1-9; ‘Smaill’, Series 6, Staff Files, New Hebrides Mission (GA0146), PCANZ Archive.

<sup>86</sup> The majority of single women in Brouwer's database, for the period 1873-1889, were trained and experienced teachers. This pattern would be partially reflected in New Zealand data from the 1890s.

<sup>87</sup> Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 36-80.

## 2.7 Theological Contours of the Early Movement

In looking back on the early years of the NZBMS Harry Driver identified a threefold rationale for its formation – Jesus’ command to preach the Gospel, the uniqueness and superiority of Christianity as a world religion, and the obvious needs of India.<sup>88</sup> Driver’s comments were a fair description of how foreign missions were theologically constructed in this early period. Whilst there were nuances within this construction, an analysis of mission related statements for the period suggests that a large measure of theological consensus existed between New Zealand denominations. In the first place we have a collection of phrases and statements summarised and ranked in Table 2.3.<sup>89</sup>

**Table 2.3 – Ranked Descriptions of Mission by New Zealanders, 1856-1889<sup>90</sup>**

Mission as	Overall	Anglican	Baptist	Presbyterian
Salvation/Conversion	1	1	4=	1
Going/Taking the Gospel	2	3=	1=	2
Enlightenment	3	5=	6	4
Extending God’s Kingdom	4	5=	4=	3
Preaching/Teaching	5	3=	1=	7=
Christian Leavening	6	7	9	5
Response to Great Need	7	-	3	9
Duty/Obligation	8	-	7	6
Response to a Command	9	-	8	7=
Reaping a Harvest	10	2	10=	13
Liberation	11	-	10=	10=
Warfare <sup>91</sup>	12	-	13	10=
Biblical Fulfilment	13	-	10=	12

Secondly the small amount of sermon material that remains from the period suggests that a wide body of biblical material was variously appealed to in any discussion of mission. Anglican sources revealed a greater use of Old Testament texts, particularly the Psalms and apocalyptic or prophetic texts from the books of Isaiah, Zephaniah and Zechariah. Overall the most frequently cited New Testament texts were Matthew 28: 19-20, Mark 16: 15, and various parts of John’s Revelation.

<sup>88</sup> H. H. Driver, *Our Work for God in India*, pp. 10, 15-16.

<sup>89</sup> There were 169 phrases, collected from seventy-seven different documents produced between 1856 and 1889 and grouped according to the dominant image or sentiment: Anglican – 16 phrases from 10 documents, 1871-1886; Baptist – 62 phrases from 24 documents, 1876-1889; Presbyterian – 77 phrases from 39 documents, 1856-1889; Other – 14 phrases from four documents, 1875-1877 (one CIM, two LMS and one Methodist). The small group of statements from the other missionary sources fell mostly into the ‘Christian Leavening’, ‘Salvation/Conversion’ and ‘Enlightenment’ categories.

<sup>90</sup> Ranked in descending order, where the category with the most frequent responses is ranked ‘1’.

<sup>91</sup> This either referred to the concept of spiritual warfare, or to the use of military style metaphors.

Thirdly a number of antithetical word pairs emerge from the documents that appear to have been defining images in the early theological construction of mission (Table 2.5). Underlying these was a dualistic view of the world that asserted a fundamental differentiation between Christendom and heathen non-Christendom.

**Table 2.4 – Dualistic Images of Mission, 1869-1889<sup>92</sup>**

Christendom	Non-Christendom
Light	Darkness
Sight	Blindness
Freedom	Slavery
Knowledge	Ignorance
Saved	Unsaved
Nourished	Starving
Life	Death

Taken overall the following preliminary observations can be made as to the significance of this theological data. There was a considerable degree of affinity with respect to how the missionary venture was theologically understood within the contemporary international missionary movement of the later nineteenth century. The emerging New Zealand movement was largely evangelical, with particular roots in British evangelicalism. By the late 1880s there seemed to be a ‘generic evangelical comity’ within the wider international movement and a considerable degree of optimism that the conversion of the world was possible.<sup>93</sup> The theological sentiments from New Zealand reflected that same confidence in what the Rev. Peter Milne called the ‘certainty of the world’s conversion’.<sup>94</sup> Theological statements emphasising conversion, personal salvation, the act of taking the Gospel, and of extending the Kingdom of God reflected this wider trend. Mid to late nineteenth-century British and New Zealand evangelicalism, and the missionary movement in particular, also reflected Enlightenment inspired optimism in the ultimate progress of European civilisation.<sup>95</sup> The language of ‘taking’, ‘carrying’, or ‘extending’ Christianity, of liberation, and spiritual or social enlightenment was consistent with the expansionism and confidence of the period, however much contemporaries also appealed to it as a biblical imperative. Thus the Rev. John Inglis could confidently assert in his 1881 treatise that ‘the doctrine

<sup>92</sup> Derived from the same body of data as for Table 2.3.

<sup>93</sup> Thomas Askew, ‘The 1888 London Centenary Missions Conference: Ecumenical Disappointment or American Missions coming of Age?’, *IBMR*, 18:3 (1994), p. 114.

<sup>94</sup> ‘The Certainty and Means of the World’s Conversion’, Address to the New Hebrides Mission Synod, 8 June 1874, in the *Evangelist*, 1 October 1874, p. 12; *ibid*, 1 November 1874, pp. 13-14.

<sup>95</sup> Askew, ‘The 1888 London Centenary Missions Conference’, pp. 114, 116.

of Christian missions has in all ages exerted a powerful influence for good ... but never more so than in the present century'.<sup>96</sup>

The data also indicates that the early New Zealand movement was theologically nuanced, to a limited extent, reflecting the wider contemporary British movement. For example Anglican documents did not refer to the so-called 'Great Commission' of Matthew 28:19-20, and placed a greater emphasis on the more abstract imagery of prophetic and apocalyptic biblical literature. Again the early Presbyterian appeal to generic notions of 'duty', and 'obedience to her Master's Command', differed to some extent from the Baptist emphasis on the perceived spiritual and social needs of the Indian people.<sup>97</sup> Presbyterian statements also tended to emphasise the notion of Christianity as a leavening influence in society, more than Anglicans or Baptists. It is erroneous to assume that mid-nineteenth century evangelicalism was the only influence on the theological construction of mission. The reality was more complex. Sarah Sohmer has argued, for example, that in order to understand the essentially different attitude towards indigenous cultures by such High Church Anglican groups as the Melanesian Mission, we need to consider the influences of such Anglican theologians as Richard Hooker and Joseph Butler, and of the Oxford movement.<sup>98</sup> The evangelical New Zealand Church Missionary Association did become a dominant feature of Anglican foreign missions from 1893. At the same time other High Church groups, such as the Melanesian Mission and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, also had an influence in New Zealand. Similarly D. Chambers challenges the notion that Scottish Presbyterian missionary enthusiasm was solely rooted in evangelicalism, arguing that enthusiasm was also derived from the Enlightenment.<sup>99</sup> He cites Alexander Duff's emphasis on education and social transformation in India as one outcome of this. New Zealand Presbyterian emphasis on the social influence of Christianity in the New Hebrides may have been similarly influenced.

This body of evidence provides points of dialogue and negotiation with Edward Said's 'Orientalism' thesis for the late nineteenth century. Certainly the dualistic imagery that

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<sup>96</sup> Inglis, *The Doctrine of Christian Missions*, p. 11.

<sup>97</sup> See footnote 16.

<sup>98</sup> Sarah Sohmer, 'Christianity without Civilization: Anglican Sources for an Alternative Nineteenth Century Mission Methodology', *JRH*, 18:2 (1994), pp. 174-197.

<sup>99</sup> D. Chambers, 'The Church of Scotland's Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme: Evangelical or Moderate Revival?', *JRH*, 9:2 (1976), pp. 115-138.

emerges underscores a fundamental ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy in theological world-view. And whilst not all formulations were as extreme as the assertion, by a Dunedin Presbyterian, that non-Christian peoples were ‘races steeped to the neck in superstition and all vileness’,<sup>100</sup> there was an underlying sense of European condescension in many of the statements.<sup>101</sup> A straight orientalist reading of this material, however, is problematic even if we accept that New Zealand missionaries and churches must have been influenced by prevailing European views of the non-European world. For one thing Said made little reference to Christian mission, and did not refer to theological sources in his analysis of nineteenth-century Orientalist literature. Other categories of text were more important because he argues for Orientalism’s fundamentally scientific nature by the late nineteenth century.<sup>102</sup> More important, though, are these two points. The first point partially confounds Said’s contention that the process of constructing the ‘oriental other’ was integral to how the West defined itself, so that the Orient became a ‘contrasting image, idea, personality [and] experience’.<sup>103</sup> This was the truth, but not the whole truth. Western Christians also sought self-definition in such theological and ecclesiological concepts as the Body of Christ, children of God or the redeemed. In other words the primary source of self-definition was often independent of either European or non-European cultural parameters. Records from the later periods suggest that New Zealand missionaries and Christians primarily defined themselves in theological terms. The second point is that nineteenth-century missionary theology ultimately anticipated the constitution of an all-inclusive worshipping community, embracing all peoples, through the agency of ‘preaching’, ‘teaching’ or ‘taking’ the Gospel to the ‘heathen’. This does not deny that the resulting structures of worship, clergy and church government were often European dominated. There is little evidence, for example, that many late nineteenth-century New Zealand missionaries placed a high priority on the earlier principles of mission churches being self-governing. But in eschatological terms the ‘them’ and ‘us’ view of the world would ultimately be rendered obsolete. In this there was agreement across the theological spectrum. The avowed

<sup>100</sup> ‘Report of the Knox Church Missionary Association, 1874’, *Evangelist*, November 1874, p. 10.

<sup>101</sup> Geoffrey Oddie argues, however, that for evangelicals in particular the defining distinction was between ‘saved’ and ‘unsaved’, and that this distinction was inclusive of Europeans and non-Europeans. The ‘most important polarity was not to be found in race or culture, but in the individual’s morality and relationship with God.... [therefore] “the other” was not only represented by Orientals, but also by less fortunate fellow-countrymen’. Geoffrey A. Oddie, “‘Orientalism’ and British Protestant Missionary Constructions of India in the Nineteenth Century”, *South Asia*, 17:2 (1994), pp. 29-30.

<sup>102</sup> Edward Said, *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage Books, 1979, pp. 113-123.

<sup>103</sup> Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 1-2.

endpoint of missionary endeavour was the constitution of a redeemed community that would be made up of ‘every tribe and language and people and nation’.<sup>104</sup>

The theological data from this period also provides a benchmark by which to assess changes in the theology of mission over the wider period up to 1930. Missiologist David Bosch argues that through the nineteenth century there was a fundamental shift in the formative theological motifs underlying the missionary movement. Amongst others he cites the shift from mission as a response to the ‘glory of God’, to mission as a response to both the love of God or to the perceived pitiful state of non-Christian peoples (both of which he terms being ‘constrained by Jesus’ love’).<sup>105</sup> In this light, for example, the apparent difference in the initial missionary impetus of the New Zealand Presbyterian (in the 1850s) and Baptist Churches (in the 1880s) becomes a matter of historical timing as much as a difference in theology. It further suggests that the period 1869-1889 was the period in which this shift was occurring. He also argues that different periods were marked by an appeal to different biblical texts. As we have seen, the main text appealed to was Matthew 28:19-20. This, says Bosch, was a defining text of the wider movement, but that it became the dominant text for evangelicals as the missionary movement became progressively theologically splintered.<sup>106</sup>

## 2.8 Sources of Early Missionary Consciousness

We have established that, from the late 1850s through until about 1889, a recognisable missionary movement began to emerge from within the settler churches of New Zealand. The evidence for this has come particularly from an analysis of both branches of the Presbyterian Church, the Baptist Church, and a less rigorous examination of Anglican, Methodist and LMS material. Yet the boundary lines between missionary consciousness and fully-fledged movement were blurred in this early period. The question also remains as to the likely sources for this fledgling movement. The evidence seems to point to this consciousness or movement being the product of a three-fold dynamic – an imported missionary world view (or *mentalité*), fed locally by a range of British influences and further shaped by contemporary events.

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<sup>104</sup> Revelation 5:9 (*New International Version*).

<sup>105</sup> David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Missions*, Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991, pp. 285-291.

<sup>106</sup> *ibid*, pp. 339-341.

A missionary consciousness or awareness came to New Zealand with the British settlers. Missionary preaching, enthusiasm, structures and literature had all been an erratic part of the religious landscape since at least the late eighteenth century. These all contributed to what J. M. Roberts terms the ‘mental furniture of the European’ by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>107</sup> A prevailing Christian world-view assumed that Christianity (and the accompanying European culture) was normative. Harry Driver wrote, in hindsight, that Christianity ‘has no rival. Whatever is good and true in other religions is found in the Christian faith, and found there with a certainty and a clearness which are lacking in any other systems of belief’.<sup>108</sup> Such notions rode on the back of the increasing momentum and profile of the missionary movement, both through literature and high profile individuals. The notion of the missionary hero was also emerging, exemplified by the death of John Williams in the New Hebrides and the exploits of David Livingstone in Africa. All of this came with the settlers to New Zealand and can be seen more clearly when we consider the Presbyterian and Baptist denominations.

In 1930 the Rev. William Mawson drew a direct line back to Scottish leaders like the Revs Thomas Chalmers and Alexander Duff, the Disruption of 1843, and the Scottish Church’s commitment to its missionary responsibilities from 1824 onwards. He referred to these as ‘influences, which have woven a missionary thread into the life of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand’.<sup>109</sup> Scottish missionary enthusiasm pre-dated all of these and had wider roots than just evangelicalism or the post-Disruption Free Church of Scotland.<sup>110</sup> It was only in the 1830s, however, that the Church of Scotland established foreign missions as a denominational priority.<sup>111</sup> The first ministers and Presbyterian settlers to New Zealand arrived only a decade or so later, bringing this new emphasis with them. Furthermore, enthusiastic Free Church ministers made up a substantial proportion of Presbyterian ministers coming to New Zealand between 1840 and 1870 – forty-three per cent of all ministers, and fifty-three per cent of ministers in the Synod of Otago and Southland.<sup>112</sup> Early missionary involvement by New Zealand

<sup>107</sup> J. M. Roberts, *Europe 1880-1945*, London: Longman, 1969, p. 51.

<sup>108</sup> Driver, *Our Work for God in India*, p. 15.

<sup>109</sup> ‘The Presbyterian Church and Foreign Missions’, Addresses, Rev. W. Mawson, 1915-1930, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>110</sup> John Roxborough, *Thomas Chalmers: Enthusiast for Mission. The Christian Good of Scotland and the Rise of the Missionary Movement*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Impression, Carlisle, Cumbria: Paternoster Publishing, 1999, pp. 160-174; Chambers, ‘The Church of Scotland’s Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme’, p. 115.

<sup>111</sup> Chambers, ‘The Church of Scotland’s Nineteenth Century Foreign Missions Scheme’, p. 125.

<sup>112</sup> Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, pp. 407-413.



Presbyterian churches in the 1860s, then, was simply a response to a set of previously articulated ecclesiastical priorities.

In appealing for Baptist support for the formation of a NZBMS, the Rev. Alfred North made reference to ancestral and familial links with the original Baptist Missionary Society in England. Those who initiated the BMS were affectionately referred to as ‘our fathers’, whose display of great faith in the face of adversity was worthy of emulation.<sup>113</sup> At the 1885 Baptist Union Conference North talked of working in a partnership with both parent and sibling missionary societies.<sup>114</sup> In similar terms Harry Driver later wrote that ‘India had a charm for us as the scene of the earliest missionary efforts of the British Baptists’. For Driver William Carey was the hero *par excellence*, as were those Baptists who followed him to India. Thus ‘it seemed appropriate and delightful that we should undertake to evangelise a district around which so many sacred memories clustered’.<sup>115</sup> Furthermore not only was East Bengal a Baptist legacy, it was also a part of the ‘mighty’ British Empire and, as Empire citizens, ‘we were ... duty bound to do our best to impart to it the truth that makes men free’.<sup>116</sup>

The second dynamic is to be found in three sets of British derived influences that fed into the imported missionary world-view. One was the ongoing influence of the clergy. This is somewhat speculative, as little direct evidence exists. Yet it seems reasonable to think that ministers of this period would include missionary content and sentiments in their sermons and discussions. Furthermore, there were particular individuals who wielded an influence through their organisational or editorial positions and skills. The Rev. James Copland was both an early Foreign Missions Committee Convenor for the southern Presbyterian Church and editor of the *Evangelist*.<sup>117</sup> The Rev. William Bannerman convened the same Committee for nearly thirty years and regularly contributed missionary comment and material to Church publications. The Rev. C. Stuart Ross edited the *New Zealand Missionary Record* and was an enthusiastic local supporter and publicist for the Scottish LMS missionary James Chalmers.<sup>118</sup> We have

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<sup>113</sup> NZB, January 1885, p. 10.

<sup>114</sup> NZB, November 1885, p. 166.

<sup>115</sup> Driver, *Our Work for God in India*, pp. 18, 20.

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

<sup>117</sup> Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, p. 411.

<sup>118</sup> John Hitchen, ‘Training “Tamate”: Formation of the Nineteenth Century Missionary Worldview: The Case of James Chalmers’, PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen, 1984, pp. 56-57.

already noted the early influence of such Baptist individuals as the Rev. Alfred North and the Rev. Harry Driver. There was a third group of individuals who, from their British roots, may have extended an influence in this period. These were a small group of ministers who had come to New Zealand, from Britain, via some form of foreign missionary service. By 1882 there were four such Baptist ministers, amongst whom the most notable was the Rev. Charles Carter, a former BMS missionary in Ceylon.<sup>119</sup> Similarly at least eight of the Presbyterian ministers arriving up to the 1880s came from a missionary background.<sup>120</sup> As well as promoting foreign missions locally, some of these ministers also contributed articles to the various religious newspapers.

A second influence was the diversity of missionary literature that largely drew on stories and information from British missionary sources. Anglicans encountered this through a range of Diocesan newspapers. A number of these had been established by the 1870s and included varying amounts of missionary articles and news. There must also have been local subscriptions to the *CMS Intelligencer* and the *Church Missionary Gleaner*.<sup>121</sup> The Melanesian Mission did not have a publication until the first New Zealand issue of the *Southern Cross Log* in 1895. Various Presbyterian newspapers had existed from 1869, with the short-lived *New Zealand Missionary Record* appearing specifically for children in the early to mid 1880s. The *New Zealand Baptist* had a six-year incubation period as a series of Canterbury based publications before its emergence as a national newspaper in 1880. With the inception of the *Missionary Messenger* as a bi-monthly insert from 1886, the Baptist Church could perhaps lay claim to having the first truly national denominational newspaper, carrying regular missionary news and information. There was still a significant balance of material from British sources, alongside information on specific New Zealand missionary activities.

A third influence was the small group of visiting missionary speakers to New Zealand in this early period. The evidence suggests that such speakers were relatively few and far between until the 1880s, so it is debatable how widespread an influence such speakers had in shaping an early missionary consciousness. The visit by the Scottish LMS missionary James Chalmers in 1877, and the response engendered, does indicate

<sup>119</sup> Tonson, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 28, 32; Edgar and Eade, *Towards the Sunrise*, p. 3; J. Ayson Clifford, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 2 – 1882-1914, p. 100.

<sup>120</sup> Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, pp. 408-417.

<sup>121</sup> There is fragmentary evidence of these in the Alexander Turnbull Library, and the Kinder Library.

that there was a receptive audience for such speakers. Furthermore, the visit can be seen as a prototype for how such speakers would typically operate in the decades to come.

James and Jane Chalmers visited New Zealand on a deputation-cum-furlough, between moving their work from Rarotonga to New Guinea. As well as time in Dunedin with Jane's family (the Hercus family who had recently migrated from Scotland), James spoke in Congregational churches in Oamaru, Timaru, Christchurch and Auckland.<sup>122</sup> In Dunedin and Christchurch he also addressed largely attended public meetings.<sup>123</sup> The Dunedin meeting crammed some 600 people into the city's Temperance Hall. Similarly both meetings had a range of clergy on the platform along with Chalmers, particularly from Congregational and Presbyterian churches. The Dunedin meeting was presided over by 'Judge Bathgate', the resident magistrate for Dunedin and district judge for Otago.<sup>124</sup> Choirs sang anthems including 'There's a Cry from Macedonia', at the Dunedin meeting. At each meeting various speakers extolled the importance of missionary endeavours, both for the recipient peoples and for the spiritual welfare of the New Zealand churches, and commended Chalmers' work and cause more specifically. Chalmers himself covered elements of his own life story, and the story of the LMS, including its new ventures in New Guinea. In Dunedin he emphasised the effect that missionary work could have in the character formation of the participants. In Christchurch he challenged the audience with the thesis that New Zealand and Australian churches should take responsibility for mission in the South Pacific. Each meeting also included prayer for the Chalmers' and some form of monetary collection. In the estimation of one commentator (a self-confessed enthusiast) 'deep interest was excited in the mission to which Mr. Chalmers had devoted himself, and substantial promise to help him in his work came from every side'.<sup>125</sup> An LMS auxiliary was formed in Dunedin during Chalmers' 1877 visit, and another auxiliary was later formed in Auckland.<sup>126</sup> These auxiliaries helped to facilitate an annual LMS deputation to New Zealand by at least the 1890s. Chalmers had an ongoing profile in the pages of Ross's *New Zealand Missionary Record* in the early 1880s. An appeal by Chalmers for help in

<sup>122</sup> Hitchen, 'Training "Tamate"', pp. 57-60.

<sup>123</sup> *OW*, 11 August 1877, p. 10; *Press*, 23 August 1877, p. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Geoffrey F. Vine, 'Bathgate, John 1809-1886', *DNZB*, updated 21 May 2002 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>125</sup> C. Stuart Ross, *The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement*, Dunedin: Wise, Caffin & Co., 1887, p. 274.

<sup>126</sup> *OW*, 4 August 1877, p. 10; *New Zealand Herald*, 9 May 1901, p. 3. The only remaining evidence for this auxiliary appears to be a Minute book for 1900-1932, in the Hocken Library, Dunedin.

purchasing a boat was met with the generous support of one particular individual.<sup>127</sup> Finally, when Chalmers and others were killed in New Guinea in 1901, there was wide sympathy expressed through a range of newspapers and church publications.

The third dynamic may be found in wider events and developments of the period. This is somewhat speculative, as it is more difficult to draw a direct line between these and any tangible increase in support for the early missionary movement. Wider events, and the publicity that surrounded them, may have helped to create an evolving early missionary awareness.<sup>128</sup> At this stage one example will be used - the tragic deaths of Bishop John Patteson, the Rev. Joseph Atkin and Stephen Taroaniara in September 1871.<sup>129</sup> Bishop Patteson was well known in New Zealand, having been with the Melanesian Mission since 1856 and Bishop of Melanesia since 1861.<sup>130</sup> During a visit to the island of Nukapu, in the Santa Cruz islands of the northern New Hebrides, Patteson was killed outright and the other two later died from wounds. The news reached Auckland at the end of October 1871 and was received with shock by the Anglican General Synod. The news was quickly publicised. Memorial services were widely held whilst other denominations passed resolutions of sympathy.<sup>131</sup> It also moved the House of Representatives to petition Queen Victoria, perceiving the Melanesian labour traffic to be the prime cause of their deaths.<sup>132</sup>

Hilliard argues that Patteson's death quickly took on the heightened popular status of a martyrdom, because he had been killed 'in the simple performance of his duty' as a 'Christian missionary'.<sup>133</sup> He was increasingly seen as a martyr in Australasia, Melanesia and England. In New Zealand he was certainly regarded as an exemplary

<sup>127</sup> Ross, *The Story of the Otago Church and Settlement*, p. 275.

<sup>128</sup> J. A. Salmond, for example, has shown that New Zealand Presbyterian agitation for British intervention in the New Hebrides (in the face of national fears over French annexation in the region) served to raise the profile of Presbyterian missionary activity in New Zealand during the mid-1880s. J. A. Salmond, 'New Zealand and the New Hebrides', in Peter Munz (ed.), *The Feel of Truth: Essays in New Zealand and Pacific History*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1969, pp. 113-35.

<sup>129</sup> David Hilliard, 'The Making of an Anglican Martyr: Bishop John Coleridge Patteson of Melanesia', in Diana Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Studies in Church History, vol. 30, Oxford & Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell Publishers, 1993, pp. 333-335.

<sup>130</sup> David Hilliard, 'Patteson, John Coleridge 1827-1871', *DNZB*, updated 21 May 2002, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>131</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 1 November 1871, pp. 4-5; *Nelson Evening Mail*, 3 November 1871, p. 2; *Press*, 4 November 1871, p. 2; *New Zealand Mail*, 11 November 1871, p. 12; *OW*, 11 November 1871, pp. 4, 8; Hilliard, 'The Making of an English Martyr', p. 335; *OW*, 20 January 1872, p. 3; 'Missions Report, 1872', *PGA PCNZ*, p. 9.

<sup>132</sup> *New Zealand Mail*, 11 November 1871, p. 12.

<sup>133</sup> Hilliard, 'The Making of an English Martyr', p. 344.

figure. The *Press* lamented the loss of a man of a 'noble and heroic nature'. Similarly he was referred to as 'a man greatly honoured ... in all the Churches, as a man of fine, genial Christian spirit, of great gifts and acquirements, and of entire devotion to the Mission cause'.<sup>134</sup> At least two memorial projects were initiated between 1871 and 1873. One aimed to erect a stained glass window in St. Paul's Church in Auckland. Publicity stated that it would cost some £300, and that no individual gift was to exceed one guinea.<sup>135</sup> A wide measure of support was sought, but the end result was unclear. The second project was the Auckland Diocese's 'Bishop Patteson Memorial Fund'. Money was canvassed from other countries with Anglican communions, as well as from New Zealand. Amongst other things a new Mission vessel, the *Southern Cross III*, was financed from this fund, as well as the training of native clergy.<sup>136</sup> At the same time prayerful support for foreign missions took on a new significance. In December 1872 a SPG/CMS sponsored Anglican 'Day of Intercession for Missions' was inaugurated in England, and became an annual fixture.<sup>137</sup> The idea was readily adopted and promoted in New Zealand that same year. Special Scripture readings and prayers were set, and the day quickly became a focus for missionary sermons and special missionary collections.<sup>138</sup> These are clues only, which suggest that the events of 1871 had some impact on the missionary awareness of selected churchgoers in New Zealand.

<sup>134</sup> *Press*, 4 November 1871, p. 2; 'Missions Report, 1872', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 9.

<sup>135</sup> *Church Gazette*, August 1873, p. 107, *ibid*, September 1873, p. 137.

<sup>136</sup> Angus Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, 1964, p. 86; *New Zealand Herald*, 9 November (1871), p. 3.

<sup>137</sup> Hilliard, 'The Making of an English Martyr', p. 344.

<sup>138</sup> *Church Gazette*, December 1872, p. 69, *ibid*, January 1873, pp. 1-2, *ibid*, January 1874, p. 1.

**Pioneer NZBMS Women Missionaries, 1886-1899**



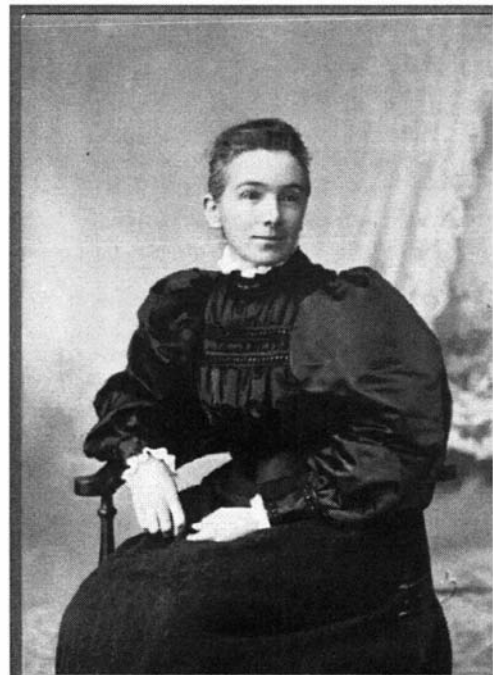
***Photo 2.1 – Rosalie Macgeorge, 1886-1891***  
(Folder 17, Box 0229, NZBMS Archives)



***Photo 2.2 – Annie Newcombe, 1887-1889***  
(Folder 5, Box 1010, NZBMS Archives)



***Photo 2.3 – Hopestill Pillow, 1889-1895***  
(Folder 8, Box 1010, NZBMS Archives)



***Photo 2.4 – Annie Bacon, 1890-1899***  
(Folder 1, Box 1010, NZBMS Archives)

## Chapter Three

### A First Wave of Missionary Enthusiasm, 1890-1899

#### 3.1 Introduction

In February 1899 the Rev. Alexander Don wrote to George McNeur with the following enquiry. ‘I have for some time been wondering if you have heard of the new departure of our Church in deciding to take up work among the Chinese in China .... I know that your heart, influenced by The HOLY SPIRIT, has for some time inclined towards China’.<sup>1</sup> The ‘new departure’ was a proposal that the Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland should initiate work amongst a network of villages close to Canton in southern China. Don conceived the plan whilst on an overseas study trip in 1897 and 1898. He argued that this was a singular opportunity to naturally extend existing Presbyterian work amongst the resident Cantonese Chinese in New Zealand, and suggested that it could benefit the Church at home. Through it, ‘our people would thus be more strongly bound to Mission work in China’ and ‘a channel would ... be provided within our own church and our own denomination for the sympathy, prayer, and gifts of our people’.<sup>2</sup> The context for these comments was the growing number of Presbyterians going to India or China with non-denominational missions. George McNeur had earlier applied to the China Inland Mission (CIM), after training at Bible training institutes in Adelaide and Glasgow, but now accepted Don’s call and challenge to work within his own denomination. By 1899 he was in training for ordination, and a foundational sum of £400 had been raised.<sup>3</sup> McNeur finally departed for southern China in 1901, joined by his wife Margaret in 1903, and others soon followed in this new expansive venture.

This broadening of Presbyterian missionary vision was symptomatic of a shift in missionary sentiments and involvement amongst New Zealand churches more generally. This chapter argues that there was a substantial rise in missionary enthusiasm throughout New Zealand in the 1890s. This enthusiasm enlarged upon the various sentiments, structures and patterns that were identified prior to 1889, and came about through the confluence of a range of domestic and international factors. At the same

<sup>1</sup> Don to McNeur, 6 February 1899, ‘McNeur’, Series 6, Staff Files, Canton Villages Mission (GA0148), PCANZ Archive.

<sup>2</sup> ‘Report on Canton Village Mission’, in ‘McNeur’, Series 6, Staff Files, CVM (GA0148), PCANZ Archive.

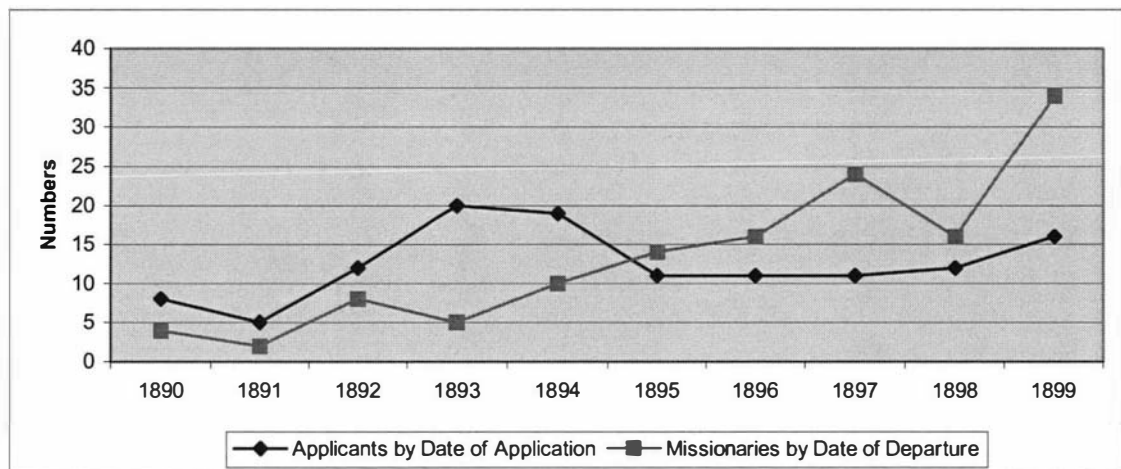
<sup>3</sup> ‘Missions Report, 1899’, *PCSO PS*, pp. 68-69; ‘George and Margaret McNeur’, Register of Missionaries, Deaconesses and Missionaries; Henry H. Barton, *George Hunter McNeur: A Pioneer Missionary in South China*, Christchurch and Dunedin: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1955, p. 3.

time the emerging movement was still potentially fragile and vulnerable. Four questions will be addressed. What were the main developments in this period that support the notion of a rise in missionary enthusiasm in the 1890s? To what extent were these developments continuous or discontinuous with the previous decades? What factors help to explain this rise in enthusiasm? How deeply rooted was this enthusiasm and how robust was the missionary movement by 1900? The chapter will focus on the main developments, the genesis of the New Zealand Church Missionary Association and the China Inland Mission, the discernible theological and sociological themes and trends, the reasons for missionary enthusiasm and indicators of the movement's weaknesses.

### 3.2 Outline of the Main Developments, 1890-1899

Between 1890 and 1899 larger numbers of New Zealand Christians embarked on missionary service overseas than at any previous time (Figure 3.1).

**Figure 3.1 – Estimated Missionary and Applicant Numbers, 1890-1899<sup>4</sup>**



At least 139 men and women went overseas as missionaries in the 1890s, and another sixty-six were interested enough to apply for missionary service to the five missions under study. That was more than a four-fold increase on the previous three decades. They were employed or sponsored by an estimated seventeen different missions or denominations, and went to at least thirteen different destinations. Most notably they

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix Two for details of the sources on which these figures, and the equivalent graphs in Chapters 3.5, 4.2, 4.4, 5.2 and 5.3, are based. In these graphs 'Applicants' include both accepted missionaries and those not successful in their application. They are graphed by year of application. 'Missionaries' are graphed by the year of their departure. Therefore these graphs suggest that any measure of missionary enthusiasm needs to take into account both missionary departures (which may actually reflect initial enthusiasm of a year or so before), and applications that would either result in future missionary departures or the non-acceptance of the offer.



went to various parts of India and China, but also to locations in the South Pacific, South America, Africa, South and East Asia, and Palestine.

There were also other developments that gave the missionary movement greater shape and profile throughout the 1890s. Within New Zealand local councils or committees were established for a number of missions, including the New Zealand Church Missionary Association (1892), the China Inland Mission (1894), the Poona and Indian Village Mission (1896), the Zenana and Bible Medical Mission (1899),<sup>5</sup> and the South American Evangelical Mission (1899). A significant proportion of missionaries served with non-denominational missions, or with overseas denominational missions, and support was readily given to these groups.<sup>6</sup> Of the seventeen sending agencies in the 1890s, five or six were non-denominational and five were British or Australian denominational missions. Most significant amongst these was the Poona and Indian Village Mission, based in Australia, which engaged some forty New Zealanders between 1896 and 1899. Women became more prominent both in their participation as missionaries and in their profile as organised supporters of missions. In the Presbyterian context women's support became increasingly organised as the Otago Presbyterian Ladies' Mission Aid Association (formed in 1891) evolved into a network of regional Presbyterian Women's Missionary Unions by 1897, all of which were ultimately organised into a national PWMU in 1905. Similar national organisations would also emerge in the Baptist and Methodist Unions from 1903 and 1905. An increasing number of missionary applicants were being channelled through a range of lay training institutes, particularly in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. These provided an alternative for men who were not seeking ordination prior to their departure, and were the only training option for women. In New Zealand the first (and for many years the only) such institute was the Missionary Training Home for women established in Dunedin by the ex-Baptist missionary Annie Driver (née Newcombe) in 1899. Finally, a growing number and variety of overseas missionary speakers toured New Zealand. For some of these, such as the visit of John R. Mott in 1896, raising missionary awareness was just one of the aims of speaking engagements. For others, such as Charles Reeve, the Australian founder and leader of the Poona and Indian Village Mission, annual visits

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<sup>5</sup> This is speculative. Three British ZBMM speakers visited New Zealand in 1899, for which a wide range of meetings were organised in Dunedin at least. *Otago Witness*, 13 April 1899, p. 61.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix 1 for further details.

between 1896 and 1899 were explicitly aimed at enlisting more recruits for overseas work and building support. The combined effect was a heightened expectancy that many congregations would interact with international missionaries.

### 3.3 The New Zealand Church Missionary Association, 1892-1899

It seems as if, in late 1892, the New Zealand Church Missionary Association simply sprang into being overnight. That was virtually the case but not quite. The primary catalyst for the Association's formation was undoubtedly the visit to New Zealand by Eugene Stock (Church Missionary Society Editorial Secretary) and the Rev. Robert Stewart (English CMS missionary in China) in October 1892. Yet this needs to be set against a wider background of growing Anglican missionary awareness and general missionary enthusiasm of the 1890s. There were at least three strands to Anglican missionary awareness. The first was the long presence of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand dating back to 1814. The CMS had a sentimental place in the awareness of many settler Anglicans, because of this long record. From 1882, however, the CMS began devolving its Maori Mission responsibilities onto the New Zealand Church. At the same time there is no evidence of any CMS auxiliary groups in New Zealand, similar to that of New South Wales.<sup>7</sup> Missionary awareness, then, was more likely to be vested in a second strand – the Melanesian Mission.<sup>8</sup> A third and more speculative strand also existed, made up of a number of elements. One was the presence and impact of Anglican clergy who were previously missionaries in other parts of the world. For example there were at least eight late nineteenth-century clergy who had been CMS missionaries elsewhere, and one who had served with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG).<sup>9</sup> Another element of this strand was the presence of missionary literature in diocesan newspapers. This literature indicated that local Anglican missionary interest already extended to such regions as South America, India and Palestine.<sup>10</sup> Again the departure of the Rev. William St. Clair Tisdall from Nelson to India with the CMS, in the early 1880s, may have further raised the profile of

<sup>7</sup> Eugene Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 3, pp. 673-674.

<sup>8</sup> See Chapter 2.2 for details.

<sup>9</sup> Peter Lineham, 'Appendix: Biographical Index of Church Missionary Society Workers', in Robert Glen (ed.), *Mission and Moko*, pp. 193-212; Stock, 'The CMS Deputation in New Zealand', *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February 1893, p. 135.

<sup>10</sup> *Church Gazette*, April 1881, p. 34; *ibid*, July 1882, p. 66; *ibid*, August 1882, p. 72; *ibid*, November 1892, pp. 128-129; *ibid*, February 1893, p. 19; *ibid*, March 1893, p. 38.

mission.<sup>11</sup> Finally Anglicans were being given first hand accounts of missionary work by overseas missionary speakers, particularly visiting bishops. Together these strands suggest that interest in forming a NZCMA did not arise out of a vacuum of awareness.

The 1890 and 1892 Keswick-style evangelistic campaigns of the English Anglican, the Rev. George C. Grubb, also served to heighten this awareness and enthusiasm.<sup>12</sup> Described by one observer as ‘a man of some scholarship, and wholly in earnest.... gentle in private, [and] commanding and authoritative on the platform’,<sup>13</sup> Grubb was acceptable to wary Anglican clergy and congregations. Missionary meetings were regularly included in Grubb’s speaking schedule. Generally well attended and received, they served to foster Anglican missionary interest and involvement in the two years immediately prior to the Association’s formation.<sup>14</sup> In 1892 Grubb’s party advertised the forthcoming tour by Stock and Stewart, encouraging people to support it.<sup>15</sup>

Against this broader canvas Stock and Stewart’s visit stirred Anglicans into a more organised form of affirmative missionary action. They had been sent by the CMS in England to foster the formation of colonial associations in Australia and New Zealand. This may have been an outcome of a Keswick inspired campaign to recruit up to one thousand CMS missionaries during the 1890s.<sup>16</sup> It was also a response to an invitation by Australasian bishops increasingly concerned about CIM recruitment of Anglicans.<sup>17</sup> The New Zealand leg of the visit was a concerted and concentrated month long campaign, supported by the various bishops, with sixty meetings in churches, halls and cathedrals, in all six diocesan centres as well as in Blenheim and Gisborne.<sup>18</sup> If the Nelson meetings were representative, then their visit saw them raise missionary awareness in at least three main ways. The first was in the explication of a simple theology of mission, which emphasised mission both as a response to a divine command and as an obligation binding upon the Church. The second was through descriptions of

<sup>11</sup> Clinton Bennett, ‘William St. Clair Tisdall’, in Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, p. 673.

<sup>12</sup> The contributory role of Christian conventions will be considered in Chapter 6.5.

<sup>13</sup> *Church Gazette*, June 1892, p. 62.

<sup>14</sup> For example: E. C. Millard, *What God Hath Wrought: An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. G. C. Grubb*, London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1891, pp. 215-217.

<sup>15</sup> E. C. Millard, *The Same Lord: An Account of the Mission Tour of the Rev. George C. Grubb*, London: E. Marlborough and Co., 1893, p. 344.

<sup>16</sup> Allan K. Davidson, “‘Enlarging Our Hearts’: The Founding of the Church Missionary Association, p. 23; Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, vol. 3, pp. 669-673.

<sup>17</sup> Stock, *ibid*, pp. 674-675; *Church Gazette*, October 1892, p. 111.

<sup>18</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February 1893, pp. 133, 136-137, 139.

missionary work in China, complete with curios, and of the history and current activity of the CMS worldwide. The third was through practical sessions aimed at Sunday school teachers (with an emphasis on how teachers could encourage children's missionary interest), and the establishment of the CMS Gleaners' Union.<sup>19</sup> At the end of it all Stock was able to write that they had 'found everywhere men and women whose ears are open to the great missionary call, and who are ready to "go or send"'.<sup>20</sup> In a later letter to CMS supporters Stock cautioned that what they had 'sown' in New Zealand were 'acorns', and that 'oaks do not grow to maturity in a few months'.<sup>21</sup> It is clear, however, that these 'acorns' did not take long to throw up early shoots amongst some Anglicans. Following the precedent set in Victoria and New South Wales, a New Zealand Church Missionary Association was established in late 1892.<sup>22</sup>

The seed box for this young oak tree was the low-church Nelson Diocese, where there was a fertile mix of receptive laity and clergy and a warm climate of evangelicalism.<sup>23</sup> Following a letter from Nelson canvassing national support for an Association in late October 1892, a constitution was drafted and episcopal support initially given by the Bishops of Nelson and of Waiapu. The appeal for support invoked William Carey's missionary call to English Baptists in 1792, to 'attempt great things for God, and expect great things from God'.<sup>24</sup> By 1895 the Association had held its first Annual General Meeting, sent out or approved three women missionaries, received a number of applications and had ratified a concise and acceptable Constitution.<sup>25</sup> This Constitution provides a useful means of understanding the early development of the NZCMA.

In its formulation the NZCMA was both separate from and yet intimately related to the Anglican Church in New Zealand. It was a voluntary and evangelical 'society of members of the Church of the Province of New Zealand'.<sup>26</sup> This relationship was never going to be easy. On the one hand the NZCMA had to win the trust of the bishops. After

<sup>19</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 14 October 1892, p. 2; *ibid*, 15 October 1892, p. 2; *ibid*, 18 October 1892, p. 2. For a fuller outline of this visit see Davidson, 'Enlarging Our Hearts', pp. 23-24.

<sup>20</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February 1893, p. 139.

<sup>21</sup> *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, June 1893, p. 448.

<sup>22</sup> *ibid*, pp. 458-460.

<sup>23</sup> Morrell notes that Bishop Charles Mules 'carried on [Bishop] Suter's evangelical tradition' in the Nelson Diocese, and later makes reference (in the context of debates over church union in the 1960s) to the diocese's enduring 'evangelical tradition'. *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, pp. 115, 117, 236.

<sup>24</sup> *ibid*, pp. 458-459; *Church Gazette*, January 1893, p. 7; Davidson, 'Enlarging our Hearts', p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> *Annual Report of the NZCMA*, 1895, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> 'The Constitution', included in *NZCMA Report*, 1901, pp. 36-39.

early criticism from Dunedin's Bishop S. T. Nevill the Association's secretaries strongly defended the NZCMA, on the grounds that it was a strength of the Anglican Church to 'give shelter to divergent opinions, principles, tendencies, and aims, and to afford them room for development'.<sup>27</sup> All the bishops, except for Nevill, had given their formal sanction to the NZCMA by 1895, with the Primate appointed as Vice-Patron and the bishops as Vice-Presidents.<sup>28</sup> The relationship remained fragile, with links between the NZCMA and the bishops always a key issue.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand the Association was quick to reassure the Anglican Church that this new emphasis on foreign missions should not detract from 'the strong claim that the Maori and Melanesian Missions have upon Churchmen in this Colony'. It was hoped that support for both would increase, because of the existence of the NZCMA.<sup>30</sup> By 1899 the NZCMA had moved decisively in this direction, supplying one missionary to the Melanesian Mission (the Rev. Walter Ivens), and at least three to the Maori Mission (Rosamund Blakiston, the Rev. Tapeta Timutimu, and the Rev. Aperahama Tamihere).<sup>31</sup> Similarly the NZCMA was both separate from and related to the CMS in England, and accordingly fulfilled a number of functions. It was never intended to be merely a revenue-collecting agency for the parent society. Constitutionally the NZCMA was entrusted with the tasks of autonomously recruiting, vetting, training and financially supporting New Zealand CMS missionaries. At the same time the CMS placed those missionaries in existing overseas 'fields', and retained both oversight in the field and any right of dismissal. This formal arrangement extended to the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, which placed Florence Smith in Southern India in 1899.<sup>32</sup>

The Constitution stipulated that authority be vested in the Association's executive committee, to be constituted equally by clergy and 'laymen'. During the 1890s the committee's membership was Nelson-based, with the bishops included as *ex officio* members. Its functions were similar to those of the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committees and of the NZBMS, revolving around recruitment and approval of candidates, raising and managing the necessary finances, and promotion and publicity

<sup>27</sup> F. W. Chatterton and J. Holloway to the Editor of the *Churchman*, 19 August 1893, in ANG 143/1.6, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>28</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1895, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> Stock to NZCMA Secretaries, 30 July 1897, in 'Stock', ANG 143/3.114, Box 15, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>30</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1894, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Kenneth Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually*, pp. 21-22.

<sup>32</sup> 'Memorandum of Agreement', 15 August 1899, in 'Florence Smith', ANG 143/3.105, Box 14, NZCMS Archives.

amongst Anglicans. At the same time two features peculiar to the NZCMA had emerged by the 1890s. One was the formation of a Ladies' Committee in 1895, a step that was ahead of the other denominations.<sup>33</sup> The other feature was the appointment of a full time Organising Secretary in 1899. Again the NZCMA was ahead of other denominations in taking this step of creating a paid position for a New Zealand based person, who would 'devote his whole time to the work of the Association'.<sup>34</sup> The Rev. J. de B. Galwey, from England, was the first such appointment. Upon his resignation in 1901, the Committee agreed to finance a further appointment.<sup>35</sup>

The Constitution gave the Committee free licence over the appointment of missionaries. Between 1893 and 1899 eight NZCMA missionaries left New Zealand, and at least a further thirteen enquired about or applied for missionary service. They went to a diverse range of destinations – Japan, Nigeria, North India, South India, Palestine, and the Solomon Islands. Women made up six of the eight missionaries, but only five of the other thirteen applicants. All eight were single at the time of departure. Seven out of the eight missionaries came from Auckland, Christchurch or Nelson/Marlborough. This reflected the geographical distribution of Anglicans, and the particular enthusiasm shown for the NZCMA in the Nelson Diocese. Six of the eight were encouraged towards missionary service by the visits of Grubb, Stock and Stewart.

Finally the Constitution made provision for the formation of local committees to advance the Association's cause amongst Anglican supporters. In reality these were slow to emerge, with only a Wellington committee established in 1893.<sup>36</sup> Local Gleaners' Union groups emerged more quickly. The Gleaners' Union had been established by the CMS in England in 1886. Eugene Stock had vigorously promoted it amongst New Zealand Anglicans in 1892. It was similar to other denominational missionary support initiatives in that it sought to unite, stimulate, and inform people locally with respect to the 'cause ... of the Evangelisation of the World'.<sup>37</sup> The St. Barnabas' Association, formed in Auckland in 1895, sought to do the same for the

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<sup>33</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1896, p. 8. See Chapter 6.4 for further details.

<sup>34</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1900, p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1902, p. 15; 29 June 1905, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the New Zealand Church Missionary Association, 1900-1912, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>36</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1894, p. 4.

<sup>37</sup> 'Constitution of the Christchurch Branch of the Gleaners' Union', in Minutes of the Christchurch Gleaners' Union, 1893-1909, ANG 143/4.4 (2), Box 20, NZCMS Archives.

Melanesian Mission. Similarly Sowers Band groups were established for children from 1896, but these were relatively slow to develop.<sup>38</sup> Whilst Gleaners' Union groups were aimed at both Anglican men and women, it is possible that they attracted a greater share of women supporters. For example the percentage of women acting as Gleaners' Union honorary secretaries very quickly rose from forty-four per cent in 1894, to seventy-four per cent by 1900.<sup>39</sup> These groups sometimes attracted missionary enthusiasts from other denominations, underscoring the potentially ecumenical nature of the missionary movement.<sup>40</sup> The number of Gleaners' Union groups grew nationally from twenty-five in 1894, to sixty by 1898, decreasing to fifty-four by the end of 1899, and membership grew from 876 to 1,214. These numbers represented a relatively small, but committed, core of Anglicans. The largest number of groups was in the Nelson Diocese, but the greatest growth took place in rural Auckland and Christchurch parishes.<sup>41</sup> Gleaners' Union groups formed the foci for NZCMA support in the 1890s. Members also acted as parish missionary box holders and distributors. The groups were visited by and arranged the details for missionary speakers, and were also the channel for missionary literature specific to the CMS and the NZCMA. By 1899 Anglicans had access to a wide range of English produced literature, as well as a local version of the *Southern Cross Log* for the Melanesian Mission. By 1899 the Gleaners' Union was annually distributing up to 1,200 copies of the *Gleaner* (complete with local insert), 460 copies of *Children's World*, and much smaller numbers of *Awake* and the *Church Missionary Intelligencer*.<sup>42</sup> Finally the groups were encouraged towards the growing practice in other denominations of adopting and supporting individual missionaries through the 'Our Own Missionary' scheme. By 1900 the three NZCMA missionaries to Maori, in the Urewera region and Taranaki, were almost entirely supported by the Christchurch, Gisborne and Hawkes Bay branches of the Gleaners' Union.<sup>43</sup>

After touring the South Island in 1893 Della Hunter-Brown stated the conviction that 'at each place there is a practically unlimited field of work ... only they either do not know

<sup>38</sup> *Church Gazette*, May 1895, pp. 80-81; *NZCMA Report*, 1897, p. 10.

<sup>39</sup> Calculated from *NZCMA Report*, 1894, p. 7, and *NZCMA Report*, 1901, pp. 30-34.

<sup>40</sup> Walter Ivens reported, in 1894, that the Christchurch Branch consisted of 'members of several denominations even including Salvation Army people'. Ivens to Kempthorne, 17 July 1894, in 'Ivens', ANG 143/3.70, Box 10, NZCMS Archives.

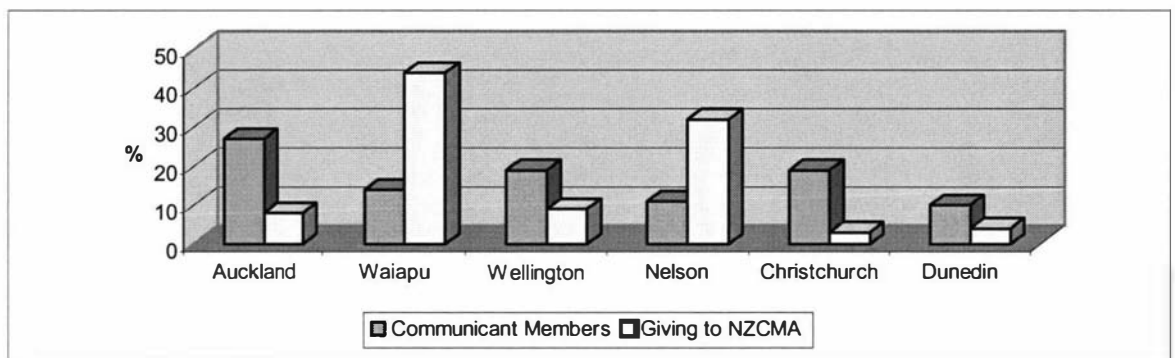
<sup>41</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1894, p. 7; 1895, p. 3; 1900, p. 11; 1901, pp. 30-34.

<sup>42</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1900, p. 10.

<sup>43</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1901, p. 14.

the need or do not understand what they can do to meet it'.<sup>44</sup> By 1899 there was a discernible, but small and narrow, base of Anglican support for the NZCMA. Overall Anglican giving to the NZCMA increased from £548 in 1893-1894 to £1,567 by 1900-1901 – a growth of 186 per cent over just seven years.<sup>45</sup> This income came from a range of sources but, initially, sixty-two per cent came from missionary box holders or regular church collections. When the figures from these are further analysed the truncated nature of early support becomes even more obvious. Median parish giving varied between £3 and £5 for the 1890s, with £1 being the clear modal value. In 1893-1894 the top five giving parishes were giving seventy-two per cent of the total received from boxes and collections. Whilst the percentage share from these declined over the decade, reflecting a growing base of local parishes financially contributing to the NZCMA, the larger givers were still contributing just on half the total by 1900. Parishes in the Nelson and Waiapu dioceses were consistently amongst the five highest contributors (Figure 3.2). The financial contributions from these two dioceses were higher than all other dioceses, and proportionately higher than their share of national Anglican communicant membership. The Christchurch diocese had increased its share by 1900.

**Figure 3.2 – Anglican NZCMA Giving Compared with Membership, 1895-1896<sup>46</sup>**



Two qualifications need to be made. Giving to the NZCMA was noticeably more diversified by 1900, with significantly more money received from free donations, annual membership subscriptions, literature sales, and through the 'Our Own Missionary' scheme.<sup>47</sup> Further analysis indicates that there was an increasingly wider

<sup>44</sup> 'Report to NZCMA, 1893', in 'D. Hunter-Brown', ANG 143/3.68, Box 10, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>45</sup> Figures in this section come from the financial statements of the NZCMA, located at the end of the annual reports for 1893-1894, 1894-1895, 1895-1896 and 1900-1901.

<sup>46</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1896, pp. 13-14.

<sup>47</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1901, pp. 20-21.



base of support than the above figures would indicate. Diocesan statistical returns for the 1890s suggest that Anglicans were also giving to a range of general and specific missionary causes - including the Melanesian Mission, the Maori Mission, and Home Mission. Therefore it is erroneous to argue that giving to the NZCMA was the main indicator of levels of missionary support amongst New Zealand Anglicans in the 1890s.

### 3.4 The China Inland Mission in New Zealand, 1894-1899

The emergence of the China Inland Mission (CIM) in New Zealand was another expression of increased missionary enthusiasm in the 1890s. The CIM was most commonly linked with the name of its English founder J. Hudson Taylor, about whom the literature is extensive and somewhat hagiographic. In the context of the second half of the nineteenth century Taylor stood tall amongst the many missionary leaders that emerged. His influence was certainly far reaching in at least two respects. The precedent he established for a non-sectarian, faith-based organisation that focussed on pioneer evangelism, whilst initially radical and controversial, became a model to be emulated by the early 1900s. Further, under Taylor's influence, the CIM was one of the first organisations to put women into pioneering and evangelistic contexts.<sup>48</sup> Taylor had first worked in China, largely as an independent missionary, between 1854 and 1860. It was only in the context of an extended furlough in England, from 1860 to 1866, that the CIM was conceived and formally established.<sup>49</sup> The venture was initially fraught and fragile. It was not until the 1880s that the Mission began wider recruiting in Britain and North America.<sup>50</sup> By the end of the 1890s the CIM had 800 missionaries and 600 Chinese working in fourteen out of the eighteen Chinese provinces. Eighty-nine had come from Australia and fifteen from New Zealand between 1894 and 1899.<sup>51</sup>

The evidence for New Zealand awareness of or involvement with the CIM before the 1890s is very thin. Three independent references to the CIM indicate that there was a

<sup>48</sup> Peter Williams, 'The Missing Link': The Recruitment of Women Missionaries in some English Evangelical Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century', in F. Bowie, D. Kirkwood and S. Ardener (eds), *Women and Missions: Past and Present, Anthropological and Historical Perspectives*, Providence & Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1993, p. 50.

<sup>49</sup> Ruth Tucker, *From Jerusalem to Irian Jaya: A Biographical History of Christian Missions*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan, 1983, pp. 175-181.

<sup>50</sup> Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1964*, Sydney: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1965, pp. 4-5.

<sup>51</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 20, 27. Loane cites 'twelve' New Zealanders, but his figure does not include missionary wives.

measure of early awareness and interest,<sup>52</sup> but 1890 was the key turning point for the growth of Australasian interest and involvement. By then the first two Australians had departed for China. In May 1890 the Australasian Council of the CIM was established in Melbourne, and several missionary candidates considered.<sup>53</sup> At the same time Taylor was invited to visit and speak in Australia, which he did between August and November 1890. Throughout the trip he interviewed around sixty applicants and sailed back to China with twelve Australian missionaries.<sup>54</sup>

In 1890 a young Christchurch woman applied to the CIM London office. Annie Harrison, possibly of Anglican background, was twenty-one years old, single and probably a teacher.<sup>55</sup> What triggered her interest is not clear. It is possible that, having expressed a general interest in mission to a friend, the CIM was suggested to her as a possibility.<sup>56</sup> Her application was re-directed to the new Council in Melbourne, which requested her to be interviewed both locally in Christchurch (by two respected Baptist and Congregational ministers), and in Melbourne.<sup>57</sup> She finally sailed in August 1891 and spent a total of twenty-eight years working in China.<sup>58</sup> A complication over a second New Zealand application in 1892, by Jane Blakeley of Auckland, seems to have been the final prompt for the establishment of a New Zealand CIM Council. Sometime in 1893 the Rev. George and Mrs Nicoll, CIM missionaries on deputation in Australia, came to New Zealand for an extended period to ‘awaken interest and to interview candidates’.<sup>59</sup> The main outcome was the establishment of a North Island and a South Island CIM Council, which convened individually for the first time in 1894.<sup>60</sup> These remained as separate councils until amalgamation in 1939.<sup>61</sup> By the end of 1894 both councils had received at least thirteen applications for missionary service, of whom seven went to China. The history of the China Inland Mission in New Zealand has

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<sup>52</sup> *Evangelist*, 1 December 1875, p. 4; *OW*, 3 April 1875, p. 10; ‘Personal Recollections’, ‘Hannah Reid’, CIM Personnel Files, Cabinet A1, Overseas Missionary Fellowship Archives, Auckland.

<sup>53</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 7, 11.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Annie Harrison’, CIM Personnel Files, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>56</sup> A fellow CIM worker, Bessie Webster, recalls that Annie had a local acquaintance who knew a CIM official in London. ‘Bessie Webster’, CIM Personnel Files, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>57</sup> Excerpted from Australasian CIM Council Minutes, 17 December 1890 and 5 April 1891. ‘Annie Harrison’, CIM Personnel Files, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>58</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, p. 13.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>60</sup> 1 June 1894, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>61</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 88-90.

already been told from a range of angles.<sup>62</sup> In-depth historical analysis of the early CIM is hampered by the truncated nature of existing source material.<sup>63</sup> For the 1890s, however, there is enough evidence to understand how the CIM began to function in New Zealand, who was involved or interested, and how it was initially supported.

The two Councils acted as local foci for support and interest in the CIM by New Zealanders. They focussed on processing enquiries and applications for missionary service, receiving and remitting to Melbourne the financial contributions of churches and individuals, and in fostering prayer support for the work of the CIM in China. Membership of both councils was drawn from laymen and clergy, and was all male.<sup>64</sup> The initial North Island Council had three laymen and two ministers, including at least one Presbyterian.<sup>65</sup> The early South Island Council was evenly divided between clergy and laymen. The clergy were Presbyterian and included the Rev. William Bannerman (Synod Missions Convenor) and the Rev. Alexander Don (Chinese Missioner).<sup>66</sup> The laymen came almost exclusively from a Dunedin Brethren assembly, in Farley Street, that was strongly supportive of foreign missions generally.<sup>67</sup> Initial council membership was drawn entirely from Dunedin or Auckland. The evidence suggests that, over time, membership became more representative of the wider South and North Islands, with the Dunedin and Auckland members fulfilling executive functions.<sup>68</sup> These council members were enthusiasts for the missionary cause, whose depth of involvement may have been more exceptional than typical for the period, and for whom the CIM provided an important outlet for their energies and talents (see Chapter 8.2).

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<sup>62</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*; Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China 1912-1949*, R. L. Roberts, 'The Growth of Inter-Denominational Mission Societies in New Zealand'.

<sup>63</sup> See details in Appendix Two.

<sup>64</sup> The one exception was the appointment of Jane Chadwick-Brown (née Blakeley) as Honorary Secretary of the North Island Council in 1904, on her return from missionary service in China. 3 May 1904, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, OMF Archives.

<sup>65</sup> 1 June 1894, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, OMF Archives. They were the Revs James Blaikie and G. B. Monro, Mr I. L. Wilson, Mr F. Bodle, Mr G. Newcomb and Mr W. Brakenrig.

<sup>66</sup> From an undated CIM letterhead of the 1890s, found between the first two pages of the North Island's 'CIM Register of Candidates, 1893-1937', Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>67</sup> *ibid*; John Wilkinson, John Gibson and William Brown. N. Paterson, *The Church in York Place Hall: Some Notes on its Early History*, Dunedin: N. Paterson, n. d., photograph facing p. 16; Peter J. Lineham, *There We Found Brethren: A History of Assemblies of Brethren in New Zealand*, Palmerston North: GPH Society Ltd, 1977, pp. 109-111.

<sup>68</sup> The North Island Council had representation in Wellington by 1905 and in the Waikato by 1912, and the South Island Council had Christchurch representation by at least 1909. 6 April 1905 and 3 September 1912, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, 1912-1937, OMF Archives; CIM letterhead, 1909, PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3.01, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCANZ Archive.

From the beginning the work of the CIM in New Zealand was intrinsically tied in with that of Australia. The two councils acted as auxiliaries to the Melbourne based Australasian Council. This Council received and disbursed financial contributions and vetted all missionary applications, although usually under advice from the New Zealand councils. This trans-Tasman relationship was given further shape in at least two ways. One was through the annual visits to New Zealand by Australian CIM personnel, prominent amongst whom was the Rev. John Southey. His early visits were focussed on contact and support of the two councils, interviewing potential candidates and speaking engagements in churches. The Australasian Council gave him authority to accept any candidates he interviewed.<sup>69</sup> His regular presence did not seem to be resented in any way, and was probably received as welcome support by already busy council members. In 1908 he was formally appointed CIM Home Director for both Australia and New Zealand.<sup>70</sup> The other prominent aspect of this trans-Tasman relationship was the role played by Australian training institutes in the preparation of New Zealand CIM candidates. In addition to the institutions used by the NZCMA (Marsden Training Home in Sydney and, later, St. Hilda's in Melbourne) CIM candidates were directed to a training home established in Melbourne by the Rev. John Southey, and to a training home in Adelaide established in 1893 by the Rev. Lockhart Morton, a Presbyterian minister with strong missionary interests.<sup>71</sup> Attendance at such institutions became the expected norm by the end of the 1890s unless, as in the case of the Rev. William Malcolm, the candidate was already ordained.<sup>72</sup> The move west to Australia typically preceded the move overseas for many prospective New Zealand missionaries from the 1890s. It was an economic necessity for relatively small missions like the CIM. An attempt to establish a CIM training home in Dunedin, in 1900, was short lived.<sup>73</sup> Annie Driver's Dunedin Missionary Training Home provided training for two early CIM women.<sup>74</sup> Australian institutions continued to be important for the training of New Zealand missionaries beyond this period.

<sup>69</sup> For example John Falls (1896) and Margaret Howie (1898). 12 June 1896 and 1 October 1898, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, OMF Archives.

<sup>70</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 39-40.

<sup>71</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 14-15. This was variously referred to as Angas College or Bel Air College (and Kensington College for women). It later became the Adelaide Bible Training Institute.

<sup>72</sup> William Malcolm trained at Knox Theological Hall, Dunedin, between 1889 and 1892, and was ordained in 1893 before going to China with the CIM. Elder, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 243.

<sup>73</sup> 5 March 1900, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, OMF Archives.

<sup>74</sup> Jessie Blick and Edith Glanville - *Outlook*, 9:21 (1902), p. 34.

Between 1890 and 1899 fifteen New Zealanders went to China with the CIM and another thirty unsuccessfully applied through the two councils. Women made up two thirds of this missionary grouping, and of these the majority were single. Two were sisters, and another male (Olegario Guardiola) had a sister with an undetermined mission.<sup>75</sup> Of this early grouping four were from Christchurch and four from Dunedin. In other words over half of the early CIM missionaries were from the South Island. Denominationally Presbyterians made up the largest known group, followed equally by Baptists and Methodists. In most of these respects CIM missionaries were typical of the overall missionary cohort identified for the 1890s. Unsuccessful applicants formed a slightly different set of patterns, with more men (fifty-seven per cent) than women, and a greater spread of North and South Island points of origin. Little else can usefully be said about applicants, due to the relative lack of South Island data.

We can make limited comments about the wider support base for the CIM in the 1890s. Similar methods of support were used as for other organizations. These included a dependence on individual subscribers and missionary box-holders. If the information for 1894 is indicative, there were only three box-holders for the whole North Island suggesting that support from this source may have grown slowly.<sup>76</sup> It is more likely that interested churches, or the churches of individual missionaries, provided a large measure of financial support.<sup>77</sup> There seemed to be a measure of public goodwill towards CIM missionaries. Correspondence from Presbyterian CIM missionaries was readily found in the pages and missionary columns of the *Christian Outlook*.<sup>78</sup> CIM missionaries were regularly included in the monthly missionary prayer table in the same publication.<sup>79</sup> How many people paid attention to these is unknown, but there must have been early grass-roots support or interest in the CIM and this may have been more commonly found amongst younger people. Presbyterian Christian Endeavour societies, in particular, showed an interest in both Presbyterian missions and nondenominational missions such as the CIM.<sup>80</sup> Finally we can only make the broadest of comments about

<sup>75</sup> Hannah and Liliat Reid of Christchurch, and Olegario Guardiola of Dunedin. 'Reid', CIM Personnel Files, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives; *Christian Outlook*, 3:28 (1896), p. 326.

<sup>76</sup> 13 October 1894, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912.

<sup>77</sup> For example St. Paul's Presbyterian Church, Napier, had special collections for both the CIM and the Poona and Indian Village Mission in 1897. *Christian Outlook*, 18 December 1897, p. 565.

<sup>78</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 7 March 1896, p. 72; *ibid*, 16 January 1897, p. 615; *ibid*, 6 March 1897, p. 69.

<sup>79</sup> For example Jane Blakeley, Hannah and Liliat Reid, *Christian Outlook*, 8 February 1897, p. 18.

<sup>80</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 27 February 1897, p. 50; 4 July 1897, Knapdale Christian Endeavour Minutes, 1896-1899, AN2/1, PCANZ Archives.

financial support for the CIM. Within two months of its formation the North Island Council reported a credit balance of £51, rising to £76 by the end of the year.<sup>81</sup> Overall the Australasian Council's annual income rose from £2,007 in 1890 to £5,366 by 1899 – an increase of 167 per cent over ten years although, for much of the decade, annual income hovered just over £2,000.<sup>82</sup> Total donations in New Zealand rose from around £138 in 1894 to £574 by 1899, which amounted to no more than ten per cent of the Australasian Council's total income.<sup>83</sup> Money initially came from a wide variety of North and South Island localities. By 1899 the Dunedin Council was receiving and remitting sixty per cent of New Zealand donations, reflecting the South Island origins of many early CIM missionaries. Loane notes for this period that 'the funds of the Mission showed a small but steady increase which kept pace with increasing commitments'.<sup>84</sup> We may assume that money given throughout the 1890s reflected a sufficiently broad base of popular support for the CIM in New Zealand, centred on the southern regions.

### 3.5 Sociological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1890-1899

There is a larger statistical base by which to analyse the missionary movement for this period. Yet there are still large information gaps because of the nature of the sources for personnel in the 1890s.<sup>85</sup> The following discussion is based on the 136 known missionaries and forty-seven known applicants for the 1890s, and comparative material drawn both from the New Zealand Census and from the international studies by Langmore (Papua) and Brouwer (Canada).

Figure 3.3 clearly shows the rise in missionary departures from New Zealand in the 1890s, compared with the previous two decades. There were between five and twenty-nine missionaries departing annually. Median annual departures were around ten per annum. The most obvious growth was centred around 1894, following the formation of both the NZCMA and the CIM, and from 1896 when the Poona and Indian Village Mission was most actively seeking missionary recruits.

<sup>81</sup> 6 August and 2 December 1894, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, OMF Archives.

<sup>82</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, p. 21.

<sup>83</sup> *China's Millions*, February, May, September and December 1894, inside cover; March 1895, inside cover; March, June, September and December 1899, inside cover; February 1900, inside cover.

<sup>84</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, p. 21.

<sup>85</sup> See Appendix Two for further details.

Figure 3.3 – Estimated New Zealand Missionary Departures, 1867-1899<sup>86</sup>

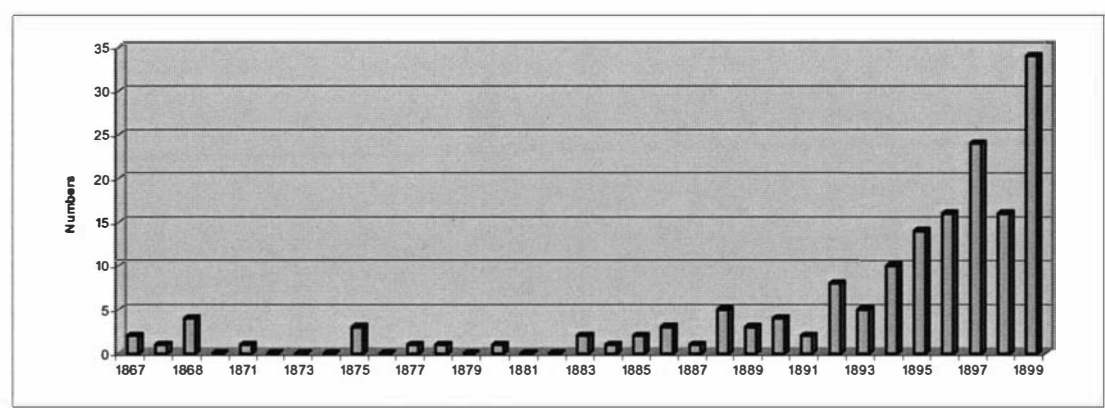
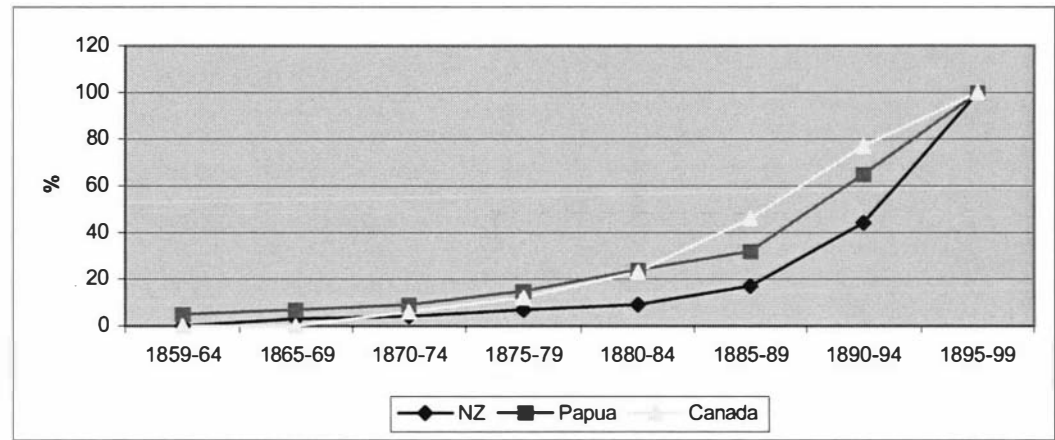


Figure 3.4 further indicates that this growth in missionary numbers in the 1890s was not simply a New Zealand phenomenon. International comparisons are difficult because of a lack of rigorous statistical studies of the late nineteenth-century missionary movement. Langmore and Brouwer’s figures, however, are most probably indicative of wider international trends. Whilst missionary numbers in Papua and from Canada had more clearly taken off by the mid-1880s, they also experienced a marked increase from 1890, both in overall numbers and in mean and median annual departures.

Figure 3.4 - Cumulative Percentage Growth of Missionaries, 1859-1899<sup>87</sup>



The following composite table (Table 3.1) again illustrates some of the salient features of the New Zealand missionary work force during the 1890s. At first glance there were a number of continuities between the missionary cohort for the earlier period and for

<sup>86</sup> See footnote 4 in Chapter 3.2.

<sup>87</sup> Based on: departure figures for New Zealand missionaries. Protestant missionaries to Papua are documented in Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874-1914*, pp. 275-318; and Protestant women missionaries from Canada are documented in Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914*, pp. 198-220.

that of the 1890s. There was little difference in the age of departure, for men and for women. Similarly there was little difference for the length of service, which still varied with gender, for where missionaries came from, and for why missionary service was ultimately ended.

**Table 3.1 – Selected Features of New Zealand’s Missionary Work Force, 1890-1899<sup>88</sup>**

Attribute	Males	Females	Total
Numbers	64 (46%)	75 (54%)	139
Age at Departure			
Mean	27 years	28 years	28 years
Median	26.5 years	28 years	27 years
Mode	28 years	25 years	28 years
Marital Status at Departure			
Single	79%	76%	78%
Married	21%	24%	22%
Length of Service			
Mean	15 years	16 years	15 years
Median	10 years	7.5 years	9 years
Mode	4 years	4 years	4 years
Origin (Ranked)			
Region #1	Otago	Otago	Otago
Region #2	Auckland	Canterbury	Auckland
Region #3	Great Britain	Great Britain	Canterbury
Birthplace			
New Zealand	85%	81%	83%
Overseas	15%	19%	17%
Denomination (Ranked)			
Denomination #1	Baptist	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Denomination #2	Presbyterian	Baptist	Baptist
Denomination #3	Anglican/Brethren	Anglican	Anglican
Educational Background (Ranked)			
Level #1	Other tertiary	Other tertiary	Other tertiary
Level #2	University	High school	University
Level #3	Technical school	University	High school
Occupational Background (Ranked)			
Occupation #1	Professional	Professional	Professional
Occupation #2	Commercial	Domestic	Commercial
Occupation #3	Industrial	Dependents	Industrial
Service Ended (Ranked)			
Reason #1	Ill health	Ill health	Ill health
Reason #2	Death	Death	Death
Reason #3	Changed mission	Retired	Retired

At the same time, however, there were a number of distinctive structural changes taking place within the missionary movement by the end of the 1890s. Between 1889 and 1899

<sup>88</sup> See Appendix Three for the details of the analytical categories. See Appendix Four for a detailed percentage breakdown of these figures.



the gender balance had been completely reversed, with women making up a small majority of the New Zealand missionary workforce by 1899. This was related to the other great reversal, with single missionaries now more numerous than their married counterparts, for both men and women. All organisations analysed had experienced this shift in the gender balance, but in terms of marital status NZCMA and Brethren missionaries were more likely to be single in this period, and Presbyterian and Methodist missionaries more likely to be married. Langmore's figure's for the 1890s are similar for marital status (seventy-two percent of missionaries in Papua over this period were single), but not for the gender balance.

A second change between the earlier period and the 1890s was in the proportion of New Zealand born missionaries (Table 3.2). This proportion had grown from fifty-four to eighty-three per cent – a pattern broadly in keeping with proportional changes in the general population. All of the New Zealand missions in the 1890s had more than half of their personnel born in New Zealand. The NZBMS was almost the exception. Of their sixteen missionaries in the 1890s, only nine (fifty-six per cent) were New Zealand born. This reflected a continuing inability to find senior (male) married missionaries locally, and therefore the ongoing need to recruit these from either the English BMS in India or directly from England. In general, though, a truly New Zealand born missionary workforce was emerging during the 1890s.

**Table 3.2 – Birthplace of Missionaries, 1867-1899 (s)**<sup>89</sup>

Birthplace	Census 1881	Missionaries 1867-1889	Census 1896	Missionaries 1890-1899
New Zealand	46	54	63	83
Overseas	54	46	37	17

A third change occurred with respect to the denominational affiliation of missionaries in the 1890s. Whilst Presbyterians and Anglicans still figured largely overall, Baptists and Open Brethren became more prominent. Comparison with the total population in Table 3.3 suggests two things - that the emerging missionary workforce was atypical of New Zealand's overall Protestant denominational structure in the 1890s, and that Baptist and Brethren churches had the highest missionary to member ratios. Presbyterians made up

<sup>89</sup> Extracted from *Census of New Zealand*, 1896, Part III, 'Birthplaces', Table III, p. 121. Missionary birthplace figures are based on ninety-one percent of the dataset whose birthplaces were known.

a majority of both the CIM and the early South American Evangelical Mission. Brethren missionaries made up twenty per cent of New Zealanders with the Poona and Indian Village Mission. Brethren missionaries, exemplified by Houlton Forlong and James Kirk, were also more likely to go overseas as independent missionaries.<sup>90</sup> Within denominations, whilst it is difficult to be categorical, it is also possible to identify individual congregations that contributed more missionaries and enquirers than others. For Anglicans these included St Sepulchre's in Auckland, All Saints in Nelson, and St Luke's in Christchurch. For Baptists South Dunedin and Hanover Street churches, in Dunedin, and Vivian Street, in Wellington, were particularly prominent. Presbyterian missionaries came from a wider range of churches, with a number of congregations each providing one or two individual enquirers or missionaries.

**Table 3.3 – Denominational Affiliation of Missionaries, 1890-1899 (‰s)<sup>91</sup>**

Denomination	Census 1896	Missionaries	Ratio#1 <sup>92</sup>	Ratio#2 <sup>93</sup>
Anglican	40	20	1: 12,855	1: 851
Presbyterian	23	28	1: 4,209	1: 706
Roman Catholic	4	?	-	-
Methodist	10	7	1: 9,171	-
Baptist	2	25	1: 573	1: 111
Salvation Army	1.5	-	-	-
Congregational	1	2	1: 3,389	-
Lutheran	1	-	-	-
Brethren	0.6	17	1: 186	-
All Others	6.9	-	-	-

The geographical origins of missionaries in this period throw further light on this denominational pattern. The broad distributional pattern of missionaries, compared with the general population, is clear from Table 3.4. There was general congruence between the two except, most notably, for Otago/Southland. Compared with the earlier period, Auckland, Wellington and Canterbury now emerged as major contributors of missionary personnel in the 1890s. Two further geographical observations can be made.

<sup>90</sup> Houlton Forlong operated as a missionary trader in the New Hebrides from 1894 until his death from drowning in 1908. Private papers of Dr John Hitchen, Auckland. James Kirk was a missionary in the Argentine from 1896 until his death in 1952, and supported himself by working for the Argentine Railways. Les Marsh, *In His Name: A Record of Assembly Missionary Outreach From New Zealand*, Palmerston North: G.P.H. Society, 1974, p. 20.

<sup>91</sup> Extracted from *Census of New Zealand*, 1911, Part II, 'Religions of the People', Table I, p. 98.

<sup>92</sup> Based on affiliation figures for 1896, extracted from the 1911 census as above.

<sup>93</sup> Based on known figures for membership: 'Diocesan Returns, 1895-1897', *PGS* 1898; 'Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 1894-1895', *NZB*, January 1896, between pp. 8 and 9; 'Statistics of Membership, 1901' [PCNZ and Synod], *PCSO PS*, p. 69.

As expected, a large majority of missionaries in the 1890s came from the four main urban centres - sixty per cent of missionaries, compared with just below thirty per cent for the general population.<sup>94</sup> Dunedin was the main source amongst these. For the Wellington province, however, forty-one per cent came from the Manawatu (mostly from Palmerston North). For Otago/Southland twenty-nine per cent came from a range of smaller rural centres. Most notable amongst these was Oamaru, in North Otago.

**Table 3.4 – Geographical Origin of Missionaries, 1890-1899 (%s)<sup>95</sup>**

Provinces	Census 1891	Missionaries 1890-1899
Auckland	21	20
Taranaki	4	1
Hawkes Bay	5	3
Wellington	16	12
Nelson/Marlborough	8	8
Westland	3	-
Canterbury	20	15
Otago/Southland	24	41

Second, whilst missionary figures broadly conformed to the geographical distribution of the denominations in the 1890s, there were some distinctive intra regional differences.<sup>96</sup> Most notably, in comparison with the denomination's population within regions, Anglican missionaries were over represented in Nelson/Marlborough, Baptists in Otago and Southland, and Methodists in Auckland. These figures also confirm that Otago and Southland was the heartland for Presbyterian and Baptist missionaries.

Table 3.1 indicates that the majority of missionaries in the 1890s were well educated compared with the general population, with some form of tertiary education having been attained by many missionaries. Langmore and Brouwer's figures for Papua and for Canadian missionaries point to a similar trend for the 1890s. The New Zealand missionary figures are based on just forty-five per cent of the dataset with known educational background, so they must be treated with some caution.<sup>97</sup> What we can say is this. There was a degree of gender differentiation in educational background, which was probably reflected in the wider population (Figure 3.5). The general level of

<sup>94</sup> 'The Urban System: Cities, Towns and the Links between them, 1891-1961', in Malcolm McKinnon (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Auckland: Bateman, 1997, Plate 65.

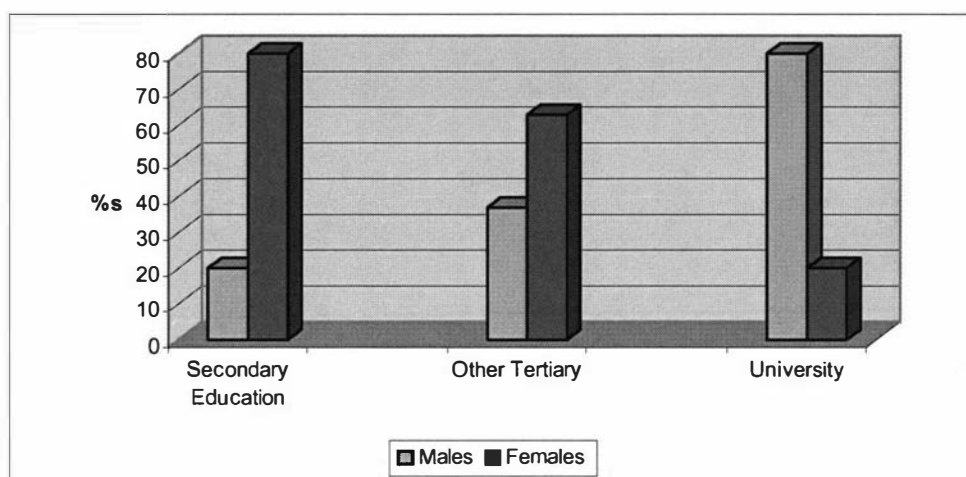
<sup>95</sup> General population extracted from *Census of New Zealand*, 1891, Part III, 'Religions of the People', Table V, p. 112.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, educational data was not available for Methodist or Brethren missionaries.

women's educational qualifications was rising by the 1890s, but there was still an obvious gender discrepancy. The NZCMA serves as a microcosm of this trend. Of the eight NZCMA missionaries to depart in the 1890s, six were women and two were men. One of the men had gained both university and theological qualifications, and the other non-matriculation high school. Four of the women had attained no higher than non-matriculation high school, and two were either trained nurses or primary teachers.

**Figure 3.5 – Highest Educational Background of Missionaries by Gender, 1890-1899 (%s)<sup>98</sup>**



There also indicated that, longer-term, the missionary workforce would tend to attract and demand more people with higher formal qualifications, compared with the general population. This was particularly so for those with university qualifications. Overall university student numbers in New Zealand grew from 596 to 808 between 1890 and 1900 – growing by thirty-six per cent.<sup>99</sup> Growth would be even more dramatic over the following two decades. Yet university graduates made up less than one per cent of the population by 1900. University graduates, however, made up at least thirteen per cent of the missionary workforce in the 1890s. Again while the number of women missionary graduates was still small, this would change. For example missionary work, along with teaching, was the main employment for women graduates of Otago University in the late nineteenth century.<sup>100</sup> Amy and Beatrice Harband, of the LMS, and Mary Moore, of the Church of Scotland mission in China, were the first baton holders of this growing

<sup>98</sup> See Appendix Four.

<sup>99</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1890, p. 342, and 1900, p. 412.

<sup>100</sup> Dorothy Page, 'The First Lady Graduates: Women with Degrees from Otago University, 1885-1900', in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant (eds), *Women in History 2*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992, pp. 112-113.

trend.<sup>101</sup> It may be further argued that missionary service occasioned the opportunity for a better than normally expected level of education. Of the thirty-six known missionaries who had attained ‘other tertiary’ qualifications, twenty-one (or fifty-eight per cent) had done so either through one or other of the newly established missionary training homes in Australia or Dunedin, or under the tuition of a local minister. The remainder of this category largely came into missionary service from nursing or teacher training.

With respect to occupational background, Tables 3.1 and 3.5 indicates that missionaries in the 1890s were significantly over represented in the professional occupations.

**Table 3.5 – Occupational Backgrounds of Missionaries, 1890-1899 (%)**<sup>102</sup>

Occupation	Census 1901		Missionaries 1890-1899	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
Professional	4	2	48	76
Domestic	2	8	0	12
Commercial	8	2	22	0
Transport/Communication	5	0.1	0	0
Industrial	21	4	15	0
Agricultural	27	1	11	0
Indefinite	1	1	0	4
Dependents	32	82	4	8

Within the professional category the largest group for men was ‘minister of religion’ and, for women, ‘nurse’ or ‘teacher’. There were significantly more missionary women coming from professional employment than women generally. At the same time the proportion of missionary women originally involved in education and health was comparable, percentage wise, with professional women generally by the end of the nineteenth century (eighty-four and eighty-seven per cent respectively).<sup>103</sup> The large majority of professionals reflected the predominantly urban (and probably middle class) base of missionary involvement, which contrasted with the large percentages of the general workforce in agricultural, extractive or industrial occupations or, for women, in domestic employment.<sup>104</sup> The above pattern held across the missions and across the denominations. Again Langmore and Brouwer’s figures show the same sort of pattern,

<sup>101</sup> James Sibree (ed.), *London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc, 1796-1923*, London: London Missionary Society, 1923, pp. 131, 134-135; Yvonne M. Wilkie, ‘Moore, Mary Emelia 1869-1951’, *DNZB*, updated 21 May 2002, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

<sup>102</sup> General population extracted from *Census of New Zealand, 1921*, Part VIII, ‘Industries, Occupations, and Unemployment, 1901-1921’, pp. 13-16.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>104</sup> ‘The Colonial Economy: Occupation and Enterprise, 1870s to 1900s’, in McKinnon (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plate 56.

both with respect to the occupational categories missionaries were drawn from in the 1890s and the gendered patterns within these.

### 3.6 Theological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1890-1899

Let the Indian, let the Negro,  
Let the rude barbarian see  
That divine and glorious conquest  
Once obtained on Calvary:  
Let the gospel  
Loud resound from pole to pole.

Fly abroad, thou mighty gospel,  
Win and conquer, never cease;  
May thy lasting, wide dominion  
Multiply and still increase:  
Sway thy sceptre,  
Saviour, all the world around.<sup>105</sup>

So sang Auckland Baptists during celebrations for the BMS Centenary in October 1892. The 1890s were a decade of heightened expectation, as a number of the older missionary societies celebrated one hundred years or more of missionary activity. It was a decade of optimism, and of confidence in the belief that Christianity would ‘win and conquer’, ‘multiply and still increase’, and finally ‘loud resound from pole to pole’. In this the missionary movement mirrored the expansionist sentiments of the era of ‘high imperialism’, in which the movement was embedded, and simultaneously stood in continuity with the past and anticipated a bright future. This continuity is readily apparent in an analysis of the New Zealand theological data for the decade. There were also a number of features that marked the 1890s out from the previous period.

Foreign missions were still theologically understood, in the 1890s, in predominantly conversionist terms (Table 3.6). Eugene Stock told those gathered in the Christchurch Cathedral, in October 1892, that ‘after nineteen centuries there was yet more than half the population of the globe who had not heard of the word of God.... the world had to be converted.’<sup>106</sup> Therefore words, phrases and images commonly referred again to the actions of ‘going’, ‘taking’, ‘sending’, ‘preaching’, ‘teaching’ and ‘converting’, and there was still a strong appeal to the divine command of God or the Church’s obligation.

<sup>105</sup> Verses Two and Five of a hymn entitled ‘O’er the ‘Gloomy Hills of Darkness’. It was a popular hymn in nineteenth-century British missionary meetings. ‘Hymns’, Folder 1, Box 0026, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>106</sup> Quoted in the *Press*, Monday 24 October 1892, p. 6.

**Table 3.6 – Ranked Descriptions of Mission by New Zealanders, 1890-1899<sup>107</sup>**

Mission as	Ang	Bapt	Presb	Others	Overall	1880s
Going/Taking the Gospel	1	1	3	1	1	2
Salvation/Conversion	2	2	1	3=	2	1
Preaching/Teaching	3=	3	4=	5=	3	5
Response to Great Need	6	4	-	2	4	7
Response to a Command	3=	11=	9	3=	5	9
Duty/Obligation	3=	6	10=	8=	6	8
Christian Leavening	10	8	2	8=	7=	6
Enlightenment	8	9=	4=	5=	7=	3
Warfare	9	5	7=	-	9=	12
Service/Sacrifice	11=	7	7=	5=	9=	-
Extending God's Kingdom	7	11=	6	10=	11	4
Reaping a Harvest	11=	9=	10=	10=	12	10
Premillennial Urgency	13	15	-	10=	13	-
Liberation	14=	13=	-	-	14=	11
Biblical Fulfilment	14=	13=	-	-	14=	13

By the end of the 1890s the two biblical texts referred to most often in connection with mission were the two variants of the so called 'Great Commission', found in the synoptic gospels of Matthew and Mark.<sup>108</sup> This was true for all the denominations and missions. Other texts were also co-opted in the construction of missionary theology in this period but, as we noted in Chapter 2.7, these two texts had now become the dominant biblical reference points. Furthermore, from the documents examined, it appears that the theological understanding of the missionary task was mainly located within the texts of the New Testament. The only references found to Old Testament texts were from the Psalms and Isaiah.

Again, as for the earlier period, there was still a noted tendency for speakers and writers to accentuate the dichotomous nature of the world as they saw it. Many of the dualistic images noted in Chapter 2.7 were still employed by people as they sought to define Christendom over and against non-Christendom. The predominant nouns, in this context, were still 'heathendom' and 'heathenism'. At the same time the list of dualistic images continued to expand (Table 3.8). Many of the contrasting images reflected a

<sup>107</sup> There were 283 phrases, collected from 135 different documents from the period, and grouped according to the dominant image or sentiment. Anglican – 97 phrases from 45 documents; Baptist – 87 phrases from 40 documents; Presbyterian – 55 phrases from 24 documents; Other – 44 phrases from 26 documents (eight from SAEM, twenty-one from CIM, fifteen from LMS and PIVM).

<sup>108</sup> Matthew 28:19-20 – 'Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you' (NIV). Mark 16:15 – 'He said to them, "Go into all the world and preach the good news to all creation"' (NIV).

growing awareness of the gap in material welfare between New Zealand and many other parts of the world. The textual location of these images suggests that they referred primarily to the perceived spiritual condition of those outside Christendom. They were intended to spur on further missionary action on the part of the New Zealand Church.

**Table 3.7 – Additional Dualistic Images of Mission, 1890-1899<sup>109</sup>**

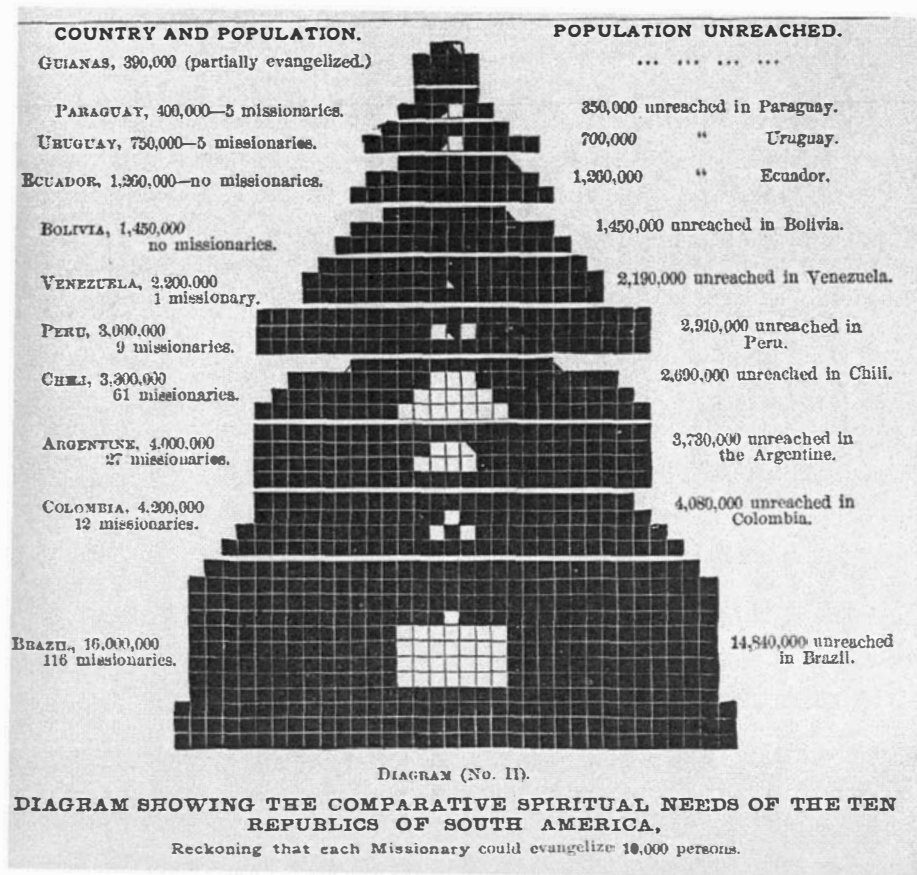
Christendom	Non-Christendom
Happy	Wretched
Pure	Degraded
Blessed	Cursed
Wealth	Poverty
Whole	Incomplete
Hopeful	Hopeless
Cultured	Uncultured

At the same time it appears that, during the 1890s, any theology of mission was fluid and ever changing. Prior to 1890 mission as a ‘response to great need’ was predominantly a Baptist feature. During the 1890s this category became more prominent in the statements of all groups and denominations except, curiously, for the Presbyterian Church. In the literature there was a growing tendency to quote and portray statistics of, for example, Asian populations and the numbers adhering to religions other than Christianity. The Victorian statistical movement was well into its maturity by the late nineteenth century, so it is not surprising that statistics were employed in the tasks of defining the religious state of the world, and of rallying the Church to the missionary cause.<sup>110</sup> The following diagram of South America is a typical example (Figure 3.6), with the demographic disparities between the Christian and non-Christian proportions starkly contrasted. An accompanying map carried the admonition that thirty-three million, out of a total population of thirty-seven million South Americans, were ‘wholly unevangelized’. At the same time there were indications that the ‘great need of the heathen world’ was also understood in humanitarian as well as religious terms – particularly with respect to the perceived plight of Asian women and children, and the reports of widespread famines in India.

<sup>109</sup> Extracted from the same data represented in Table 3.6.

<sup>110</sup> For a brief outline of this movement in Victorian Britain, see Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches*, London: Arnold, 2000, pp. 32-40.



**Figure 3.6 – A Typical Graphical Representation of the World's Need, 1895<sup>111</sup>**

There were other indicators of this fluidity in missionary theology. During the 1890s the appeal to mission as a response to either the divine command of God or as the Church's obligation, whilst a feature of the earlier period, took on a greater prominence. So did a broad grouping of statements that were framed in military or combative terms. Notions of 'conquest', 'taking possession', 'winning', being a 'soldier of Christ', and 'vanquishing sin' were much more common across the spectrum. Occasionally these were framed in the specific terms of a spiritual conflict with Satan. More commonly, though, such phrases and words reflected the broader sentiments of an era of European territorial expansion, and of general military success against indigenous armies and uprisings prior to the South African War. Finally there were two new theological categories evident in the 1890s. One of these defined mission as service and sacrifice. Mixed up in this were notions of personal usefulness, of service motivated by love, of the need for personal surrender to the call of God, and the view that, without human agency and availability, the urgent task would not be completed. Margaret Reid, of the

<sup>111</sup> *Missionary Review of the World*, 8:11 (1895), frontispiece and facing p. 852.

CIM, argued that ‘we are the human instruments ...[Jesus] works through human instruments, and if we do not go to them, how are they to hear the Word of God?’<sup>112</sup> The other new category was eschatological, reflecting the growth of premillennial views in some circles. In premillennial thinking the return of Christ would not happen until the whole world had been evangelised. Therefore the task of taking and preaching the Christian gospel to the entire world became imperative. Whilst this was not a dominant feature of missionary thinking in New Zealand by 1899, it was expressed by a number of people across the denominational spectrum, reflecting its acceptance by some and also reflecting a theological linkage with the international missionary movement.

Perhaps the greatest difference between the 1890s and the previous period lay in the repeated use of one word cited by all New Zealand denominations and groups – mission as ‘evangelisation’. Eugene Stock stated quite categorically that he had come to New Zealand in 1892 ‘in the cause of the evangelization of the world’.<sup>113</sup> This concept of ‘evangelizing the world’ or ‘evangelizing the heathen’ was a consistent thread running through nineteenth-century missionary texts although, in the New Zealand context, it only occurred with greatest frequency from the late 1880s. Yet its precise meaning in the 1890s is less easily defined. A way forward may be to attempt to understand the word in its immediate historical and textual locations in the 1890s. In so doing we may also better understand the theological construction of mission in New Zealand at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Historically ‘evangelisation’ had become a well-worn word in late nineteenth century missionary parlance. Whilst it was not used in the initial phases of the modern Protestant missionary movement, it did have currency by the mid-1800s.<sup>114</sup> Reference to it at an early missionary convention in New York, in 1854, specifically linked it with notions of ‘the faithful teaching and preaching of the pure Gospel of salvation’.<sup>115</sup> By the early 1880s writers freely used the word without any further need to define it.<sup>116</sup> It seems likely that the use of the word in the New Zealand context was most directly

<sup>112</sup> Margaret Reid’s valedictory speech in Dunedin. *Christian Outlook*, 12 September 1896, p. 395.

<sup>113</sup> Stock, ‘The CMS Deputation in New Zealand’, *Church Missionary Intelligencer*, February 1893, p. 133.

<sup>114</sup> For example, it is not once used in William Carey’s *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians, to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*, (1792), located at [www.wmcarey.edu/carey/enquiry/](http://www.wmcarey.edu/carey/enquiry/)

<sup>115</sup> J. R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation*, London: Student Volunteer Missionary Union, 1900, p. 11.

<sup>116</sup> Rev. John Inglis, *The Doctrine of Christian Missions*, p. 25.

affected by the rise of the Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions from 1886.<sup>117</sup> By the early 1890s this movement was particularly linked with the slogan ‘the evangelization of the world in this generation’ – the so-called ‘watchword’ adopted by the worldwide Student Volunteer Movement. The Rev. A. T. Pierson, an American Presbyterian missionary enthusiast and premillennialist, was probably responsible for popularising the slogan amongst students. He argued that if the return of Jesus Christ was imminent, then all means possible should be used to hasten that return. Therefore the complete evangelisation of the world, in the lifetime of those alive at the end of the nineteenth century, was of paramount importance. Within this formulation ‘evangelisation’ was defined primarily as the proclamation of Christianity, rather than the conversion of the world *per se*.<sup>118</sup> In the face of criticism, especially by the German Gustav Warneck,<sup>119</sup> the slogan underwent a reformulation at the turn of the centuries. The American missionary statesman John R. Mott helped to shift the focus away from its premillennial associations, arguing rather that ‘the evangelization of the world in this generation ... means the preaching of the Gospel to those who are now living’.<sup>120</sup> The emphasis, however, still lay on evangelisation as proclamation rather than conversion, or any attempt to Christianise the world. At the same time ‘proclamation’ was not envisaged as a superficial process. It was broadly defined to embrace a wide range of evangelistic, educational, medical, and literary methods.<sup>121</sup>

When the word’s textual location is examined in the New Zealand literature, it seems reasonable to reach similar conclusions about the way the word was understood and used. Its use was influenced, to a certain extent, by exposure to the Student Volunteer Movement. We can assume, then, that its meaning would have been understood in the context of the definitional changes occurring to the word internationally.<sup>122</sup> And yet it was still very ambiguous. On the one hand it seemed to refer to missionary proclamation, rather than to conversion. The Gleaners’ Union sought to unite ‘all who

<sup>117</sup> The contributory role of the Student Volunteer Movement will be considered in Chapter 6.3.

<sup>118</sup> Dana L. Robert, ‘The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword: “The Evangelization of the World in This Generation”’, *IBMR*, 10:4 (1986), pp. 146-148; Dana L. Robert, “The Crisis of Missions”: Premillennial Mission Theory and the Origins of Independent Evangelical Missions’, in J. A. Carpenter and W. R. Shenk (eds), *Earthen Vessels*, pp. 33-37.

<sup>119</sup> Gustav Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Missions*, pp. 406-407.

<sup>120</sup> J. R. Mott, *The Evangelization of the World in this Generation*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>121</sup> *ibid*, pp. 8-16.

<sup>122</sup> For example the exact phrase was used a number of times in NZCMA reports. *Annual Reports of the NZCMA*, 1897, p. 15, and 1898, pp. 1, 7, 9.

are interested in the cause [the CMS] represents, viz. the Evangelisation of the world; all who desire to take, in any way, a personal share in its work of preaching the Gospel to the Heathen and Mohammedan nations'.<sup>123</sup> Similarly the NZBMS, in 1895, juxtaposed observations that whole districts in East Bengal had been 'evangelised' with reports that, as yet, 'it has not succeeded ... in gathering together a church of disciples.... It cannot yet count any converts from heathenism to the faith of the Gospel'.<sup>124</sup> This was not an isolated instance. On the other hand the word was occasionally used almost as a synonym for the act of world conversion. In his 1892 visit Eugene Stock placed 'evangelisation' and 'conversion' side by side.<sup>125</sup> George Allan (of the South American Evangelical Mission) used 'evangelisation' in the context of observing that South American people were ready for Christian conversion.<sup>126</sup> In most cases, however, it was used as a form of shorthand to convey the message that the vast majority of the world's population still had not heard of Jesus Christ. Some New Zealanders may have understood the word in premillennial terms. For most people, however, the signs of the times (open access to previously inaccessible parts of the world, and increasingly sophisticated technologies) simply indicated that the time was ripe for a concerted response to the great needs of the world.

The ambiguities of 'evangelisation' help us to more accurately appreciate the breadth and fluidity of missionary thinking in the 1890s. It served to locate missionary work at varying points along a range of parallel semantic scales. Thus in the 1890s mission could be variously defined as both conversion and social amelioration, as both proclamation and Christianisation, and as both an incarnational act and as religious and social activism. To this end the Rev. Alfred North made a very telling statement when farewelling Annie Bacon, a nurse, to zenana work in India in 1890. He observed that Annie 'will be able to alleviate bodily sufferings, and to preserve imperilled life, as well as carry the good tidings of the Great Healer, whose loving care embraces our nature in its entirety, and who Himself set the example of the combination of these ministries'.<sup>127</sup> Its use reflected the degree to which the movement in New Zealand was linked to wider international currents of missionary thinking and practice, and the extent to which it

<sup>123</sup> Located in 'Ivens', ANG 143/3.70, Box 10, Archives of the NZCMS.

<sup>124</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1895', *MM*, December 1895, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>125</sup> See footnote 110.

<sup>126</sup> *South American Messenger*, 3:3 (1899), pp. 170-171.

<sup>127</sup> *NZB*, November 1890, p. 162.

reflected ambiguity in other sectors of the international movement.<sup>128</sup> And finally, because the definition of mission was so broad and not simply confined to narrowly defined evangelistic tasks, the way was increasingly opened up for women in particular.

### 3.7 Assessing the Missionary Movement of the 1890s

At first glance there were a number of factors that could explain the significant rise of missionary enthusiasm and activity in the 1890s. These would include such things as: the introduction of Christian Endeavour societies from America; the visit of John R. Mott in 1896 and the development of both the general student movement and the Student Volunteer Movement; the frequent visits of Charles Reeve (PIVM) from Australia in the later 1890s; other Australian influences such as missionary speakers and training institutes; speakers like the Rev. George Grubb and the introduction of Keswick style theology and spirituality; the greater sophistication in women's organisation of missionary support; and the impact of overseas developments. Yet none of these intrinsically explain this increase in enthusiasm and activity. They were important, and will be examined in more detail in Chapter Six. It seems more accurate to argue that it was in the confluence or the intersection of these factors, with a varying range of domestic factors already existing in New Zealand, that we find an explanation for the apparent growth and buoyancy of the missionary movement of the 1890s.

In the first instance it would appear that developments in New Zealand were both a reflection of, and a response to, the growth of the wider international missionary movement in the same period. It was a period in which Protestant Christianity was particularly robust and expansive and, as Latourette has argued, the missionary movement was a particular expression of this ebullient Protestantism.<sup>129</sup> The movement was then placed against an even broader canvas, of the simultaneous expansion and contraction of the mental and physical world of western Christians. Expanding European power and influence was nearing its zenith in the 1890s. At the same time the world was shrinking in terms of the growing ease of communication and travel, and the access that Europeans had to knowledge of the oriental 'other'. Not surprisingly

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<sup>128</sup> American mission theology was also diverse and imprecise in its formulation during this period. Valentin H. Rabe, *The Home Base of American China Missions, 1880-1920*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1978, pp. 1, 194.

<sup>129</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 4, pp. 94-107.

‘mission as expansion’ emerged as one of the dominant missionary motifs for this period’.<sup>130</sup> A further international feature was the emerging dominance of America. Andrew Walls argues that American dominance in the missionary movement at this stage was essentially a logical and final extension of the more general cultural, religious and political global dominance of Europe.<sup>131</sup> Growth in American missionary personnel and structures by the early 1900s was spectacular. American Protestant missionary numbers grew from around 2,176 in 1890 to over 9,000 by 1915. Amongst these, over the wider period 1886-1936, were an estimated 13,000 student volunteers. Similarly, by 1900, there were forty-one American women’s missionary agencies supporting 1,200 women missionaries, and involving some two million women domestically by 1910.<sup>132</sup> New Zealand certainly felt the impact of all of this growth in the 1890s, and reflected it through the burgeoning local missionary movement. Whilst many of the abiding influences were of British origin, it may be significant that the 1890s also marked the beginnings of the growing influence of America. This, in turn, reflected New Zealand’s emerging self-awareness as one of the new countries of the Pacific Rim.

A second confluence may be discerned between some of these external factors and localised reservoirs of religious enthusiasm. There is growing evidence that revivalism was a dynamic, if not necessarily uniform, feature of Christianity in late nineteenth-century New Zealand, which had a varying impact across many of the denominations.<sup>133</sup> Revivalism served to heighten religious enthusiasm as much as, if not more than, it increased the numbers of churchgoers. External factors must have served to nourish and

<sup>130</sup> Timothy Yates, *Christian Mission in the Twentieth Century*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994, pp. 7-12.

<sup>131</sup> Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, pp. 223-227.

<sup>132</sup> Gerald Anderson, ‘American Protestants in Pursuit of Mission, 1886-1986’, *IBMR*, 12:3 (1988), pp. 102, 106.

<sup>133</sup> Representative literature on revivalism in New Zealand: Robert Evans and Roy McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, Paihia: ColCom Press, 1999, pp. 31-111; Bryan Gilling, ‘Retelling the Old, Old Story: A Study of Six Mass Evangelistic Missions in Twentieth Century New Zealand’, PhD in History, University of Waikato, 1990, pp. 63-85; H. R. Jackson, *Churches and People in Australia and New Zealand, 1860-1930*, Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1987, pp. 48-65; Peter J. Lineham, ‘How Institutionalized was Protestant Piety in Nineteenth Century New Zealand?’ *JRH*, 13:4 (1985), pp. 376-378; Peter J. Lineham, ‘Adventism and the Sawdust Trail in Late Nineteenth Century New Zealand’, in Peter H. Ballis (ed.), *In and Out of the World: Seventh-day Adventists in New Zealand*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1985, pp. 32-51; Peter J. Lineham, ‘When the Roll is called up Yonder, Who’ll be There?’: An Analysis of Nineteenth Century Trans-Atlantic Revivalism in New Zealand and Canada’, in D. Pratt (ed.), *“Rescue the Perishing”: Comparative Perspectives on Evangelism and Revivalism*, Auckland: College Communications, 1989, pp. 1-17; Geoffrey M. Troughton, ‘Christianity and Community Aspects of Religious Life and Attitudes in The Wanganui-Manawatu Region, 1870-1885’, MA Thesis in History, Massey University, 1995, pp. 79-119.

extend this enthusiasm. Christian Endeavour, for example, sought to 'raise the standard among young people of outspoken devotion and consecrated service',<sup>134</sup> and it quickly took root among the main denominations in the 1890s.<sup>135</sup> George and Mary Allan, founders of the Bolivian Indian Mission, experienced a significant deepening of their faith (and a simultaneous call to foreign missions work) whilst members of their local Christian Endeavour group in Wyndham, Southland.<sup>136</sup> They were not alone in this experience. The fledgling student movement touched similar chords with tertiary students. Grubb's 1892 mission intersected with extant revivalist sentiments and enthusiasm in regional pockets like mid-Canterbury, Blenheim and Gisborne.<sup>137</sup>

There may also be a case for arguing that missionary support and involvement was increasingly viewed, from the 1890s onwards, as a logical derivative or outcome of heightened religious enthusiasm. If so, then the expanding missionary movement overseas and in New Zealand in the 1890s may have provided an outlet for this enthusiasm. Two further comments can be made for the 1890s. First, if it was a logical derivative, then gender became a key determinant of the outcome, particularly for the denominational missions. Within the denominations unsuccessful male candidates could go on to theological education and ordained ministry. For unsuccessful female applicants there was no additional denominational outlet for a vocational life devoted to God. The deaconess movement was only in its infancy at this stage.<sup>138</sup> As a consequence, perhaps, women in the 1890s were attracted to such groups as the CIM and the PIVM, which readily took women applicants with an apparent minimum of administrative fuss.<sup>139</sup> Second, this confluence between these two transdenominational streams helps to explain the essential ecumenical nature of the missionary movement, notwithstanding its denominational disguises. The case of Guy Thornton may be illustrative. Son of an ex-CMS missionary in India who had become the headmaster of Te Aute College, Thornton applied to the NZCMA in 1893, following a profound

<sup>134</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 2 October 1897, p. 427.

<sup>135</sup> *NZB*, May 1894, p. 77.

<sup>136</sup> Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit: A History of the Bolivian Indian Mission*, pp. 11, 19-20.

<sup>137</sup> Millard, *The Same Lord*, pp. 301-302, 321-331, 340-344.

<sup>138</sup> Margaret Tennant, 'Sisterly Ministrations: The Social Work of Protestant Deaconesses in New Zealand 1890-1940', *NZJH*, 32:1 (1998), pp. 7-11.

<sup>139</sup> Ellen (Beatrice) Giffard served with both the PIVM and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, before joining the NZCMA in 1905. Whilst applying to the NZCMA, in the mid 1890s, she was told that 'the CMA had nine waiting to go whom they were keeping back [so she] offered to Mr. Reeve, having heard that he was willing to take any at once'. 'Ellen Giffard', ANG 143/3.49, Box 9, NZCMS Archives.

religious conversion. He subsequently withdrew to pursue theological studies in England, with the intention of working under the CMS. In the same year he had initially enquired of the CIM, but withdrew because of his father's disapproval. Guy subsequently became a Baptist. In 1899 he applied to the South American Evangelical Mission, but again withdrew for health reasons. He later went on to evangelistic work in Australia and the Solomon Islands, Baptist ministry in New Zealand, and a celebrated military chaplaincy with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in World War One.<sup>140</sup> All of this is suggestive of a 'missionary type', spurred on by religious enthusiasm, and for whom denominational boundaries were ultimately of little consequence.

As a subset of this confluence between domestic religious enthusiasm and international factors, the relationship with Australia was also important. Several of the New Zealand missionary organisations that were formed in the 1880s and 1890s had their origins in or were influenced by developments in Australia – in particular the NZBMS, the CIM, the NZCMA, the PIVM, and the South American Evangelical Mission. A range of Australian missionary speakers and training homes in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were also influential. This relationship with Australia fitted into a broader context. Stuart Piggin argues that the period from around 1870 up to World War One was 'the high noon of Australian Protestantism'. There was a relatively high percentage of church attendance (perhaps as much as forty per cent), and a strong commitment to social transformation and engagement.<sup>141</sup> Piggin asserts that the 'most prestigious institutions of the evangelical movement and the accepted thermometer of its spiritual temperature were overseas missions'.<sup>142</sup> If this was the case then it seems that missionary enthusiasm in New Zealand, during the late 1880s and in the 1890s, fed off, or was a partial by-product of, the life and vibrancy evident in Australia in this period. A third possible confluence may be discerned between growing missionary awareness and overseas events. New Zealanders of the 1890s were constantly in touch with the wider world through books, magazines, speakers, church periodicals and, most

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<sup>140</sup> 'Thornton', ANG 143/3.117, Box 16, NZCMS Archives; Record of Applications, 1890-1930, Item 733, Box 5-1D, Australia CIM Archives, Bible College of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia; Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives; December 1899; Angus MacLeod, 'Thornton, Guy Dynevor 1872 - 1934', DNZB, updated 19 July 2002 URL: [www.dnzb.govt.nz/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/); Elinor Thornton, *Guy D. Thornton, Athlete, Author, Pastor, Padre: His Life and Work*, Auckland: Scott & Scott, Ltd., 1937

<sup>141</sup> Piggin, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996, pp. 49-50.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.*, p. 66.



importantly, through the cable news columns and editorials of their daily newspapers. At the official level of denominational synods and annual assemblies, note was often made of world events and issues, from at least the 1870s.<sup>143</sup> At least two sets of events in the mid to late 1890s may have served to further heighten international and missionary awareness. One was the massacre of CMS missionaries in Ku-Cheng, in Fukien Province, southern China, in 1895. Among the dead were four Australian women, and the Rev. Robert Stewart, who had visited New Zealand with Stock in 1892. The reporting of these deaths was most prominent in Anglican circles. Memorial services were held, and eulogies appeared in various publications.<sup>144</sup> Children were catechised, and the martyrs' example was held up for public emulation.<sup>145</sup> Other denominations also acknowledged the loss, including memorial services in Wesleyan Methodist churches, and speaking engagements in Congregational churches by a visiting LMS missionary from China.<sup>146</sup> The other set of events was the increasing frequency of famines in India. These, combined with a new pandemic of bubonic plague in 1897, were severe enough to cause New Zealanders to take notice. Appeals were placed before both Baptist and Presbyterian constituencies in early 1897. Within one month Baptists had contributed £23, from Hanover Street Baptist Church alone, and Presbyterians contributed £168 within five months.<sup>147</sup> Such appeals would occur not infrequently over successive years. In 1900 further famine resulted in the Agent-General, William Pember Reeves, remitting £5,000 to the Indian Viceroy from the people of New Zealand.<sup>148</sup> The combined impact of these sorts of events is speculative. They probably served to heighten the profile of China and India in particular, and may have contributed to the growing numbers of missionaries serving there from the mid 1890s. They must also have influenced the 'mission as a response to need' motif, and propelled increasing numbers of missionary aspirants who, from 1900, were motivated partly out of a desire to be useful in the face of such need.

<sup>143</sup> For example an 'Indian Relief Fund' was established at the Christchurch Diocesan Synod in 1877. *New Zealand Church News*, (Supplement), November 1877, p. 4.

<sup>144</sup> For example in the Christchurch Cathedral, Sunday 11 August 1895, in the *Press*, 12 August 1895, p. 3; and a eulogy appeared in the *Church Gazette*, September 1895, pp. 160-161.

<sup>145</sup> *ibid*; *Church Gazette*, September 1895, p. 171.

<sup>146</sup> *Press*, 13 August 1895, p. 3; *ibid*, 26 August 1895, pp. 5, 6.

<sup>147</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 6 February 1897, p. 15; *ibid*, 10 July 1897; 25 March 1897, Church Meeting Minutes, 1890-1908, Hanover Street Baptist Church, Dunedin, 96-116, HO:DU.

<sup>148</sup> Indian Famine Fund, *AJHR*, vol. 3, 1900, H. 30B, p. 1.

Finally there may have been a confluence between growing missionary awareness and social, political and economic developments within New Zealand. Improving economic conditions, in the 1890s, may have allowed missionary endeavour to expand and to move out of such regional niches as Otago and Canterbury, where economic conditions had been more favourable than in many of the developing rural regions of the North Island. Amidst easing economic conditions, however, there was a wider ferment of political and social change that was important for the ongoing development of the colony. Central amongst these were the new Liberal Government's moves to change rural land ownership and to establish various forms of state provided social assistance. It was also a decade in which the broader public voiced concerns over perceived social ills, most notably the issue of alcohol and prohibition. It was in this quest for what James Belich terms 'moral harmony'<sup>149</sup> that the voices of churches were most loudly heard, and the interests and energies of Church and public most obviously intersected. The most significant development concerned women. In the 1890s there were landmark developments in the legislation guaranteeing women's suffrage (1893), and in the establishment of the National Council of Women (1896). The Women's Christian Temperance Union, formed in 1885, was also well established although, as Jolene Mckay points out, its New Zealand membership until 1900 was never more than 1,000.<sup>150</sup> Between 1892 and 1902 at least, the WCTU encouraged missionary support generally, and of individual women missionaries known to the members, through its 'Missionary Work' department.<sup>151</sup>

All of this helped to create a climate within which women, particularly in the Presbyterian Church, could take a leading role in organising missionary support. They did so with increasing sophistication through the 1890s. Women in the Synod of Otago and Southland initially formed the Ladies' Mission Aid Association in late 1891. This was primarily a response to the educational and domestic needs of the children of New Hebrides Mission families.<sup>152</sup> Jane Bannerman, wife of the Synod's Missions Committee convenor, was instrumental in its formation and in the developments that

<sup>149</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A History of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: The Penguin Press, 2001, pp. 157-188.

<sup>150</sup> J. Mckay, 'The Tie that Binds': Christianity in the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1885-1900', BA (Hons) Dissertation in History, University of Otago, 1995, pp. 8, 13-16.

<sup>151</sup> Seventh Annual General Meeting, 1892, p. 2, *Reports and Minutes of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1886-1894*, Microfiche 178.1 NEW, Massey University Library; *White Ribbon*, 7:84 1902, pp. 6-7.

<sup>152</sup> 'Report of Ladies' Mission Aid Association, 1892', *PCSO PS*, p. 63.

followed. Between 1896 and 1897 this Association was reshaped into a Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, modelled on Australian precedents.<sup>153</sup> The stated intention was to establish a network of congregational and presbytery based groups that would catalyse the interest, support and participation of women in the missionary cause. The Union extended the activity of the Association to include support of the Chinese Mission in southern New Zealand and of Presbyterian women who were missionaries in India with the United Free Church of Scotland. By 1900 the concept had taken root in Otago and Southland, and would be adopted by other presbyteries in the years to follow.<sup>154</sup> Further discussion in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight will highlight the wider context of this movement, and the interpretational issues involved.

We can certainly argue, on the weight of evidence outlined in this chapter, that missionary enthusiasm was much advanced by 1899. Yet the movement still had its weaknesses. We have already noted the erratic nature of missionary finances, and the possibility that missionary enthusiasts were the exception rather than the rule. Three further examples highlight the tenuous nature of missionary enthusiasm and support up to 1899. These revolved around issues of competition, administration and finances.

The first example concerns the Poona and Indian Village Mission. As a result of the interest generated by the visits of the founder Charles Reeve between 1896 and 1899, at least twenty-one men and nineteen women went to western India from New Zealand with the PIVM in the 1890s. This was a disproportionately high number of recruits. Whilst thirty-eight per cent came from Otago and Southland, the balance came from a broad range of other localities. Recruits were drawn mostly from the Anglican, Baptist and Brethren denominations, with smaller numbers of Presbyterians and Methodists. Against this backdrop, there were indications that such dynamic growth may have belied some inherent weaknesses. The existing evidence suggests (based on a fifty per cent sample) that at least sixteen of the forty New Zealand missionaries with the PIVM had terminated their service within five years of departing. The median length of service was four years, which was lower than the overall median figure of nine years for missionaries of this period. Ten of the missionaries changed to other missions also

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<sup>153</sup> 'Mission Report, 1897', *PCSO PS*, p. 85; Judith Godden, 'Containment and Control: Presbyterian women and the missionary impulse in New South Wales, 1891-1914', *Women's History Review*, 6:1 (1997), pp. 75-93.

<sup>154</sup> Henderson, *Women's Work for Missions*, pp. 12-18.

working in India. Seven others left for health reasons, and one had died from cholera. At least three of these leavers had gone on to further professional medical or theological training. Annie Morton severed her connection with the PIVM to work independently, but it is unclear what the nature of that severance was.<sup>155</sup> There was a hint of frustration evident in the young Josiah Ryburn's comment that he had left the PIVM because 'I did not see much of the village work there as I spent the whole of my time at office work'.<sup>156</sup> Taken altogether these can, at best, only be suggestive of underlying weaknesses. They may reflect a mix of: the faith nature of the PIVM (where individual missionaries were directly dependent on the vagaries of personal support); the taxing climatic environment in which they worked and both a spirituality and work ethic that pushed people to the limits within that environment; the personality and leadership style of Reeve himself; and perhaps poor administration of the mission in its early stages. Thus rapid growth in missionary numbers was not a true indicator of missionary strength at home particularly if that growth could not be domestically sustained.

The second example concerns the perceived pressures placed on denominational missionary finances, by new groups such as the PIVM and the CIM. These relative newcomers were certainly looked at askance by the 'older denominations', and were variously perceived to be a nuisance or an affront. The Rev. Dr Robert Erwin suggested to the Presbyterian Church FMC, in 1898, that 'our church is being exploited by agents' of these two groups, and members 'heartily agreed'.<sup>157</sup> From September to November 1897 a heated and protracted debate amongst some Presbyterians raged over the PIVM (and by inference the CIM) in the columns of the *Christian Outlook*. The debate revolved around the issue of finances. The main detractors argued that the money being sought from Christian Endeavour groups and churches, to support the PIVM, meant that there would be 'a very large withdrawal of interest from our own Foreign Mission scheme as a Church, and a probable deficiency in funds for our responsibilities'.<sup>158</sup> Those who disagreed also argued on financial grounds. Some were of the opinion that, in matters of faith, money should not be at issue because 'the Lord will not suffer His

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<sup>155</sup> NZB, September 1903, p. 144. Annie Morton went on to be associated with the NZBMS in India, but not employed by them. NZB, June 1903, p. 96.

<sup>156</sup> Ryburn to Hewitson, 4 December 1907, 'J. Ryburn', 6.33, Punjab Mission (GA0149), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>157</sup> 12 July 1898, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1888-1901, Series 1, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>158</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 4 September 1897, p. 376.

servants to want for any good thing'.<sup>159</sup> Others were firmly convinced that Presbyterian giving was well below what it potentially could be, and that there was scope for money to be given to both denominational and other missionary causes.<sup>160</sup> A business minded writer appeared to have the last say by suggesting that, on good business principles, 'two organizations will raise more funds than one. So long, therefore, as the Poonah [sic] missionaries do not poach, bid them God-speed'.<sup>161</sup>

It is questionable as to how far financial issues were the real problem. The financial records of the late 1890s are somewhat ambiguous. Missionary giving continued to increase erratically through the 1890s for both branches of the Presbyterian Church. Between 1890 and 1900 northern missionary annual giving rose from £336 to £585, compared with a rise from £876 to £1,778 over the same period for the southern Church.<sup>162</sup> The northern Church experienced declining growth in missionary giving between 1880 and 1895, which perhaps reflected the lingering effects of the 1880s depression. Yet between 1895 and 1900, the period in which this debate took place, the rate of growth in giving increased again. At the same time there was a discernible broadening of the overall base of Presbyterian giving. Therefore the above financial arguments may have been based more on speculation than on reality, or may have reflected feelings of financial vulnerability amongst the northern churches in particular. There was little financial urgency reported in Assembly or Synod annual reports for these years. Veiled references to Christian Endeavour groups 'wisely' concentrating their support on denominational projects possibly reflected a measure of official concern.<sup>163</sup> Whilst there was still a degree of financial weakness in the support base of mission by 1899, this debate also hinted at other weaknesses. The main detractor vociferously objected to the PIVM's perceived ethos, style and leadership. It was pejoratively described as a group of 'enterprising nomads in religious faith', attracting 'unlettered persons to the posts of missionaries'.<sup>164</sup> Later the criticism turned specifically to the PIVM being essentially a 'Plymouthistic Mission' (meaning Plymouth Brethren), from which 'we shall very soon see considerable departures from

<sup>159</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 18 September 1897, p. 400.

<sup>160</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 30 October 1897, p. 476; *ibid*, 13 November 1897, p. 502.

<sup>161</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 13 November 1897, p. 503.

<sup>162</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1892, Appendix Va; 1900, Appendix XXIIIa; *PCSO PS*, 1890, Appendix; 1900, Appendix.

<sup>163</sup> 'Missions Report, 1898', *PCSO PS*, pp. 106-107; 'Chinese Mission Report, 1898', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 65.

<sup>164</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 4 September 1897, p. 376.

the faith'.<sup>165</sup> The arguments, then, centred more around such things as denominational loyalty, suspicion, pride, and growing differences in how the task of world mission was being conceived in the 1890s. At this stage the dividing lines were not so much ones of theology as they were of style and of operation. The emerging nondenominational groups were possibly perceived as a threat to denominational identity and integrity. It may have been more than coincidence, then, that schemes for raising Presbyterian support (such as the PWMU) and new ventures such as the Canton Villages Mission were conceived and promoted in this very same period. If the missionary movement embodied an inherent ecumenism, which was potentially its greatest strength, then it was obvious that there were still some who were threatened by this and who possibly sought to control it within denominational structures. The movement could potentially become fragmented.

The final example concerns the NZBMS, and underscores the potential structural weaknesses that were hidden by rapid growth in the 1890s. During the 1890s the NZBMS expanded both its domestic financial base and its missionary workforce. Between 1890 and 1900 the Society engaged sixteen new missionaries in East Bengal, and fielded enquiries from at least another fifteen people. Of the sixteen, seven went to India in the space of two years, in 1895-1896. This was rapid growth for a small denomination with a limited budget. There were definite financial strains emerging by 1899,<sup>166</sup> but it was a set of other factors that nearly caused the whole venture to unravel. In July 1899 the resignations of five NZBMS missionaries were tendered or requested. Within a year a sixth missionary had resigned out of protest. The Rev. H. H. Driver, in a public statement, enigmatically referred to the fact that 'variances ... had unhappily arisen among our Agents on the field [which] had reached so acute a stage'.<sup>167</sup> The *Otago Witness* reported just as enigmatically that 'Mr. Ings and Mr. Barry have resigned their connection with the New Zealand Missionary Society, and have done so under protest'.<sup>168</sup> The 1899 NZBMS report further clarified the situation by stating that 'personal differences arose between the probationers and their Superintendent, which became so embittered as to make co-operation impossible and success hopeless'.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>165</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 9 October 1897, pp. 443-444; *ibid*, 16 October 1897, p. 456.

<sup>166</sup> *NZB*, February 1899, p. 25.

<sup>167</sup> *NZB*, August 1899, p. 122.

<sup>168</sup> *OW*, 16 November 1899, p. 65.

<sup>169</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1899', *MM*, December 1899, p. 1.

Reading from these sources alone the incident appeared to be a case of personality differences between field staff – a not uncommon problem in missionary circles. In his 1948 thesis on the NZBMS, however, Baptist historian E. P. Y. Simpson suspected that both the enigmatic reporting and the dearth of information were indicative of deeper problems. He was able to interview both the Rev. Walter Barry and the Rev. John Ings, thus clarifying the issues involved.<sup>170</sup> His main conclusion was that the problems stemmed from poor policy decisions. Primary amongst these was the policy to ‘expand the work in India to the limit ... a sample of enthusiasm running away with sound judgement’.<sup>171</sup> This policy was compounded by two further factors. One was the fact that the NZBMS executive committee, because it was also the committee of the Baptist Union, was free to make staffing and budgetary decisions without wider consultation. Thus, in 1895 and 1896, a relatively inexperienced English BMS missionary (George Hughes) was hastily appointed field superintendent over a team made up primarily of new recruits, in order that the work should continue to grow. That, argued Simpson, was where the primary problem lay. The second factor was the autocratic nature of the Rev. Alfred North, who dominated the early years of both the Union and the NZBMS, and who was mostly responsible for this policy of imprudent growth. This was perhaps epitomised in North’s insistence on the appointment of Hughes to a supervisory role, apparently against BMS advice.<sup>172</sup>

Simpson’s argument makes sense when we consider the entire NZBMS missionary workforce for the period 1885-1899. Of the nineteen missionaries placed in East Bengal in that period, only five remained past 1899. As well as the six who resigned in 1899-1900, two others had died, two retired for health reasons, and one married couple had their contract terminated for unsatisfactory progress. Too rapid growth, then, underscored various structural weaknesses that would need attention. The problems inherent in the makeup of the Executive Committee began to be addressed from 1902 onwards, under the leadership of the Rev. J. J. North as Baptist Union secretary. Primary amongst the changes was the move to make the whole Baptist annual

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<sup>170</sup> The correspondence generated by Simpson’s enquiries in 1948 was parcelled together and deposited as confidential documents with the New Zealand Baptist Historical Society. They remained confidential and embargoed until recently. They are now accessible as a part of the NZBMS Archives.

<sup>171</sup> Simpson to P. F. Lanyon, 20 September 1948; and Walter Barry to Simpson, 8 November 1948, ‘Crisis Documents’, Box 0642, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>172</sup> Simpson, ‘Additional Confidential Statement Regarding Crisis on East Bengal Field, 1896-1899, and Accompanying Events in New Zealand’, ‘Crisis Documents’, Box 0642, NZBMS Archives.

conference the policy making body for the NZBMS. Growth for growth's sake was no longer the goal. Furthermore a NZBMS Field Committee was established in India, from 1902, which helped to ease tensions over communication and decision-making between the Committee and the field.<sup>173</sup> Alfred North departed for a brief pastorate of Calcutta's Circular Road Church in 1900, and would not have the dominance in Baptist circles on his return that he had previously enjoyed.<sup>174</sup> Some contemporaries viewed the crisis as a spiritual wake up call for New Zealand Baptists. In the wider picture of the 1890s, however, it served notice that the missionary movement would need to be harnessed as much to structures and sound methods, as it was to popular enthusiasm or to the energies of an enthusiastic minority.

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<sup>173</sup> Simpson, 'A History of the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', pp. 77-79, 134-136.

<sup>174</sup> S. L. Edgar, *Alfred North 1846-1924*, Auckland: New Zealand Baptist Historical Society, 1955, p. 12.



### New Zealand Presbyterians in Southern China



**Photo 3.1 – Canton Villages Mission Staff, 1914**

*Back: Rev. Herbert Davies, Dr. Edward Kirk, Rev. Peter Milne*

*Middle: Dr R. Paterson (Muriel?), Mrs Catherine Paterson, Winifred Stubbs, Annie Hancock, Annie James, Annie McEwan, Mrs Hazel Milne, Rev. William Mawson (George)*

*Front: Jean McNeur, Mrs Margaret Davies (Jock), Mrs Margaret McNeur, Rev. George McNeur, Mrs Sara Mawson*

*Very Front: Ellen Wright, Margaret Mawson, Gordon Mawson*

(Canton Villages Mission Album, c. 1900-1930, A-L-1.11-13, Foreign Missions Committee, GA0001, PCANZ Archives)



**Photo 3.2 – Mrs Ellen Miller (Wright) with Nancy, 1921**

(Canton Villages Mission Album, c. 1900-1930, A-L-1.23-69, Foreign Missions Committee, GA0001, PCANZ Archives)

## Chapter Four Consolidation and Growth, 1900-1918

### 4.1 Introduction

During 1900 the outside world dramatically penetrated the lives and consciousness of many ordinary New Zealanders. From January to early March the aging patriarchs of the China Inland Mission, the Rev. and Mrs. Hudson Taylor, paid their first and only visit to New Zealand. Audiences, in at least fifty churches and public venues, were presented first hand with the Chinese Empire, its peoples and the needs of the CIM.<sup>1</sup> Barely three months later China was very much again in the news, as the so called Boxer Rebellion claimed the lives of at least 188 foreigners and many more Chinese Christians between June and August of 1900.<sup>2</sup> These far away events were brought closer to home partly through the presence in China of twelve New Zealand CIM missionaries. Edith Searell of Christchurch died during the uprising. Newspapers and sermons conveyed news and comment on the events. Over and around these events hung the clouds of war in South Africa. Between 1899 and 1902 around 6,500 New Zealand troops participated in the British campaign against the Afrikaaner uprising. Of this total seventy were killed and 166 were wounded.<sup>3</sup> This was an unprecedented experience, and one that dominated newspapers, sermons, and church editorials.

These events foreshadowed both the hope and pathos embodied in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Optimism was the dominant mood, as reflected in the 1900 NZCMA annual report. 'This new century, which has the experience of the past to guide and encourage, as well as the Divine promises and commands to inspire it, ought to be vastly more fruitful in missionary effort than the one just closed'.<sup>4</sup> Many New Zealanders subscribed to the notion that the British Empire was divinely inspired and obligated to extend the Kingdom of God amongst its constituent peoples. At the same time the events in China, and the sobering human cost of military involvement in South Africa, presaged both the horrors of world war and the rise of colonial nationalism. Great hope and the portents of great and cataclysmic change stood side by side at the dawning of the new century.

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<sup>1</sup> For example: *Outlook*, January 1900; *OW*, January 1900; *Press*, January and February 1900; *Evening Post*, February 1900; *New Zealand Herald*, March 1900.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 287-288.

<sup>3</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, p. 79.

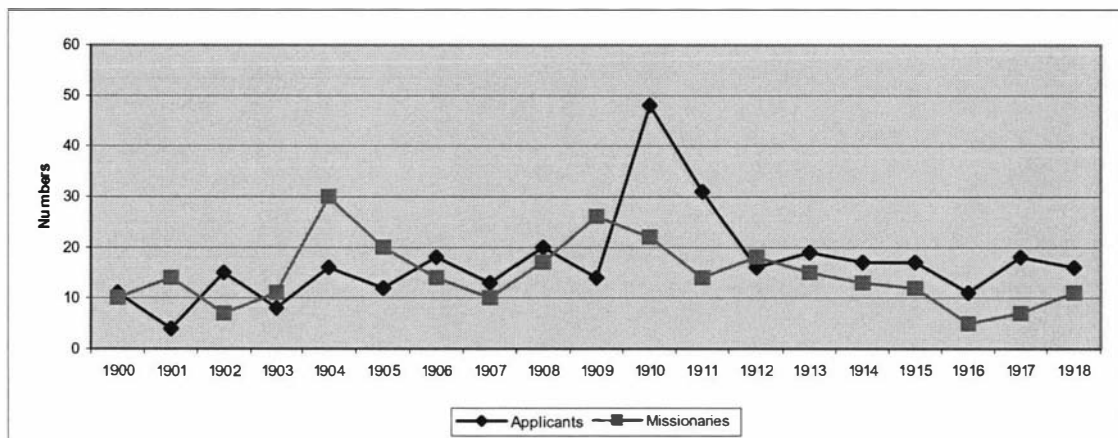
<sup>4</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1901, p. 11.

Against this backdrop Chapter Four argues that the growth in the New Zealand missionary movement during the 1890s was maintained and consolidated between 1900 and 1918, and that missionary enthusiasm was harnessed in increasingly sophisticated ways. By 1918 missionary awareness and support was an integral feature of national and local church life. Three main questions will be addressed. First, what recognisable developments support the notion of consolidation and growth between 1900 and 1918, and what features were especially indicative of the movement's growing sophistication and acceptance? Second, to what extent were these developments continuous or discontinuous with the 1890s? Third, to what extent was the movement in this period shaped by domestic and by external factors and, therefore, how legitimate is it to speak of an emerging indigenous New Zealand missionary movement by 1918? The chapter will focus on the main developments of the period, the genesis of the Bolivian Indian Mission, the discernible theological and sociological themes and trends, the indicators of consolidation and sophistication, and a range of identifiable influences.

#### 4.2 An Outline of the Main Developments, 1900-1918

Between 1900 and 1918 New Zealand Christians embarked on missionary service in similar numbers as for the 1890s. At least 294 men and women went overseas as missionaries between 1900 and 1918, and another 206 applied or enquired (Figure 4.1).

**Figure 4.1 – Estimated Missionary and Applicant Numbers, 1900-1918<sup>5</sup>**



Missionaries were employed or sponsored by an estimated thirty-four different organisations – twenty connected with New Zealand or overseas denominations, and

<sup>5</sup> See Footnote Four in Chapter Three.

fourteen that were non-denominational.<sup>6</sup> Twenty of these were new to New Zealand between 1900 and 1918. Most notable amongst these were the Regions Beyond Missionary Union and the Sudan United Mission – both of which originated from Great Britain, and were linked to the family of Henry Grattan Guinness.<sup>7</sup> New Zealanders went to at least twenty-five different destinations. Seventy-five per cent went either to India, the South Pacific or China, with others going to Africa and South America.

It is difficult to account for the applications peak in 1910 and 1911. Denominational reports for these two years simply noted the rise in interest, without comment.<sup>8</sup> There were increased numbers of tertiary students signing the Student Volunteer Pledge in 1910-1911. A third of Presbyterian applicants in 1910 and 1911 were Student Volunteers. Yet few of the applicants from other denominational sources were known Volunteers and, furthermore, there is no indication as to why there were more students signing the Pledge at this point.<sup>9</sup> Presbyterian and Anglican application records simply suggest a range of quite normal factors prompting applications – visiting missionary speakers, advertised appeals for more workers, and personal circumstances. These factors may have intersected with heightened missionary awareness stemming from publicity about both the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh (publicised and commented on in many denominations), and the Laymen's Missionary Movement.

There were further indicators of the missionary movement's growth during this period. More local councils or committees of overseas missionary organisations were established, including the South African Compounds Mission (1900), the Australasian South American Mission (1900), the Ramabai Mukti Mission (1903), the Bolivian Indian Mission (1908), the South Sea Evangelical Mission (1911), and the Sudan United Mission (1912). There were obvious signs of growth within denominations. Anglican missionaries, for example, were now serving with at least six different Anglican mission groups.<sup>10</sup> Baptists were being asked to financially support large

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix One for specific details.

<sup>7</sup> See C. W. MacKintosh, *The Life Story of Henry Grattan Guinness* [Jnr], London: The Regions Beyond Missionary Union, 1916.

<sup>8</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1912', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1912-1913, p. 75; 'Missions Report, 1910', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 94.

<sup>9</sup> From: Listing of NZ Student Volunteers, SCM Collection, MS Papers 1617, Folder 4, WTU; List of Student Volunteers, G549.111, Folder 2033, Box 246, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>10</sup> These were the Melanesian Mission, the CMS, the NZCMA, the Australian Anglican Papua Mission, the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

capital projects as well as missionary personnel. The now united Presbyterian Church of New Zealand embarked on new mission ventures in South China near Canton (1901) and in North India (1910). New Zealand continued to be drawn in and influenced by overseas developments. John R. Mott's visit and the students' missionary conference in 1903, and later the visit of Ruth Rouse (WSCF Women's Secretary) in 1908, ensured the ongoing profile of the Student Volunteer Movement until at least World War One. Visiting overseas missionary speakers were a regular feature of church calendars. The American Laymen's Missionary Movement had a brief impact. The 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference also had a downstream impact on New Zealand missionary thinking and support. Finally there was a discernible growth in missionary income over the period. Total income for the NZCMA rose from £1,704 in 1900 to £2,761 in 1910 to £5,876 by the end of 1918.<sup>11</sup> Generally Anglicans gave over twenty-five percent of special offerings annually to foreign missions – twenty-six per cent in 1905 and twenty-eight per cent in 1915.<sup>12</sup> Baptist giving to the NZBMS rose from £970 in 1900 to £2,413 in 1910 to £3,655 by the end of 1915.<sup>13</sup> Similarly total Presbyterian giving rose from £3,425 in 1905 to £7,236 by the end of 1915.<sup>14</sup> This rise in missionary income must have reflected an ongoing solid measure of missionary support throughout this period (see Chapter 8.2).

### 4.3 The Bolivian Indian Mission, 1908-1918

In 1895 a twenty-four year old Southland farm labourer named George Allan wrote that it was a Christian responsibility to 'show forth [Jesus'] wondrous love' to those who did not know it and that, despite the task's enormity, 'our Saviour knows our weakness and has promised to strengthen us'.<sup>15</sup> Some forty years later the obituaries of both George Allan and his wife Mary (née Stirling) reverently referred to them as the 'Father' and 'Mother' of the Bolivian Indian Mission (BIM) who, amongst the Quechua Indians of Bolivia, had lived 'a life of full surrender and glad, willing service to their Lord'.<sup>16</sup> In the intervening years they had established a missionary organisation that had distinctive

<sup>11</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1900, p. 20; *ibid*, 1910, p. 12; *ibid*, 1918, p. 28.

<sup>12</sup> *PGS*, 1907, p. 93; *ibid*, 1916, p. 43.

<sup>13</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1900', *MM*, December 1900, p. 4; 'NZBMS Report, 1910', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1909-1910, Appendix; 'NZBMS Report, 1915', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1914-1915, Appendix.

<sup>14</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1905, p. 56; *ibid*, 1915, p. 224.

<sup>15</sup> George Allan to Jean, 20 January 1895, in 'Allan Correspondence, 1895-1925', George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

<sup>16</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, May-June 1939, pp. 138-140; *ibid*, January-March (1942), pp. 3-6.

roots in New Zealand. The Bolivian Indian Mission arose in the midst of a period in which the burgeoning New Zealand missionary movement was being consolidated.

The BIM evolved, over ten years, out of two pre-existing missions to South America. New Zealand interest in South America intersected with growing international interest, especially amongst North American Protestants.<sup>17</sup> George and Mary's personal interest was first aroused around 1895 in the context of their involvement in Christian Endeavour in Wyndham, Southland, and further fed by their reading of Lucy Guinness' book *The Neglected Continent*.<sup>18</sup> Their interest was also fuelled in 1898 whilst training at Angas College in Adelaide, where they heard about a newly established Canadian faith mission called the South American Evangelical Mission. They subsequently applied to and were accepted by the mission, and were instrumental in establishing both its Australasian Council in Melbourne and a number of New Zealand committees. The Dunedin Committee (established in April 1899) was the most prominent of these, and was chaired for several years by Arthur Heycock.<sup>19</sup> Between May and December 1899 six New Zealanders left for the Argentine to work with this mission – George and Mary Allan, Charles Wilson, Ernest Heycock (son of Arthur), Robert Barton and William Cook.<sup>20</sup> Charles and Ernest had also been influenced by Lucy Guinness' book, whilst involved with a young men's prayer group in Dunedin.<sup>21</sup> The whole party spent the first four years in the Argentine.

In early 1901 the Canadian Council of the South American Evangelical Mission decided to amalgamate with the Latin American work of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union. This amalgamation later became the Evangelical Union of South America.<sup>22</sup> The Australasian missionaries, the Council and the local committees debated this change and ultimately decided to remain autonomous, with all existing missionaries remaining

<sup>17</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 5, pp. 101-125.

<sup>18</sup> Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit*, p. 11; *South American Messenger*, 2:3 (1898), p. 36. See also H. Grattan Guinness, *Lucy Guinness Kumm: Her Life Story with Extracts from her Writings*, London: Morgan & Scott Ltd., 1908, pp. 11-12.

<sup>19</sup> *South American Messenger*, 1:4 (1897), inside cover; *ibid*, 2:9 (1898), p. 106; *ibid*, 3:3 (1899), p. 160; 5 April 1899, Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>20</sup> *OW*, 20 April 1899, p. 63; *South American Messenger*, 3:6 (1899), p. 213; *ibid*, 3:7 (1899), pp. 237-238.

<sup>21</sup> 'South American Evangelical Mission: Report of Dunedin Committee to 31<sup>st</sup> December, 1900', reprinted in the *South American News*, 2:1 (1904), pp. 9-11.

<sup>22</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 5, p. 111. At least three New Zealanders served with the Evangelical Union - Miss I. Elder (Dunedin), *NZB*, July 1919, p. 112; and Rod and (later) Isobel Gillanders (Auckland), [*NZBTI*] *Reaper*, 3:6 (1925), p. 161, *ibid*, May (1925), p. 82.

in the Argentine. The existing Dunedin committee became the central committee for New Zealand, by virtue of its activity and profile.<sup>23</sup> A new missionary organisation was created – the Australasian South American Mission. This new entity may have been only the second wholly Australasian missionary organisation to undertake foreign missionary work in its own right, following on from the Poona and Indian Village Mission in the mid-1890s. It predated the formation of the South Sea Evangelical Mission by three years.<sup>24</sup> To underscore this status ‘Rehoboth Training Home’ was established in Melbourne to prepare candidates in the Spanish language and other subjects pertinent to the South American context.<sup>25</sup> Further growth was modest. Three New Zealand missionaries were added to the mission – Harry and Jessie Alexander in 1903 and Jessica Jackson (who married Ernest Heycock) in 1905.<sup>26</sup> Between 1901 and 1906 another twelve people applied to the mission without success. This suggests that the mission had a reasonably high profile, particularly in Otago/Southland. In 1903 George, Mary and Charles Wilson relocated to Bolivia, still with the mission but now focussing specifically on working with the Quechua Indians.

The new mission did not last long. As early as 1902 it was evident that the financial base was not large enough to sustain further growth, and that the Melbourne based Council was stretched in its ability to fulfil administrative responsibilities.<sup>27</sup> In 1905-1906 these small cracks became a gaping chasm, as a dispute between the missionaries’ Field Committee and the Melbourne Council threatened to dissolve the mission altogether. The Field Committee sought co-equal authority and status with the Council, and threatened to resign and re-form the mission if this was not granted. The Melbourne Council, perhaps already weak and inactive, promptly resigned and handed over authority to the Dunedin Committee. The latter Committee only accepted this as an interim arrangement.<sup>28</sup> The missionaries remained, but the mission itself was in limbo.

<sup>23</sup> *South American Messenger*, August 1901, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> David Hilliard, ‘The South Sea Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands’, *The Journal of Pacific History*, 4 (1969), pp. 46-47.

<sup>25</sup> *South American Messenger*, August 1901, p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> *South American Messenger*, October 1903, p. 3; *NZB* April 1905, p. 61; *South American News*, January 1905, p. 1.

<sup>27</sup> 30 June 1902, Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives; Arthur Heycock to Ernest Heycock, 20 December 1902, Correspondence of the ASAM, 1902-1904, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>28</sup> 2 June 1906, Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives; A. Irvine to C. Wilson, 3 April 1906, and A. Irvine to E. Heycock, 2 July 1906, Correspondence of the ASAM, 1902-1904, Box 5, BIM Archives.

An attempt at forming a missionary union through London was not successful and, in October 1906, the missionaries in the Argentine resigned. Some of the Argentine work and personnel were subsequently taken over by the Regions Beyond Missionary Union in 1907.<sup>29</sup> In the meantime George Allan developed a plan for a new mission structure, and was persuaded by the Dunedin Committee to return to New Zealand on furlough so that this could be more firmly and clearly established. This he did in early 1908, having first gone to England to publicise the Bolivian work and to establish a committee. Finally in April 1908 it was formally announced in New Zealand that a new missionary organisation had been established, to go by the name of the Bolivian Indian Mission.<sup>30</sup>

From a New Zealand perspective the BIM was not a large employer of missionaries. In the overall period from 1908 to 1930 the mission engaged a total of nineteen New Zealanders. Yet the mission remains in the memory of those New Zealand Christians who either have contact with the evangelical stream, or who have connections with the provinces of Otago and Southland in particular.<sup>31</sup> New Zealanders continued to serve with the BIM beyond 1930, and the organisation remained in the evangelical memory as the renamed Andes Evangelical Mission, before being amalgamated with SIM in the early 1980s. The BIM is an intriguing example of how the New Zealand missionary movement of this period had both an international and domestic identity.

The BIM was wholly international in a number of respects. Like its two predecessors it located itself quite consciously within the emerging non-denominational, or faith mission, stream pioneered by the China Inland Mission. The BIM 'Principles and Practice' document (written in 1908 and revised in 1927) had obvious similarities in structure and wording with that produced for the Canadian based Sudan Interior Mission in 1922.<sup>32</sup> The constitutional documents of both missions were based on those

<sup>29</sup> 11 August 1906, 5 October 1906, 11 December 1906, 11 February 1907, and 25 February 1907, Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives; A. Irvine to E. Heycock, 18 August 1906, A. Irvine to C. Wilson, 2 October 1906, A. Irvine to H. Alexander, 27 February 1907, A. Irvine to F. Strange, 27 February 1907, Correspondence of the ASAM, 1902-1904, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>30</sup> A. Irvine to Manager, Bank of New South Wales, Dunedin, 1 April 1908, Correspondence of the ASAM, 1902-1904, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>31</sup> This comment is based on informal conversations with the Rev. Andrew Dunn, Auckland.

<sup>32</sup> 'Principles and Practice of the Bolivian Indian Mission', [1927 version], Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913-1945, [Bound Volume], BIM Archives; 'The Principles and Practice of the Sudan Interior Mission', 1922, [booklet], Sudan Interior Mission Archives, SIM International Resource Centre, Charlotte, NC, USA.



of the CIM. In this document the BIM was categorical in its self-description - it was avowedly ‘Evangelical and Inter-denominational’. In the early years this statement served to place the BIM in what was considered to be the theological mainstream, but by the 1920s this definition also served as an apologetic for conservative evangelical Christianity. Like many faith missions its focus was geographically and strategically specific - ‘to take part in evangelising the Indians of Bolivia’ and ‘to create and deepen the interest of Christians in the Home-lands’. The doctrinal standards to which all candidates had to subscribe focussed on contemporary international boundary markers of evangelical belief: the authority and inspiration of the Bible, the Trinitarian nature of God, human sinfulness, the atonement, justification by faith, bodily resurrection and ‘the character and duration of future rewards and punishments’.<sup>33</sup>

The CIM may also have provided the model for the BIM’s governance, administration, leadership and financial support. All missionaries were ‘members’ and not ‘agents’, and both the domestic councils and missionaries together constituted the mission. Executive authority, however, lay primarily and categorically with the Field Council. The Constitution stated that all the ‘Home Councils shall, in their relation to the Field Council, be advisory only’. As such, the domestic councils were to focus on the administration of applications, income, literature and prayer.<sup>34</sup> This situation had changed little by 1930. Like other international faith missions the BIM was also dependent, in its formative stages, on the initiative, personality and energies of a strong (male) leader. George Allan’s almost patriarchal position and influence was not dissimilar to the leadership roles fulfilled by Hudson Taylor (CIM), Charles Reeve (PIVM), Rowland Bingham (SIM) and Karl Kumm (SUM). George Allan was centrally and energetically involved in all aspects of the mission’s work in Bolivia, and was solely responsible for establishing American councils and recruiting American missionaries from 1917.<sup>35</sup> Finally, with respect to financial policy, the BIM identified strongly with the international faith mission ethos that relied primarily on the ‘freewill offerings of the Lord’s people’. Financial needs were sought solely through prayer and the mission’s publication. Debt was never an option, as it indicated a lack of trust in

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<sup>33</sup> ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Principles and Practice’ [c. 1908], inserted into the Minutes of the New Zealand Council of the BIM, 1908-1916, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>34</sup> ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Principles and Practice’ [c. 1908].

<sup>35</sup> ‘Notes of Deputation Journey’, in ‘Allan Correspondence, 1895-1925’, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

God. Missionary salaries were never fixed as a consequence. Like their international counterparts, the BIM looked for missionary members who would agree to live ‘faithfully and loyally’ by the stated ethos and intentions of the mission.<sup>36</sup>

At the same time the BIM was a distinctively New Zealand mission, and this was reflected in a mix of characteristics. It primarily owed its existence to the early vision and energies of two rural New Zealanders who had sensed a divine calling to the South American Indians and who persevered with this calling, despite the various difficulties faced between 1899 and 1908. Mary Allan commented in hindsight that ‘out there you look into the face of thousands, and in none does one see the light which alone can bring liberty to the soul, and joy and peace to the mind. We carry the joyous news that has made us free. I feel pleased and honoured that God has called us to the work again’.<sup>37</sup> Admittedly this was first attempted within the structures of a Canadian mission. Yet in the transition from the Australasian South American Mission to the Bolivian Indian Mission there seemed to be little evidence of hesitation or of colonial cringe in George Allan’s determination to follow their perceived call.

The mission’s main Australasian council was located in New Zealand. George Allan probably felt the closest affinity with the group of men that made up the Dunedin committee, and apparently placed his trust in them.<sup>38</sup> Consequently he recommended that this committee become the ‘chief controlling committee for Australasia’, through which would flow missionary finances and applicants from both Australia and New Zealand.<sup>39</sup> This Council consistently engaged the energies of a core group of men throughout the period. A woman secretary, Irene Purvis, was involved briefly in 1916.<sup>40</sup> By 1911 the Dunedin based Council was at the centre of a small network of local committees based in Auckland, Wellington, Nelson and Invercargill. By 1916 this network extended to a further five North and South Island localities.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Principles and Practice’ [c. 1908].

<sup>37</sup> Verbatim account of a farewell address in St John’s Presbyterian Church, Wellington, 21 April 1909, in ‘Allan Correspondence, 1895-1925’, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

<sup>38</sup> Central to this committee were Arthur Heycock and A. R. Falconer. Both of these men were members of Dunedin’s Farley Street Assembly, which also supplied key committee members for the CIM South Island Council. 5 April 1899, Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the SAEM, 1899-1908, Box 5, BIM Archives. Paterson, *The Church in York Place Hall*, photograph facing p. 16.

<sup>39</sup> A. Irvine to Mr. Darby, Adelaide, 12 November 1908, Correspondence of the ASAM/BIM, 1905-1913, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>40</sup> 27 March 1916, Minutes of the New Zealand Council of the BIM, 1908-1916, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>41</sup> *Tahuantin Suyu*, 1:2 (1911), p. 14; *Bolivian Indian*, January 1916, Inside Cover.

There may also be a case for arguing that, if the early BIM was a distinctively New Zealand mission, then it was also a mission whose early geographical heartland was quite tightly circumscribed. Of the ten committees established by 1916, four were located in Otago or Southland – Oamaru, Dunedin, Wyndham and Invercargill. James Allan, George's brother, chaired the Wyndham committee. Moreover, men who had originally been members of the Dunedin Council now chaired the Hamilton and Tauranga committees. Six of the ten committees by 1916 had connections with, or were located in, Otago or Southland. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that early financial support for the mission was greatest in southern New Zealand. The Council secretary noted in 1908 that 'up to the present time the mission has received by far the largest portion of its support from Otago and it is likely to continue to do so for some time at least'.<sup>42</sup> In 1911 it was similarly noted that a large proportion of 225 individual subscribers to the mission's magazine also came from 'the South Island of New Zealand'.<sup>43</sup> Unfortunately the nature of the sources for financial support of the BIM does not allow us to specify this in any more detail. Missionary and applicant data also highlights the parochial nature of the BIM in these years. Of the nine missionaries who served up to 1908, five originated from Dunedin and two from rural Southland. Between 1908 and 1918 a further four out of the eight missionaries were from Dunedin. In the post World War One period, up to 1930, five of the nine departing missionaries were from two Baptist churches in Invercargill. Existing applicant data also suggests that early interest was located in rural Otago and Southland.

At the same time this data also indicates that the geographical parameters of BIM interest and support within New Zealand widened in later years. George Allan and other BIM missionaries were obviously welcomed in a range of Baptist and Presbyterian churches, and followed the national touring circuit trod by many missionary speakers. In the 1920s, there is also evidence that George Allan had a platform in a variety of larger national contexts – especially the Pounawea and Ngaruawahia conventions, and at the New Zealand Bible Training Institute.<sup>44</sup>

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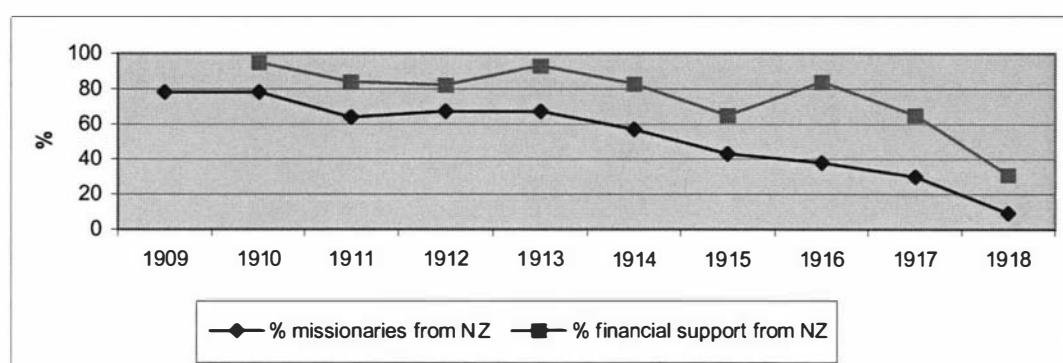
<sup>42</sup> A. Irvine to Mr. Darby, Adelaide, 12 November 1908, Correspondence of the ASAM/BIM, 1905-1913, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>43</sup> Mr. Aitchison to George Allan, 16 December 1911, Correspondence of the ASAM/BIM, 1905-1913, Box 5, BIM Archives.

<sup>44</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 20 June 1908, p. 11; *NZB*, March 1909, pp. 298, 300; *NZB*, April 1909, p. 315; *NZB*, September 1921, p. 110; *Outlook*, 33:3 (1926), pp. 27-28; [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 4:3 (1926), p. 78; *ibid*, 4:4 (1926), p. 107.

Missionary recruits and financial support predominantly came from New Zealand up to about 1917 (Figure 4.2). In 1917 George Allan carried out a concerted recruitment campaign in New York, Chicago and Los Angeles. After 1917 missionaries from the United States of America would dominate, comprising almost sixty-five per cent of the mission's workforce by 1930. During the 1920s missionaries from Australia and Great Britain also contributed to the increasingly international makeup of the BIM. American finances also became much more important in the 1920s.

**Figure 4.2 – New Zealand Support and Involvement in the BIM, 1908-1918<sup>45</sup>**



Finally, it is possible to detect in the BIM's approach to the missionary task various elements that reflected its uniquely New Zealand origins. One was the very obvious pioneering theme that emerged. It is interesting that Margarita Hudspith (daughter of George and Mary Allan) devoted an initial chapter of her history of the BIM to the pioneering origins of the Allan family in rural Otago. Her account of pioneering life, its hardships and the need for the early European settlers to be jacks-of-all-trades, could well have been analogous for the later lives of the missionaries in the rugged Bolivian highlands.<sup>46</sup> George was a first generation born European New Zealander whose boyhood and farming years kept him close to the pioneering experience and values of the earlier period of European settlement. The same was probably true for other early BIM missionaries. These experiences and memories must have equipped them well for what was essentially a pioneering approach to life and mission in Bolivia. This pioneering theme can also be detected in some of the instructions for new BIM

<sup>45</sup> Listing of Bolivian Indian Missionaries, 1909-1945 [hand written booklet], 'General Personnel Information', Box 9, BIM Archives. Financial figures were extracted from annual Mission Accounts statements published in *Tahuantín Suyu*, 1911-1914 and the *Bolivian Indian*, 1915-1918.

<sup>46</sup> Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit*, pp. 16-19. Her account, in turn, was largely derived from James Allan Thomson, *The Taieri Allans and Related Families: A Page out of the Early History of Otago*, Dunedin: NZ Bible and Book Society, 1929. James was a second cousin of George Allan.

missionaries between 1908 and 1912. Prospective missionaries were required to include in their luggage such features as ‘medium weight and strong boots’, a ‘small wood consuming stove’, a miscellany of tools, ‘a few instruments for extracting teeth’, a ‘typewriter’, ‘garden hoe and rake’, and ‘several yards of steel fencing wire’ for stretching wire bed mattresses.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, instructions for the arduous four-stage journey from New Zealand to Bolivia tersely advised that ‘if you haven’t learned to ride horseback, learn now’.<sup>48</sup> These instructions read like a list of essentials for pioneers about to venture into some of the bush or backblock areas of late colonial New Zealand. In many ways the Bolivian Indian Mission up to 1918 had the feel of a small, close knit, pioneering family embarking on an adventure into the unknown, but girded about with a sense of a divinely appointed and purpose filled mission.

The other detectable New Zealand traits in the BIM were those of practical common sense, and of understatement. The mission tended towards the employment of married couples up until 1918, at which point the Field Council realised that more opportunities existed for single women missionaries.<sup>49</sup> This went against the grain internationally, and was possibly an accommodation for the perceived hardships of the Bolivian context – particularly living and working at a high altitude. In terms of the quality of candidates the BIM simply stated that it sought those who were willing to accept and live by the mission’s ethos. By way of comparison the Sudan Interior Mission sought people who would more dramatically ‘count the cost, and be prepared to live lives of privation, of toil, of loneliness, of danger – to be looked down upon by their own countrymen, and to be despised by the African’.<sup>50</sup> The BIM took a middle course between those missions that publicised no information on financial matters, and those that explicitly advertised financial and staffing needs. Detailed annual summaries of income and expenditure implicitly supplied the supporting public with the ongoing needs of the mission. The BIM faced criticism over this faith approach to finances, and more than once attempted to vindicate its policies or clarify misunderstandings through its regular literature.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Outfit Instructions’, Miscellaneous Documents, Box 9, BIM Archives.

<sup>48</sup> ‘How to Get to Bolivia from New Zealand’, Miscellaneous Documents, Box 9, BIM Archives.

<sup>49</sup> 16 March 1918, Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913-1945, BIM Archives.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Principles and Practice of the Bolivian Indian Mission’, [1927 version], Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913-1945, [Bound Volume], BIM Archives; ‘The Principles and Practice of the Sudan Interior Mission’, 1922, [booklet], SIM Archives.

<sup>51</sup> *Tahuantin Suyu*, July 1913, pp. 43-44; *Bolivian Indian*, April 1922, pp. 14-15.

Ultimately the BIM avoided statistics and grandiose terms in its own self-assessment.

For the mission's twenty-first anniversary, in 1929, George Allan wrote:

I have not tabulated statistics, or tried to show very much of what has been accomplished through the mission, believing that the most important thing in any mission is not the number of converts, of sick people healed, of Scriptures distributed, of miles travelled, of money received in answer to prayer, etc., though all these are helpful and interesting. The important thing in any mission is, rather, Have we been walking with the Lord, so as to hear His voice speak to us? Have we been true to His word, and to the witness He has called us to give? Are we seeking first His kingdom and His righteousness?'<sup>52</sup>

It was perhaps more of a New Zealand (and English) trait that Allan recounted stories and not statistics in this anniversary account, and self effacingly sought to direct the honours away from both himself and the mission. In all of these things the Bolivian Indian Mission was as much an expression of its New Zealand origins as it was a part of the international missionary movement of the early twentieth century.

#### **Selected New Zealand Missionaries with the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1899-1928**



***Photo 4.1 – The Original New Zealand Group to the Argentine in 1899***

*Ernest Heycock, Charles Wilson, Mary Allan, George Allan*

(Margarita Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit: A History of the Bolivian Indian Mission*, New Jersey: Harrington Press, 1958, between pp. 16 and 17)

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<sup>52</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, January-February 1929, p. 8.



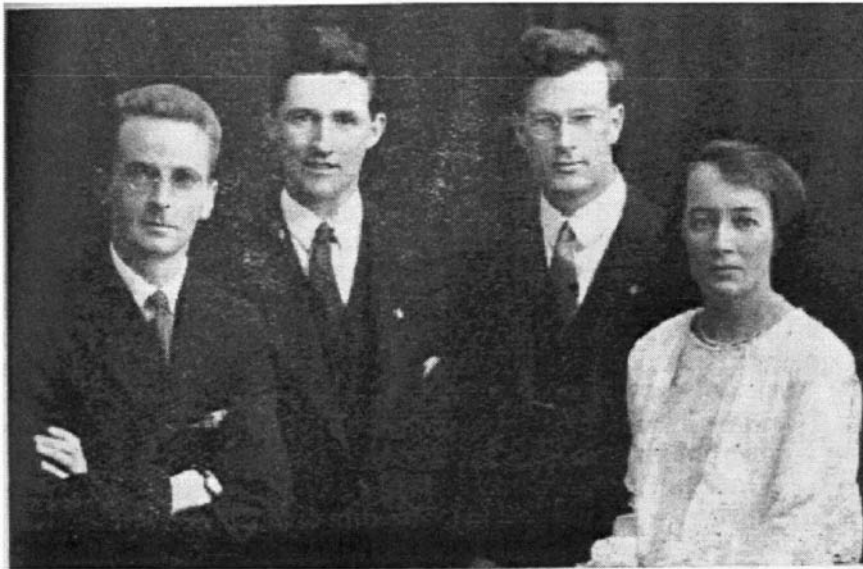
***Photo 4.2 – Early Bolivian Indian Mission Workers, c. 1911***

*Horace Grocott, Mr and Mrs Hollis (Non-NZ), Mr and Mrs Burrow (Australian)*

*Ada Grocott, George Allan, Mary Allan, Margarita Allan, Annie Cresswell*

*Emma Grocott, Joseph Allan*

(Margarita Hudspith, *Ripening Fruit: A History of the Bolivian Indian Mission*, New Jersey: Harrington Press, 1958, between pp. 48 and 49)



***Photo 4.3 – New Bolivian Indian Missionaries at Graduation from NZBTI, 1928***

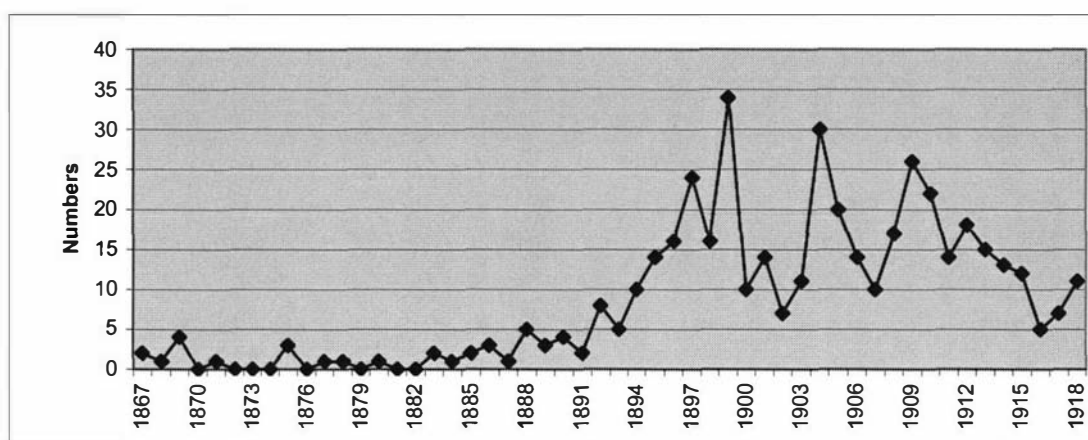
*Vern Welch, Anthony Turner, William Wood, Edith Wood*

(The [NZBTI] *Reaper*, April 1928, p. 45)

#### 4.4 Sociological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1900-1918

From 1900 fuller application records allow for a more accurate appreciation of the structural continuities and discontinuities in the early twentieth-century movement. The following discussion is based on 294 known missionaries and 206 known applicants. Comparisons are again made with the previously cited international studies, and also with Australian CIM applicant data.

**Figure 4.3 - Estimated New Zealand Missionary Departures, 1867-1918<sup>53</sup>**



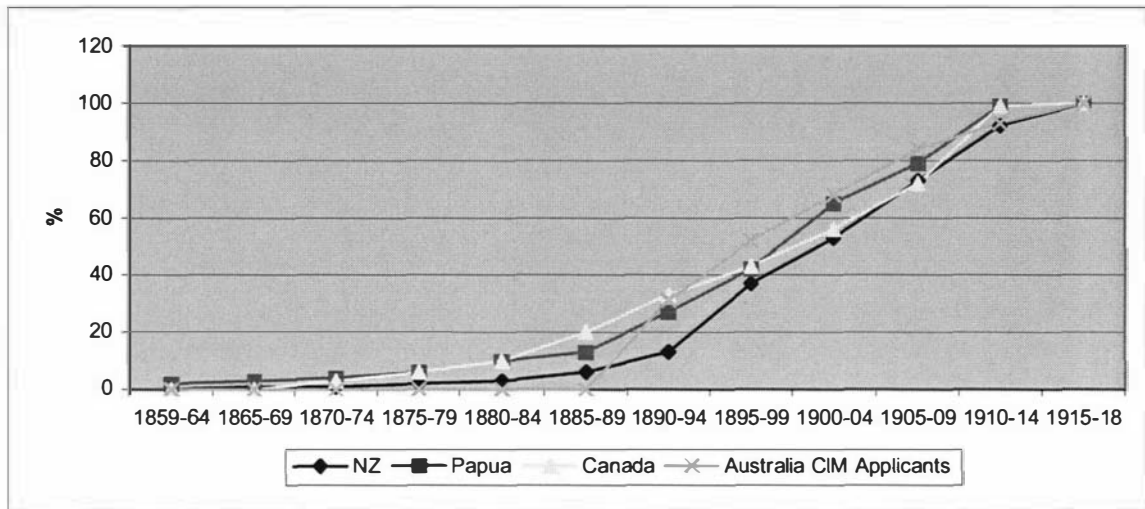
Missionary numbers between 1900 and 1918 were sustained at fluctuating levels comparable to the 1890s (Figure 4.3). There were between five and thirty missionaries departing annually. Mean and median annual departures were fourteen per annum. The growth peaks reflected the initiation of Presbyterian missions in China and India (1901 and 1910), a surge of Baptist and Brethren missionaries (1904 and 1909), the initiation of the BIM (1909 and 1912), and a small wave of CIM missionaries (1912). The general growth in numbers also reflected the broadening base of other missions employing New Zealand missionaries. This continued growth in domestic missionary numbers was paralleled by international growth for the same period (Figure 4.4). The momentum of the 1890s was maintained into the first decade of the 1900s, reflecting the ongoing mood of expansion and optimism prevalent up until 1914. World War One had an obvious impact on the rate of both missionary departures and applications worldwide.

<sup>53</sup> See footnote 6.



The peaks witnessed up until 1912, both in New Zealand and internationally, would not be witnessed again until the early 1920s.<sup>54</sup>

**Figure 4.4 - Cumulative Percentage Growth of Missionaries, 1859-1918<sup>55</sup>**



The following composite table again illustrates some of the salient features of the evolving New Zealand missionary work force between 1900 and 1918 (Table 4.1). Many of the trends of the 1890s were continued and accentuated. Therefore it is enough to outline these without the more extensive tabulation attempted in Chapter Three. Women missionaries increased as a proportion of the missionary workforce, comprising nearly two thirds by 1918. Similarly, single missionaries were still a significant majority. Age at departure continued to rise slightly. New Zealand born missionaries now made up an overwhelming majority of the workforce. They still came from Otago and Canterbury, more than any other region. Missionaries continued to be better educated and to come largely from professional occupations. Ill health still figured as the main reason for ultimate cessation of missionary service. New Zealand trends in gender, age, marital status, and educational and occupational background were mirrored in the studies for missionaries in Papua and from Canada. Similarly female applicants for the Australia CIM in this period outnumbered male applicants by nearly two to one.

<sup>54</sup> A similar downward trend in departing missionaries and missionaries in service, for the years 1914-1918, were noted for American and British missionary societies. G. A. Gollock, 'A Survey of the Effect of the War Upon Missions: Missionary Forces in 1914 and 1918, *IRM*, 8:32 (1919), pp. 479-490.

<sup>55</sup> Based on: departure figures for New Zealand missionaries; Protestant missionaries to Papua documented in Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874-1914*, pp. 275-318; and Protestant women missionaries from Canada documented in Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876-1914*, pp. 198-220; and application data for the Australian CIM, Record of Applications, 1890-1930, Item 733, Box 5-1D, Australia CIM Archives.

**Table 4.1 – Selected Features of New Zealand’s Missionary Work Force, 1900-1918<sup>56</sup>**

Attribute	Males	Females	Total
Numbers	113 (38%)	181 (62%)	294
Age at Departure			
Mean	29 years	28 years	28 years
Median	29 years	28 years	28 years
Mode	25 years	28 years	29 years
Marital Status at Departure			
Single	68%	70%	69%
Married	32%	30%	31%
Length of Service			
Mean	16 years	19 years	18 years
Median	11 years	14 years	13 years
Mode	1 year	3 years	1 year
Origin (Ranked)			
Region #1	Otago	Otago	Otago
Region #2	Canterbury	Canterbury	Canterbury
Region #3	Hawkes Bay Wellington	Auckland	Auckland
Birthplace			
New Zealand	86%	88%	87%
Overseas	14%	12%	13%
Denomination (Ranked)			
Denomination #1	Presbyterian	Presbyterian	Presbyterian
Denomination #2	Brethren	Baptist	Brethren
Denomination #3	Baptist	Brethren	Baptist
Educational Background (Ranked)			
Level #1	University	Other tertiary	Other tertiary
Level #2	Other tertiary	University	University
Level #3	Matriculation	High school	Matriculation
Occupational Background (Ranked)			
Occupation #1	Professional	Professional	Professional
Occupation #2	Dependents	Dependents	Dependents
Occupation #3	Commercial/Industrial	Commercial	Commercial
Service Ended (Ranked)			
Reason #1	Death/Ill health	Retired	Ill health
Reason #2	Retired	Ill health	Retired
Reason #3	Family needs	Death	Death

At the same time there were also a number of points of difference, for the 1900-1918 data, that should be noted. The Chi Square test for significant difference has been used to determine the degree of difference, and to suggest the explanatory possibilities. In the first place, when 1900-1918 is compared with the 1890s, there were particular differences between the two periods (Table 4.2).

<sup>56</sup> See Appendices Three and Four for the analytical categories and a detailed percentage breakdown.

**Table 4.2 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with Missionaries 1890-1899: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference<sup>57</sup>**

Significant Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Marital Status	✓	-
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	✓	-
Education	✓	-
Occupation	✓	-

In terms of marital status, single missionaries outnumbered married missionaries to a lesser extent than in the 1890s. This was possibly explained by greater numbers of married missionaries being deliberately employed by the BIM (fifty-five percent), and the Methodist Missionary Society (fifty-seven per cent) and, to a lesser extent, by the NZBMS (forty-one percent) and the various Brethren assemblies (thirty-six per cent). Whilst Otago/Southland, Canterbury and Auckland were still important sending regions, missionaries were now coming from a broader range of localities. The southern contribution had decreased from forty-one per cent in the 1890s, to twenty-seven per cent by 1918. Conversely there was more than the expected number of missionaries from Taranaki, Hawkes Bay and, in larger numbers, from the broader Wellington region. Whilst Presbyterian and Baptist churches were still large contributors of missionaries, there were now significantly more coming from Brethren assemblies and, to a lesser extent, from Methodist churches. The growth of Brethren missionary interest and involvement seems most spectacular when it is realised that, in this period, twenty-two per cent of missionaries were Brethren. This was from a denomination that barely made up one per cent of the population, and it represented a ratio of 1:129 (of Brethren missionaries to Brethren in New Zealand), compared with 1:186 in the 1890s.<sup>58</sup> Methodist growth reflected a growing number of destinations, and a larger Methodist interest in the CIM.

New Zealand missionaries were now overwhelmingly coming to the task with higher education and, therefore, from predominantly professional occupations. Ninety-two per cent of missionaries now had a tertiary qualification, with the percentage of university graduates increasing from twenty-five per cent (in the 1890s) to forty-three per cent by

<sup>57</sup> See Appendix Five for an explanation of this analysis, and for the actual values calculated. In each of the following tables the level of significance is  $p = 0.05$ .

<sup>58</sup> Based on a total of 7,865 Brethren listed for the 1911 Census. Extracted from *Census of New Zealand, 1911*, Part II, 'Religions of the People', Table I, p. 98.

1918. Twenty-five per cent of all women missionaries now had a university qualification (compared with ten per cent in the 1890s), and sixty-nine per cent had non-university tertiary qualifications – most notably from nursing, teaching or ministry/missionary training. Missionaries from the BIM and CIM were less likely to hold university qualifications. Overall nearly two-thirds came from a professional occupation. Seventy-five per cent of women were from a professional background. Overall there were significantly more than expected missionaries categorised as ‘dependents’ (twenty-one per cent compared with six per cent for the 1890s), with all but one of these being a tertiary student. This again underscored the evolving perception that missionary service was a valid career path to follow. These temporal trends in educational and occupational background were mirrored in Brouwer’s Canadian data and, to a lesser extent, in Langmore’s data for Papua.

In the second place missionaries were becoming an increasingly unique, atypical or unrepresentative group, compared with the total New Zealand population (Table 4.3).

**Table 4.3 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with New Zealand Population 1900-1918: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Gender	✓	-
Birthplace	✓	-
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	✓	-
Education	[not analysed due to lack of comparable data]	
Occupation	✓	-

The New Zealand population in 1911 was seventy per cent New Zealand born, missionaries eighty-seven per cent. The missionary sex ratio (percentages) of males to females (39:61) was strikingly at variance with the national population’s sex ratio of 53:47. The dominance of Anglicans in the general population was not reflected in missionary data. The growing population of the North Island was only partially reflected in missionary origins, with the South Island contributing more than its proportional share of missionaries. A comparison with educational trends is harder to make. Missionary figures certainly reflected higher rates of participation in both primary and secondary education. Similarly, the increasing numbers of missionaries with university qualifications reflected the phenomenal growth rate of university

students *per se* – a 131 per cent growth rate between 1900 and 1910, with the overall numbers of university students in that decade increasing from 805 to 1,862.<sup>59</sup> Yet the proportion of missionary university graduates was out of all proportion to the general population. Occupationally the 1900-1918 missionary cohort continued to be disproportionately drawn from the professions.

On the surface, at least, it would appear that the missionary movement was not necessarily egalitarian. The denominational missions did draw on more ordained candidates or on those who had received specialist training in medicine, nursing and teaching. Non-denominational missions were more representative of the broader population, with respect to educational and occupational backgrounds. The data itself may also be at fault, giving a slightly distorted picture of the relationship of missionary figures to the overall population. We know more about the Presbyterian, NZCMS and CIM missionaries because of existing application records. Further, the larger number of tertiary students applying, from 1900 onwards, tends to mask the occupations that they came from to enter education and missionary service. As noted for the 1890s, however, this also suggests that missionary service continued to open up educational and occupational opportunities for people from a broad socio-economic background.

There were also discernible differences between the 1900-1918 missionary cohort and the cohort of unsuccessful missionary applicants in the same period (Table 4.4).

**Table 4.4 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with Applicants 1900-1918: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Gender	✓	-
Marital Status	✓	-
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	✓	-
Education	✓	-
Occupation	✓	-

On the one hand some of these differences may be more understandable. It could be expected that single people would figure more largely in the application data simply as a function of age. Median age at application was twenty-six years (compared with twenty-eight years for age at departure). It was to be further expected that younger applicants

<sup>59</sup> *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1900, p. 412; *ibid*, 1910, p. 604.

would often not yet be married. Similarly the under-representation of Methodists, Baptists and Brethren in the application data reflects the fact that application records for these groups either do not exist or were not examined. On the other hand results for the gender, geographical origins, and educational and occupational background of total applicants suggest that missionary interest was more broadly based than the missionary data itself suggests. Men and women applied for or enquired about missionary service in equal numbers. Auckland was second to Otago and Southland in terms of the areas from where people were interested in missionary work (and applicants also came from a surprisingly diverse range of localities). Applicants came from a broader range of educational backgrounds and they more fairly represented the occupational structure of the New Zealand population. In this sense the wider missionary movement was more democratised than previously indicated. What was changing was that missionary organisations were increasingly looking for well-qualified applicants, or for those who could be appropriately trained within an acceptable age range. Amongst the recorded reasons for rejection of applicants in this period, 'too old' and 'a lack of qualifications' together ranked second to 'health reasons'. A wide cross-section of the population was responding to the general call to missionary service, but it was clear that ultimately not all could be accommodated in what was becoming an increasingly specialised and professional field of endeavour.

#### **4.5 Theological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1900-1918**

Under the heading 'The Possibilities of Personal Work', an anonymous writer in 1902 suggested that if 'there were only one Christian in the world, and he worked for a year and won a friend to Christ, and those two continued to win each year another ... in thirty-one year's every person in the world would be won for Christ'. The calculated conversion figures for each of the thirty-one years were then dramatically presented, followed by a suggested motto that read: 'I am only one – but I am one; I cannot do everything – but I can do something; What I can do, I ought to do; And what I ought to do, by the grace of God I will do.'<sup>60</sup> In many ways this quaint piece of imaginative statistics summed up how people continued to conceive of the missionary task. World War One disrupted missionary growth and presaged changes to come. Yet the overall mood of optimism and the expectation of Christianity's unfettered global expansion

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<sup>60</sup> *China's Millions*, Supplement, January 1902, p. 156.

continued unabated. In that sense it might well be argued that the nineteenth century did not actually find its end point until the years 1914-1918. Overall there was general theological congruity between this period and the preceding periods (Table 4.5).

**Table 4.5 – Ranked Descriptions of Mission by New Zealanders, 1856-1918<sup>61</sup>**

Mission as	1856-1889	1890-1899	1900-1918
Salvation/Conversion	1	2	<b>1</b>
Response to Great Need	7	4	<b>2</b>
Extending God's Kingdom	4	11	<b>3=</b>
Duty/Obligation	8	6	<b>3=</b>
Christian Leavening	6	7=	<b>5</b>
Warfare	12	9=	<b>6</b>
Enlightenment	3	7=	<b>7</b>
Preaching/Teaching	5	3	<b>8=</b>
Going/Taking the Gospel	2	1	<b>8=</b>
Response to a Command	9	5	<b>10</b>
Service/Sacrifice	-	9=	<b>11</b>
Representing Christ	-	-	<b>12</b>
Reaping a Harvest	10	12	<b>13</b>
Premillennial Urgency	-	13	<b>14</b>
Liberation	11	14=	<b>15</b>
Biblical Fulfilment	13	14=	<b>16</b>

Theologically the missionary discourse was still framed in predominantly conversionist terms. This was consistent throughout the period, and across boundaries of gender and denomination. 'Conversion', like 'evangelisation', was a broadly defined concept. For each denomination and organisation examined it was not uncommon for 'conversion' to refer to both the hope for personal salvation (of recipient indigenous peoples) and to a broader notion of societal leavening, transformation or uplift. More generally non-denominational missions tended to place a higher emphasis on mission as a 'response to great (or specific) need'. Baptists and Presbyterians emphasised the 'Christian leavening' aspect more than others. Women tended to emphasise mission as a 'response to great need' and, curiously, also employed the combative language of warfare and conquest. Conversely men tended to use the broader concept of 'Christian leavening', and referred more to the notion of mission as 'duty or obligation'. A wide range of dichotomous imagery was once again evident throughout the theological data. The synoptic gospels, and the New Testament more generally, again provided the main

<sup>61</sup> For the 1900-1918 period there were 537 phrases, collected from 244 different documents and grouped according to the dominant image or sentiment. Anglican – 133 phrases from 44 documents; Baptist – 114 phrases from 43 documents; Presbyterian – 188 phrases from 96 documents; Other – 102 phrases from 61 documents (thirty-seven from BIM, thirty-nine from CIM, twenty-six from a range of others).

biblical basis for missionary thinking in this period, with most emphasis on Matthew 28:19-20 and Mark 16:15.<sup>62</sup>

The construction of mission theology continued to be based upon a wide range of words, images and concepts. At the same time there were also a number of features that require further comment. The new category ‘representing Christ’ was found across the denominations, but featured particularly in BIM statements. Annie Starnes wrote that ‘we have a great incentive to be and do our very best, for are we not the only representatives of Jesus Christ among these people?’ George Allan argued that ‘what the people want is our lives dominated by Christ so that they may know and see through us what the nature of Christ is’.<sup>63</sup> These reflected the unique context of working in Roman Catholic Latin America, and prevailing Protestant suspicions of ‘Romanism’.

The meaning of ‘evangelisation’ became clearer in this period, although it was still used ambiguously and without qualification. In his Baptist Union presidential speech in 1903 the Rev. R. S. Gray argued that ‘the purpose of God’ found its ‘best, and indeed only adequate expression, in [the phrase] the Evangelisation of the World’ ... and that the ‘place of the Church in this purpose of God is that of the divinely constituted agent’. He went on to press the need for the Church to be primarily ‘missionary’ in its focus and activity. ‘Evangelisation’ was the all-encompassing activity of going with and communicating the gospel’.<sup>64</sup> In this sense ‘evangelisation’ incorporated all means by which the Christian message could be communicated and the intended salvific or transformational outcomes of such activities. The Rev. Herbert Davies (CVM) suggested more explicitly that ‘a country is evangelised when every man, woman and child has had an adequate opportunity of hearing carefully and fully expounded the Gospel of Jesus Christ’.<sup>65</sup>

By 1918 a distinct cluster of theological categories emphasised the great need of the ‘heathen’ peoples of the world, God’s commandment to incarnate the gospel globally,

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<sup>62</sup> Also important were a number of references or allusions to Christ’s exhortation to go out into the harvest field (Luke 10:2), and the expectation in the Lord’s Prayer (Matthew 6:10) that God’s kingdom and will would soon be consummated on earth. (NIV)

<sup>63</sup> *Tahuantin Suyu*, March 1914, pp. 28-30, in ‘Allan Correspondence, 1895-1925’, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

<sup>64</sup> ‘The Place of the Church in the Purpose of God’, *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1903-1904, pp. 14-23.

<sup>65</sup> Herbert Davies, *Four Studies in World-wide Evangelisation*, Dunedin: ASCU, 1909, pp. 5-7.



and the duty and sense of obligation attendant upon both individuals and churches as a response to this commandment and great need.<sup>66</sup> Doris Wilks, reflecting on Matthew 28:19 in 1911, suggested that ‘we who know the joy of His salvation should be keenly anxious to pass on the same privilege ... to lift them up from the darkness of ignorance and sin into the glorious light of Christ’s gospel’.<sup>67</sup> In a similar, if not balder vein, one Presbyterian commentator suggested that ‘it is the duty of happy people to thrust their happiness upon others less happy’.<sup>68</sup> Such sentiments were common throughout the period, from a wide cross-section of people. This suggests that the transition in underlying theological motifs, posited by Bosch for the wider international missionary movement (noted in Chapter 2.7), was finding its completion amongst New Zealanders between 1900-1918.<sup>69</sup> The theological motive for foreign missions was now just as much anthropocentric as it was theocentric. This was perhaps epitomised in a drawing included in an Australasian Baptist Prayer Calendar produced in 1905 (Figure 4.5).

**Figure 4.5 – India’s Need and Christ’s Call, 1905<sup>70</sup>**



<sup>66</sup> Most often based on the Pauline sense of obligation to both ‘Greeks and non-Greeks’ in Romans 1:14.

<sup>67</sup> ‘Doris Wilks’, ANG 143/3.124, Box 17, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>68</sup> *Outlook*, 23 August 1910, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Bosch, *Transforming Mission*, pp. 285-291.

<sup>70</sup> ‘Australasian Baptist Missions in Bengal, Prayer List Calendar’, 1905, Folder 1, Box 0026, NZBMS Archives.

The sentence beneath the picture read ‘The touch of Christ upon India is one of compassionate longing and beseeching appeal.’ The call of Christ, the perceived needs of India, and the obligation of the Church, elements that were all held together in the picture, were co-equal elements in the consciousness of the Australasian public.

The perception of what constituted ‘great need’ underwent some changes in this period. How it was perceived possibly depended on who was writing or speaking. It was most common amongst New Zealand observers and applicants to simply refer to ‘the great need of the heathen’ without further qualification. This could be interpreted in any number of ways. If it was qualified it was often with reference to specific cultural practices, like foot binding in China, and child brides and widows in India, or to systemic issues like public health or the Indian caste system.<sup>71</sup> Missionaries often told stories that reinforced these stereotypical images for the wider public – a phenomenon that was common for the broader international missionary movement.<sup>72</sup> Yet missionary publicists also articulated a more sophisticated sense of the needs of others that reflected their everyday realities. Dr. John Kirk (CVM) reported to the General Assembly in 1910 that ‘the name of our hospital [Ko T’ong] stands for “Universal Love,” and if this is to have any meaning at all in the hearts of the people – aye, if the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to have any meaning at all – we cannot afford to turn poor, pain-burdened, weary souls from our door’.<sup>73</sup> Writings from the BIM also indicated that both social amelioration of the Quechua Indians and the righting of injustices were intrinsically important. There were clearly those who saw specialist activities, like medical missions, as inherently valid and important, and not just as precursors to overt evangelism. This must also have filtered back to the New Zealand public. Application records for this period indicate a number of people applying specifically to be medical or educational missionaries.

There was one final dimension of this sense of ‘need’ that was new in this period. From early on there was a growing perception that many non-Christian religious systems were

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<sup>71</sup> These featured, for example, in the application of Phyllis Haddow to the NZCMS in 1917. ‘Phyllis Haddow’, ANG 143/3.53, Box 9, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>72</sup> See further: Joan Brumberg, ‘Zenanas and Girlless Villages: the Ethnology of American Evangelical Women, 1870-1910’, *The Journal of American History*, 69:2 (1982), pp. 347-371; Janaki Nair, ‘Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in Englishwomen’s Writing, 1813-1940’, *Journal of Women’s History*, 2:1 (1990), pp. 8-34; Judith Rowbotham, ‘“Hear an Indian Sister’s Plea”: Reporting the Work of 19<sup>th</sup>-Century British Female Missionaries’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 21:3 (1998), pp. 247-261.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Missions Report, 1910’, *PCNZ PGA*, p. 1116.

about to disintegrate. The imagery shifted from one of Christianity triumphing ‘over the crumbling religions of the heathen world’<sup>74</sup> to one of ‘pushing reinforcements ... over the crumbling defences of heathenism, to win for the Kingdom of God the ancient and virile races that are breaking away from their ancestral creeds’.<sup>75</sup> In the face of modernisation in Japan, the republican revolution in China and the emerging nationalist movement in India, it was at once hoped that old religious systems would disintegrate and, at the same time, feared that the perceived atheism and materialism of the West would fill the religious vacuum. Therefore the ‘great need of the heathen’ world was also the need for the Christian Church in New Zealand to move quickly and decisively to assure that such a situation would not develop.

Another cluster of categories emphasised the expansionist nature of Christianity. This was not surprising in the midst of an era that witnessed the climax of European global power. Foreign missions were talked about in expansionist terms far more commonly than in either of the preceding two periods. On the surface it seems fair to argue that such thinking was not easily disentangled from language more particularly extolling the virtues of the British Empire. The Rev. John Takle best represented such sentiments in his address to the Baptist Union conference in 1916. He stated that:

The Apostle Paul was proud of being a citizen of the Roman Empire, which in his day controlled practically the whole of the Mediterranean world. So every true Britisher thrills with the privilege of belonging to an Empire so extensive that nearly one quarter of the world’s population has come under its sway, an Empire that has done more than any other for the emancipation of peoples, and for the evangelisation of the native races. She is destined to do still more for the uplift and unity of humanity.<sup>76</sup>

In New Zealand such sentiments were born out of historical, cultural and familial proximity to British roots. They were voiced most stridently in such times of heightened imperial awareness as the South African war, 1899-1902, and World War One. This interconnection between imperial mindset and missionary motivation will be examined more closely in Chapter 7.3. It needs to be said here, however, that the relationship was not necessarily straightforward. For one thing missionary commentators were ready to admit Britain’s flawed reputation. The political and economic exploitation of China through the Opium trade was evidence that the British Empire was no paragon of global

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<sup>74</sup> ‘Address of Welcome by the Bishop of Christchurch to the Student Missionary Conference, 1903’, *Outlook*, 16 May 1903, p. 8.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Missions Report, 1911’, *PCNZ PGA*, p. 96.

<sup>76</sup> ‘The Inspiration of the Imperium in India’, *NZB*, November 1916, p. 210.

virtue, and that the Christian element was essential.<sup>77</sup> John Takle was quick to remind his audience that ultimately the Christian community should be more concerned ‘with a greater Imperium, to whose Emperor we have bowed in reverence, obedience and loyal submission. Our supreme interest is the Kingdom of God.... for Christ shall reign’.<sup>78</sup>

Finally mission was conceived of in terms of Christianity’s broader civilising or societal leavening role more often in this period than in the 1890s. That this happened particularly in the Baptist literature, with respect to India, and in the Presbyterian literature, with respect to the New Hebrides, China and India, were further indications that the 1890s may have been something of a honeymoon period. Such sentiments were an acknowledgement that the contexts in which missionaries worked were physically, culturally, emotionally, psychologically and spiritually demanding, and that any measurement of success would have to encompass more than a mere tally of conversions and churches planted. Missionaries were convinced that the socially ameliorative aspects of their work were inherently valid and self-evident. That this was a constant refrain in annual reports, however, strongly suggests that missionaries and committees felt somewhat self-defensive with respect to the expectations of their home constituencies. In an article outlining ‘hindrances in the mission field’ the Rev. John Takle cautioned New Zealand Baptists by saying that ‘were they to imagine the hindrances which missionaries have to contend with they would be less prone to criticise the supposed slow extension of Christ’s Kingdom in “the regions beyond”’.<sup>79</sup>

#### **4.6 Indicative Features of Consolidation and Growth**

Discussion thus far has established that the New Zealand missionary movement continued to grow between 1900 and 1918, in terms of the numbers involved, the breadth of interest and participation, and its theological sophistication. At least two further indicators of the movement’s growing centrality and sophistication within the New Zealand church scene in this period can be identified. Discussion, at this point, will simply outline how these exemplified consolidation and sophistication. The first major indicator was the broadening and increasing sophistication of missionary support structures, of which women’s groups like the PWMU, BWMU and MWMU were most

<sup>77</sup> For example an editorial entitled ‘The Permanent Missionary Motive’ in the *Outlook*, 15 December 1900, pp. 17-18.

<sup>78</sup> *NZB*, November 1916, pp. 210-211.

<sup>79</sup> ‘Hindrances in the Mission Field’, *NZB*, October 1903, p. 148.

prominent. The national BWMU was formed in 1903 and the PWMU in 1905.<sup>80</sup> Their advent, in this period, may explain the apparent demise of the WCTU's 'Missionary Work' department at about the same time. Constitutionally they sought to foster the interest and support of their women members in the various missionary schemes of their churches, particularly through regular meetings, prayer, fundraising, literature and education, and letter writing to the missionaries.<sup>81</sup> The BWMU was structurally less sophisticated than the PWMU. Its primary focus was on congregational branches that met occasionally through regional events, and were represented at annual national meetings. Growth was most rapid up to World War One, during which time membership peaked at 906 and branch numbers peaked at forty-nine.<sup>82</sup> The PWMU, whilst primarily organised into congregational branches, was more formally composed of a network of Presbyterian Associations and represented through annual conferences. Associations existed to facilitate the branches, and also to fulfil particular national responsibilities. Growth was more consistent, with branches increasing from 119 in 1905 to 273 by 1920, and membership reaching 6,183 by 1920.<sup>83</sup>

The PWMU provides representative evidence of this growing sophistication. To accommodate the growth in branches and membership, the number of Presbyterian Associations grew from just four in 1905, to five by 1910, and to fifteen by 1915. This particularly reflected the large growth in the number of North Island branches (131 per cent growth between 1905 and 1920), which in turn reflected the growth of North Island settlements, churches and presbyteries. With more Presbyterian Associations, the PWMU was able to expand the number of activities it administered. By 1915 this range of activities and responsibilities was quite staggering, and included: a bi-monthly magazine, missionary correspondence, international networking, mission study circles, fundraising (for foreign and Maori missions), the Maori Missions' Birthday League and the Scattered Members' League, the Presbyterian Women's Training Institute, the Girls' Auxiliary, Busy Bees and 'Oriental Depots' selling overseas goods.<sup>84</sup> In 1911 Margaret

<sup>80</sup> See Chapter 6.4 for details of their historical development.

<sup>81</sup> 'Missions Report, 1905', *PCNZ PGA*, pp. 167-168; 'NZBMS Report, 1905', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1905-1906, p. 94.

<sup>82</sup> Extracted from Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the Baptist Women's Missionary Union, 1905-1920, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>83</sup> Extracted from *Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union Annual Reports*, 1905-1920, Box AF2/1, PCNZ Archives.

<sup>84</sup> 'PWMU Annual Report, 1915-1916, pp. 3-13, *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1905-1925; Elder, *History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 318.

Ramsay was appointed as the first paid travelling secretary. Her primary tasks were to encourage and strengthen branches, and to help form new branches and Presbyterian Associations.<sup>85</sup> Accordingly there was noticeable growth in PWMU branches and membership between 1911 and 1920.

This growing sophistication and complexity was also witnessed in the wider New Zealand missionary movement. The Presbyterian General Assembly appointed the Rev. Alexander Don as the first fully paid Foreign Missions Secretary in 1913.<sup>86</sup> The NZBMS had earlier appointed a voluntary 'Mission Organizer' in 1904, but did not create a paid secretarial position until 1919.<sup>87</sup> Each of these was a response to expanding missionary budgets and schemes. We have already noted similar developments for the NZCMA in the 1890s. In 1916 the NZCMA was also renamed the New Zealand Church Missionary Society and was duly incorporated in 1917.<sup>88</sup> A range of auxiliaries also emerged to cater for specific groups. One of these was the Student Volunteer Movement. Between 1900 and 1918 at least 116 tertiary students signed the Student Declaration signifying their missionary interest - seventy-four per cent of all known Student Volunteers between 1896 and 1920. A second such group was the Laymen's Missionary Movement. Originally from America, this group sought to do for men what groups like the PWMU did for women. It found a brief and particular niche amongst Baptist and Presbyterian men, and was pitched at the sensibilities and pockets of commercial and professional men. Typical of its activities in these years was a campaign amongst Presbyterians that raised £12,670 for the CVM in 1913.<sup>89</sup>

Finally, the Baptist denomination illustrates the growing complexity of missionary support in this period. Children's money was primarily raised through Sunday schools, and through various schemes - the Missionary Pence Association, the Missionary Houseboat Scheme, the Chandpore Brick Scheme and the children's Birthday Band.<sup>90</sup> Young people's giving came initially from Christian Endeavour Societies. By 1916 Bible classes were regular financial contributors, and Easter Camps and rallies raised

<sup>85</sup> 'Missions Report, 1911', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 199.

<sup>86</sup> 'Missions Report, 1913', *PCNZ PGA*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>87</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1904', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1904-1905, pp. 92-94; Simpson, 'A History of the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', pp. 77-79, 150-152.

<sup>88</sup> Gregory, *Stretching Out Continuously*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>89</sup> Reported in the *Harvest Field*, December 1913, pp. xix-xx.

<sup>90</sup> *NZB*, November 1897, p. 175; *ibid*, March 1898, p. 41; *ibid*, June 1903, p. 93; *ibid*, October 1903, p. 147.

further missionary interest.<sup>91</sup> Individuals sponsored hospital beds.<sup>92</sup> Congregational missionary secretaries, missionary collectors and the various regional Baptist auxiliaries continued to promote foreign missions. The annual Self-Denial week concept, adopted nationally in 1915, focussed local congregations on the missionary task, with the week's takings regularly split two to one between foreign and home missions.<sup>93</sup>

A second indicator was the growing diversity and sophistication in the range and use of missionary literature and other educative tools. In the first instance the already rich array of missionary periodical literature grew further in this period: *Tahuantín Suyu* (1911) and the *Bolivian Indian* (1915) for the Bolivian Indian Mission; the *Young Folk's Missionary Messenger* (1904) for Baptists; the *Harvest Field* (1906) for the PWMU; and *Break of Day* (1909) for Presbyterian children. In addition items of missionary interest were regularly found in such general periodicals as the Presbyterian *Outlook* (1899) and *Biblical Recorder* (1914), Anglican diocesan newspapers, the Brethren *Treasury* (1899), and the SCMs *Intercollegian* (1898) and *Torch* (1915), as well as in congregational newsletters. There were also subscribers to such international publications as the *Missionary Review of the World* (edited by the American Arthur T. Pierson), and the *International Review of Missions* (published by the continuation committee of the 1910 Edinburgh Missionary Conference).<sup>94</sup>

Existing subscription and circulation figures suggest that readership of such literature was reasonably widespread. The *Break of Day's* circulation grew by seventy-one per cent between 1909 and 1920, with 9,000 issues printed monthly by 1920.<sup>95</sup> In the same period PWMU subscriptions for the *Harvest Field* grew from 1,967 to 5,337, with eighty-five per cent of members subscribing by 1920.<sup>96</sup> The *Young Folk's Missionary Messenger* circulation increased from 2,550 in 1904 to 3,092 by 1910, reaching up to forty-seven per cent of Baptist children and young people. From 1904 the *Missionary Messenger* became a supplement to the *New Zealand Baptist*. By 1915 the *NZB* was

<sup>91</sup> Simpson, 'A History of the NZ Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947', pp. 152-155.

<sup>92</sup> For example: 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1905-1906, in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1905-1906, p. 96.

<sup>93</sup> Minutes of the Annual Conference of the NZ Baptist Union 1915, *NZBU Handbook* 1915-1916, p. 22.

<sup>94</sup> *Biblical Recorder*, September 1916, pp. 168-169; 14 August 1917, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1914-1919, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>95</sup> Extracted from *PCNZ PGA*, 1909-1920.

<sup>96</sup> 'PWMU Annual Report, 1910-1911, p. 61; *ibid*, 1915-1916, p. 65; *ibid* 1920-1921, p. 59, *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1910-1920.

subscribed to by nearly one third of Baptist members.<sup>97</sup> If we assume that any one magazine was read by at least a household full of people, then such publications must have reached a reasonably wide audience. At the same time commentators were not complacent, calling often for an increase in interest, readership and subscriptions.<sup>98</sup>

People were also well informed through the medium of books. Whilst missionary books were widely advertised, sold, and given as prizes,<sup>99</sup> the growing trend was towards the creation of missionary libraries. Primarily collections of British and American books, they did include a small number of New Zealand titles. Auckland Baptist Tabernacle had a missionary library by 1904.<sup>100</sup> Listings exist for specific groups like the Otago and Southland PWMU in 1905, indicating a collection of sixty books, and the Otago University Christian Union in 1908, twenty-seven per cent of which were missionary titles.<sup>101</sup> By 1912 the NZCMA had approved the proposal for a circulating library of missionary books.<sup>102</sup> Individual branches of the Gleaners' Union had their own smaller collections. The Presbyterian FMC administered a more sophisticated library, which grew to well over 800 volumes by the late 1920s. It covered a broad spectrum of biographies, regional studies, missionary history and theology, as well as titles for children.<sup>103</sup> Individual Presbyterian churches and Sunday schools had their own libraries. Perhaps most astounding was the wide-ranging and sophisticated personal library of Samuel Barry, an Auckland Baptist missionary enthusiast (brother of ex-NZBMS missionary Walter Barry). In 1916 he made this collection of nearly 800 missionary books available to the public through the Auckland Sunday school Union.<sup>104</sup>

Again it is less obvious to what extent libraries were used. The only glimmer is a record of the Christchurch Gleaners' Union library. Whilst the collection grew from 165 to 269

<sup>97</sup> Extracted from *NZBU Baptist Handbook* and NZBMS Reports, 1904-1915.

<sup>98</sup> *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1905-1906, p. 55; *MM*, April 1907, p. 1.

<sup>99</sup> Ethel Davis, Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, received a copy of *Gesta Christi* in 1901; Ina Hepburn, Highbank Anglican Church, Auckland, received a copy of *Missionary Heroines in Many Lands*, in 1915.

<sup>100</sup> *NZB*, June 1904, p. 284.

<sup>101</sup> 'Library Catalogues, 1905-1925', Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives; Reports of the Bible Study Committee, Otago University CU, 1896-1911, MS Papers 1617, Folder 292, NZSCM Collection, WTU.

<sup>102</sup> 3 July 1912, Minutes of the NZCMA, 1923-1941, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>103</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1916-1927; 'Library Catalogues, 1905-1925', Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001; Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1914-1919, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>104</sup> The catalogue was found amongst Presbyterian catalogues listed in footnotes 99 and 101. The collection was later donated to the Baptist Theological College. *NZB*, August 1916, p. 144; Edgar, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 4, p. 78.



titles between 1914 and 1918, the maximum number of annual loans was never more than fifty-eight books, and by far the majority of borrowers were women.<sup>105</sup> Yet the reading habits of a large number of missionary applicants - Anglican, Presbyterian and CIM - indicated a wide range of devotional, theological and missionary books being read. It is probable that many of these would have been books borrowed as well as bought. It is also probable, as Terence Craig observes for the Canadian context, that there were many smaller private collections of missionary literature and books.<sup>106</sup> Taken all together these must have had an abiding influence on successive generations, augmented by the later establishment of denominational publishing departments.<sup>107</sup>

The mission study circle concept was also widely pursued in this period, reflecting the growing complexity and sophistication of the missionary movement and its early twentieth-century international milieu, as well as a general confidence in the efficacy of educational methods. Mission study required the systematic reading of set texts followed by a considered discussion of the issues. It was seen as a 'modern and scientific' method of acquiring and disseminating information that would lead to 'intelligent interest in the missionary cause'.<sup>108</sup> Pedagogically it was also much more sophisticated and demanding than populist reading. The concept began to take off by 1910.<sup>109</sup> The WSCF travelling secretary Ruth Rouse identified a lack of mission study in 1908 as indicative of weak missionary support amongst Australasian students generally. Otago University Christian Union records suggest its subsequent revival.<sup>110</sup> During 1909 there was a concerted effort amongst Baptists to promote and resource mission study circles. A regular page in the *New Zealand Baptist* aimed to educate people on both the philosophy and methods of study groups.<sup>111</sup> For Presbyterians mission study was promoted from 1910, spurred on by the Edinburgh Missionary

<sup>105</sup> Library Book Loans, Christchurch Gleaners' Union, 1914-1927, ANG 143/4.4 (6), Box 20, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>106</sup> Terence Craig, *The Missionary Lives: A Study in Canadian Missionary Biography and Autobiography*, Leiden, New York and Koln: Brill, 1997, p. xi.

<sup>107</sup> For example the Presbyterian Bookroom was established in Christchurch in 1925, and its positive impact was immediately noted in Assembly reports. Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church*, pp. 214-215, 376; 'Youth of the Church Report, 1926', PCNZ PGA, p. 199.

<sup>108</sup> Annual Reports of the Christchurch CMA Committee, 1913-1914, ANG 143/4.3(6), Box 19, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>109</sup> The Otago University Student Christian Union had mission study classes or groups by at least 1902. Otago University Student Christian Movement, Minute Book, 1896-1910, Box 1, 90-138, HO:DU.

<sup>110</sup> 'Australasia Report II', in 'Ruth Rouse Regional Reports', Folder 354, Box 44, WSCF, 46/1, Yale; Report of the Bible Study Committee, Otago University Christian Union, 1909, MS Papers 1617, Folder 292, NZSCM Collection, WTU.

<sup>111</sup> *NZB*, January, March, May, July, and September 1909, all p. 4.

Conference. A Christchurch 'Mission Study Council' was formed in about 1912, to resource mission study across the denominations. Minutes for a 1914 meeting suggested a wide representation of denominations and agencies, but it is unclear how long lasting or effective this grouping was in its aims.<sup>112</sup>

On the surface the evidence is ambiguous as to the effectiveness of this method. Taking the Presbyterian Church as an example, the number of study circles was never great. The FMC report to the 1914 General Assembly sought an expansion in mission study amongst Sunday schools, Bible classes and other groups but, by 1915, there were barely twenty circles operating amongst 226 PWMU branches.<sup>113</sup> Study circles, however, were only one of several venues in which study actually took place. Mission study was happening in the regular meetings of the PWMU and the Layman's Missionary Movement, amongst Bible classes, and in some gatherings of clergy. After 1914 the FMC was regularly ordering and distributing large numbers of set texts, copies of its annual reports, and other study material. That such study involved more than the mere reading of facts, figures and interesting stories was evidenced by an engaging sample set of studies provided by Margaret Hewitson in the *Harvest Field* throughout 1914. Through a set of 'assignments' based on John R. Mott's book *The Decisive Hour of Christian Missions*, PWMU women engaged thoughtfully with a wide range of issues including geopolitics, socio-economic development, culture, religion, theology and missiology, with a particular focus on how these related to or affected the condition of women.<sup>114</sup> In hindsight this confidence in educational methods may appear somewhat naïve. In the context of the period, however, mission study may have been responsible for creating a significant core of people whose world-view, and international understanding, was unusually well informed and nuanced.

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<sup>112</sup> 'Canterbury Mission Study Council', ANG 143/4.2, Box 19, NZCMS Archives; *Harvest Field*, March 1914, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>113</sup> 'Missions Report, 1914', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 81; *PWMU Annual Report*, 1915, pp. 4-59.

<sup>114</sup> *Harvest Field*, April 1914, pp. xi-xiii; *ibid*, May, pp. xii-xiii; *ibid*, June, p. xiii; *ibid*, July, pp. x-xii; *ibid*, August, p. iii; *ibid*, September, pp. iii-iv; *ibid*, October, pp. vi-vii; *ibid*, November, p. iv.

#### 4.7 The Influence of International and Domestic Factors

Finally it is also important to assess the extent to which this apparently growing, entrenched, and more sophisticated movement was influenced by international and domestic factors and, therefore, to assess how legitimate it is to speak of an emerging indigenous New Zealand missionary movement by 1918. The impact of World War One will be addressed in Chapter Five, because its impact can be seen in many aspects of the movement, and is better assessed from the perspective of the 1920s. The overriding impression is that the New Zealand missionary movement, by 1918, was inextricably linked with the wider international missionary movement. Much of the theology, and many of the issues and structures already examined, simply mirrored international patterns. Furthermore there was a variety of ways in which the international movement helped to shape the local movement. Visiting international speakers came in ever increasing numbers. Baptist churches nationwide, for example, were visited by at least twenty overseas missionaries doing deputation work in New Zealand during the period 1911 to 1914.<sup>115</sup> John R. Mott made his second visit in 1903, covering all the main centres, as did Ruth Rouse in 1908.<sup>116</sup> Missionaries, applicants and the general public read widely from a fertile supply of international missionary literature. Non-denominational missions tapped into the energy, ethos and literature of the wider faith mission stream. Many missionary candidates continued to receive their training from institutions in Australia, England and America. Movements like Christian Endeavour, England's Keswick Convention, the Student Volunteer Movement and the Laymen's Missionary Movement continued to have a varying impact on churches and individuals. There were also denomination-specific influences. The Anglican Lambeth bishops' conferences, for instance, began to place an emphasis on foreign missions from the late 1890s, and statements from the conferences provided fuel for Anglican missionary enthusiasts seeking to further promote the cause in New Zealand.<sup>117</sup>

The high point of the period was the World Missionary Conference held at Edinburgh, in June 1910, and it might be presumed that this event had a major impact upon the missionary movement in New Zealand. Yet direct evidence for this is relatively slim.

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<sup>115</sup> *NZB*, 1911-1914.

<sup>116</sup> 'Travel Notes and Itineraries, 1901-1907', Folder 2111, Box 130, John R. Mott Papers, 45, Yale; 'Ruth Rouse Regional Reports', Folder 354, Box 44, WSCF, 46/1, Yale.

<sup>117</sup> For example, a speech by Bishop Octavius Hadfield, *PGS*, 1898, p. 5.

Denominational and missionary leaders were aware of the Conference in its preparatory stages, and signalled its importance in their reports. Actual representation by New Zealanders was small. The Bishop of Gippsland (Australia) formally represented the NZCMA, and Mr Charles Mackie went on behalf of the NZBMS.<sup>118</sup> There were two Presbyterian delegates.<sup>119</sup> Perhaps significantly the PWMU had three representatives who were unofficial delegates - Mrs Kaye and Mrs MacKenzie, of Christchurch, and Miss Morris of Gisborne.<sup>120</sup> It was Mrs Kaye who reported on the Conference in most detail, through the *Harvest Field* and a published booklet.<sup>121</sup> As such it might be fair to argue that the Conference had most impact amongst Presbyterian women. Certainly the move towards mission study within the PWMU owed much of its impetus to articles and speeches reflecting on the Conference by the above participants. Following June 1910 the various denominational reports reported favourably on the Conference, yet there is little evidence of concrete outcomes or strategies. The one exception was the NZCMA, which was in ongoing correspondence with the Conference's Continuation Committee. In 1912 the NZCMA Executive acted upon the recommendations of Commission Five of the Conference (regarding missionary training), by setting formal standards for various categories of missionary training. This move was partly motivated by submissions from the Ladies' Committee and acknowledged that, in the future, well-qualified missionaries would be needed to enable 'native' churches to evangelise their own peoples.<sup>122</sup> Finally a meeting was held at Waimarino (National Park) in January 1911, which brought the various denominations together to consider what follow-up might occur in New Zealand.<sup>123</sup> Representation was relatively wide, the Conference's various reports were discussed, and submissions were made as to future action. Yet the story line ends there, with no indication as to the ongoing impact of this meeting. Thus we are left to surmise that the Edinburgh Conference's main impact in New Zealand

<sup>118</sup> 17 March 1910, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the NZCMA, 1900-1912, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives; *NZB*, June 1910, p. 103. The Rev. Dr William St Clair Tisdall (CMS) was also a conference delegate and speaker. Reported in World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I*, 'Carrying the Gospel to all the Non-Christian World', Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910, p. 421; and listed in World Missionary Conference, *Official Handbook*, Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference Office, 1910, pp. 63, 109.

<sup>119</sup> The Revs John McKenzie and A. T. Thomson - World Missionary Conference, *Official Handbook*, Edinburgh: World Missionary Conference Office, 1910, p. 95.

<sup>120</sup> They attended parallel sessions of the Conference. *Harvest Field*, April 1910, p. x.

<sup>121</sup> Mrs A. Kaye, 'Out of Every Nation': *A Brief Account of the World's Missionary Conference, Held in Edinburgh in 1910*, Christchurch: Smith & Anthony Ltd. for Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, 1910. Copies of this have not been located, but she summarised sections of it in the *Harvest Field*.

<sup>122</sup> In 'Historical and General Papers', ANG 143/1.6, Folder 2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>123</sup> 'Missions Report, 1910, *PCNZ PGA*, p. 121; *Church Gazette*, May 1910, p. 83; *ibid*, October 1910, p. 183; *ibid*, February 1911, p. 39.

was to feed into and underpin already existing assumptions, structures, strategies and energies.

Whilst the missionary movement was primarily shaped by external influences, it was also being shaped in this period by intrinsically New Zealand influences. Firstly, there were readily identifiable influences like literature, speakers, local training and public events. New Zealand missionary authors were contributing to the pool of literature read, in magazines and books, particularly once the mission study concept began to take root. Much of this was probably read within denominations, although books on India by the Christchurch LMS missionary Beatrice Harband appeared in all the book lists examined.<sup>124</sup> Other writers, especially the Rev. John Takle, were finding an audience both in and beyond New Zealand.<sup>125</sup> It was also perhaps a mark of the movement's growing maturity that tentatively self-reflective historical works began to appear.<sup>126</sup> Within this period denominational missionaries regularly trod the deputation trail, so that what people were hearing was as much from New Zealanders as from international speakers. Locally based missionary training was slower to emerge. A core of women students rubbed shoulders with New Zealand teachers and missionaries on furlough through the PWTI in Dunedin. Previously established as a general training home by Annie Driver, the institution was handed over to the Presbyterian Church in 1903.<sup>127</sup> It became a key place where women were prepared for missionary and deaconess career work. A later attempt to establish a missionary training institute in Whangarei, by the Rev. Albert Whalley (Baptist) in 1912, appears to have been premature and came to nothing.<sup>128</sup> The wider public also came into contact with the missionary movement through various public exhibitions. Visitors to the 1906 Christchurch Exhibition would have heard New Zealand missionary speakers and been able to inspect items of interest in missionary exhibits.<sup>129</sup> The Missionary Exhibition staged at Dunedin's Knox Presbyterian Church, in 1910, was a much more ambitious affair (Figure 4.6). Three days of presentations, speakers and displays, covering the world through 968

<sup>124</sup> Biographical details for Amy and Beatrice Harband, which include the relevant book titles, appear in Sibree (ed.), *London Missionary Society*, 1923, pp. 134-135.

<sup>125</sup> Graeme A. Murray, 'John Takle', in Gerald Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, p. 656.

<sup>126</sup> For example Driver, *Our Work for God in India*; and Don, *Light in Dark Isles*.

<sup>127</sup> 'Missions Report, 1903', *PCNZ PGA*, pp. 101, 160.

<sup>128</sup> *NZB*, May 1912, p. 88; J. Oswald Sanders, *Expanding Horizons: The Story of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute*, Auckland: Institute Press, 1971, p. 8.

<sup>129</sup> 2 and 12 February 1906, 20 April 1906 and 30 July 1906, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the NZCMA, 1900-1912, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

individually donated items, made both the wider world and the missionary movement accessible to the general public. Reported crowds came to an event conceived and executed by New Zealanders.<sup>130</sup> Missionary exhibitions, as a method of raising popular missionary awareness, would gradually become more commonplace.

**Figure 4.6 – Dunedin Missionary Exhibition Handbook Cover, 1910<sup>131</sup>**



There was a possible further set of influences that were more linked to the psyche of a colonial settler society that was at once unique and yet still very much tied to its British origins. The possible influence of the pioneering experience, and of a subtle self-effacing attitude, was noted for the BIM. It is probable that these were also discernible traits for other New Zealand groups and individuals.<sup>132</sup> Amongst Baptists there was a curious blend of colonial independence, self-congratulation and a sense of imperial

<sup>130</sup> 'Official Handbook, Grand Missionary Exhibition', Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives; *Outlook*, 23 August 1910, p. 8.

<sup>131</sup> Missionary Exhibition, 1910, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>132</sup> This pioneering theme, for example, was echoed in the reminiscences of Mary Moore (Dunedin Church of Scotland missionary in China). Moore to Principal, 23 March 1948, Otago Girls' High School Miscellaneous Correspondence, 1910-1970, AG 655-012/009, HO:DU.

obligation with respect to work in East Bengal. An oft-repeated exhortation in NZBMS reports was that the several millions of people in that region were New Zealand's special responsibility, entirely dependent upon a handful of colonial Baptists for their eternal salvation and well being. The inference, often made quite explicit, was that there would be dire spiritual consequences if New Zealand Baptists did not live up to that responsibility.<sup>133</sup> Amongst Anglican and Presbyterian applicants there was also a note of responsibility, that issued from a sense of dual privilege. On the one hand the fact of being a Christian, and of living in a Christian society, was seen as a great privilege. On the other hand there was an emerging sense that to live in New Zealand was itself a great privilege. This had its roots in an older notion held by European settlers, that New Zealand was an intrinsically healthy and unsullied place in which to live, with no endemic diseases and very few Old World scourges like small pox or cholera.<sup>134</sup> In the context of the early twentieth century, however, it must also have reflected the growing awareness of perceived developmental gaps between European and non-European societies. This sense of privilege, born out of a specific environment, was part of the motivational mix for many New Zealand missionaries. Finally the New Zealand experience of World War One also had an impact on missionary thinking and propaganda. In summing up the 1915 NZBMS report the secretary included the following annotated anecdote about Gallipoli:

When our boys landed at the Dardanelles, a group of them, occupying an advanced position, had its officer shot dead. Another officer, somewhere in the rear, thereupon signalled for the members of that group to retire. Instead of obeying, they flashed back the words, "New Zealanders never retire." Into the work of the Kingdom let us put the same spirit as these men are putting into the fight for the Empire.<sup>135</sup>

A pioneering lifestyle, soldiering, and missionary service were all activities that demanded sacrifice, toughness, perseverance, effort, heroism and sheer bloody mindedness. The New Zealand missionary movement, as it developed in the early twentieth century, perhaps owed its growth and character as much to some of these influences as it did to the international movement of which it was so much a part.

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<sup>133</sup> For example, 'NZBMS Report, 1903', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1903-1904, p. 68.

<sup>134</sup> H. D. Morrison, 'The Keeper of Paradise', BA (Hons) Long Essay in History, University of Otago, 1981, pp. 3-10.

<sup>135</sup> 'NZBMS Report, 1915', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1915-1916, p. 78.

## Chapter Five

### Post-war Growth and Diversity, 1919-1926

#### 5.1 Introduction

During its deliberations the 1926 Presbyterian General Assembly paused to acknowledge the death of the long serving missionary the Rev. William Watt, respectfully referring to him as ‘our revered missionary’ and a ‘noble pioneer of our missionary enterprise’. Particular reference was made to his character, especially the qualities of ‘undaunted faith’, ‘unwearied courage’ and ‘patience of hope’ – all of which ultimately ensured that the ‘light shone brightly’ in the New Hebrides.<sup>1</sup> In the same year Helen Macgregor, from Columba Presbyterian Church in Oamaru, retired after thirty-four years working in Madras with the United Free Church of Scotland. She had maintained a high profile in New Zealand, gaining widespread support and respect from Presbyterian churches and women in particular.<sup>2</sup> Again in the same year the Rev. George McNeur temporarily returned to New Zealand to serve as the Presbyterian Church’s Moderator, after twenty-five years work in southern China. These separate events were indicative of broader developments. The deaths and retirement of long-serving missionaries marked the passing of an era. The late nineteenth-century missionary pioneers were beginning to give way to a second and even a third generation of New Zealand missionaries. It was also evident that missionaries were held in high regard as worthy exemplars of fortitude, faithfulness and service, and now held a central position in both the consciousness and priorities of the churches.

At the same time there were also indications of intellectual changes that would prove a challenge to those engaged in mission. Presbyterian applicant Mary Blair alluded to a new book by the American Methodist missionary E. Stanley Jones in her 1927 application. ‘I want to be able to discover with India’s sons the “Christ of the Indian Road”’.<sup>3</sup> Jones offered a Christocentric and inculturated approach to mission that went beyond the hitherto popular appeal to the great needs or evils of India. The latter, in his view, merely served to create ‘a superiority complex’ amongst missionaries and supporters. He argued that ‘taken at their very best, pagan men and systems in East and

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Missions Report, 1926’, *PCNZ PGA*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Ella Lee to Helen Macgregor, 19 July 1926, Church of Scotland Records, 1848-1931, Micro MS Coll 20, M1554, MS 7976/430, WTU.

<sup>3</sup> ‘Mary Blair’, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, Series 3.50, PCNZ FMC (GA0001), PCANZ Archive.



West need Christ. I have said to India very frankly ... I am convinced that the only kind of world worth having is a world patterned after the mind and spirit of Jesus.’<sup>4</sup> That a number of Presbyterian applicants referred to this book testified to its popularity. It was also indicative of a growing diversification in missionary thinking and practice that, to varying extents, mirrored the growing fragmentation of western Protestantism.

Chapter Five argues that the New Zealand missionary movement had attained a central place in the life and objectives of the Church by the post-war decade of the 1920s. It also began to display some of the diversity evident in the broader international missionary movement, whilst still retaining many features that kept it in continuity with preceding decades. Three main questions will be addressed. First, to what extent was this decade continuous or discontinuous with preceding decades? Second, to what extent did the missionary movement owe some of its shape and character to the impact of World War One? Third, what were the main developments in this period that support the notion of growth and diversity between 1919 and 1926, what were the main indicative features, and how can these be explained? The chapter will focus on the main developments of the period, the discernible theological and sociological themes and trends, the impact of World War One, and the indicators of growth and diversity.

## **5.2 An Outline of the Main Developments, 1919-1926**

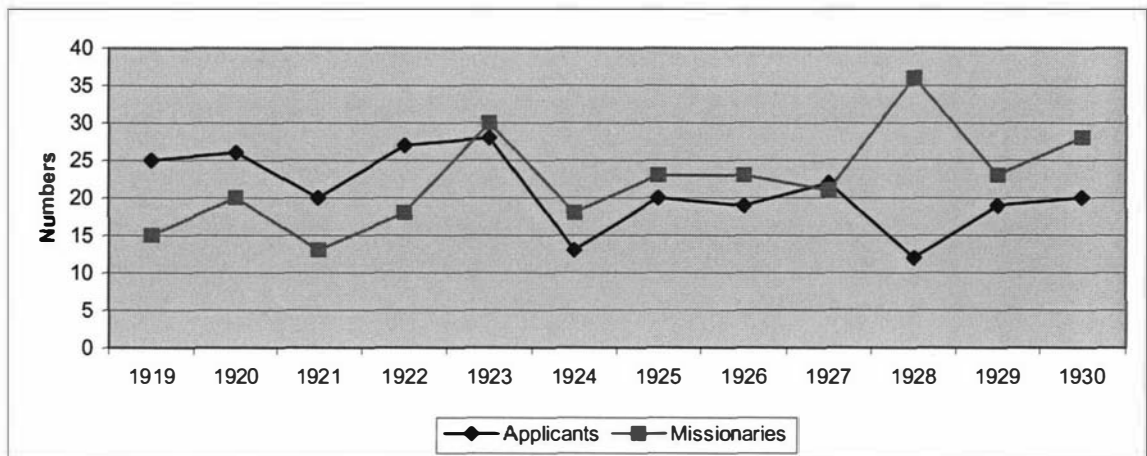
At least 272 men and women went overseas as missionaries between 1919 and 1930<sup>5</sup> (Figure 5.1). This was twice as many per decade than at any preceding time. At least another 167 were interested enough to apply for missionary service to the five missionary organizations under study. Missionaries were employed by an estimated thirty-five different organisations, of which fifteen were new to New Zealand. Eighteen were connected with New Zealand or overseas denominations, and seventeen were non-denominational.<sup>6</sup> The latter made up nearly fifty per cent of the sending agencies by 1930, amongst which the most notable were the CIM, the Sudan Interior Mission (SIM) and the South Sea Evangelical Mission. The number of missionaries entering non-denominational missions rose from 1922 onwards, following the establishment of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute (NZBTI) that year in Auckland.

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<sup>4</sup> E. Stanley Jones, *The Christ of the Indian Road*, London: Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1925, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> For statistical consistency, statistics for this period have been plotted up to and including 1930.

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix One for specific details.

**Figure 5.1 – Estimated Missionary and Applicant Numbers, 1919-1930<sup>7</sup>**

New Zealand missionaries went to at least thirty-five different destinations, compared with twenty-five for the previous period. Whilst seventy per cent went to either India, the South Pacific or to China, the overall regional distribution was now more even. The South Pacific had surpassed India and China as the region with the largest number of New Zealand missionaries. Some of the newer non-denominational missions were now sending New Zealanders to Africa in greater numbers. New Zealand Brethren missionaries were to be found in the most diverse range of locations on all continents. Between 1916 and 1922 the New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions was finally established, linking the various Anglican missionary ventures together to gain greater uniformity of diocesan and parochial missionary support.<sup>8</sup> During the 1920s the Board engaged the full time services of various Organising Secretaries and published its own magazine (the *Reaper*). Similarly the CIM appointed its first New Zealand based Organising Secretary, the Rev. H. S. Conway, in 1924.<sup>9</sup> The NZBMS appointed a Commission in 1922 to evaluate current and future Baptist missionary policy.<sup>10</sup> Whilst it did not effect any radical changes in direction, it was a sign that old patterns and assumptions were beginning to be questioned. Auckland began to emerge as the new focus for missionary interest and support. Anglican and Methodist theological institutions, the NZBTI, and the Baptist Theological College (established in 1926) all served to raise the profile of the city as a focus for training and resources. Auckland's growing size demanded a more sophisticated response, symbolised in the formation of

<sup>7</sup> See footnote 4 in Chapter Three.

<sup>8</sup> Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, pp. 192-195.

<sup>9</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>10</sup> Edgar and Eade, *Toward the Sunrise*, pp. 55-59.

the Auckland Baptist Foreign Missionary Committee in 1924, and the Auckland Missionary Association in the mid-1920s.<sup>11</sup> It also became a centre of national administration, with the relocation to Auckland of the Presbyterian FMC Secretary and executive in 1929.<sup>12</sup> The third visit of John R. Mott, in 1926, culminated in the ecumenical New Zealand Missionary Conference and the subsequent formation of the National Missionary Council. This conference had the sympathy and representation of most denominational and non-denominational missions. The Council later merged with the National Council of Churches. Finally a concerted Presbyterian campaign to raise the level of missionary giving in 1920, whilst averting an immediate crisis in missionary finances, indicated that the continued growth of missionary numbers and ventures in the 1920s could come at a price. J. S. Murray's observation for the Presbyterian Church had a more general application:

It seems plain that the Church had been pressed almost to the limit of its willingness to provide funds for this work, and that its capacity to keep on increasing its commitments had begun to diminish.... we cannot help wondering how long the Church could take this, and how justifiable was the note of reproach that began to appear.... it was inevitable that the Church should grow weary and begin to slow down.<sup>13</sup>

### 5.3 Sociological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1919-1926

The following discussion is based on the 272 known missionaries and 167 known applicants recorded for the period. As Langmore and Brouwer's studies do not cover the period 1919-1930, the only comparative data is drawn from Australian CIM records. Missionary numbers between 1919 and 1930 began to reach levels consistently higher than in any previous period (Figure 5.2). There were between thirteen and thirty-six annual departures, with a mean and median of twenty-two. The peak in 1923 reflected Anglican missionaries joining the work of the SPG in northern China and of the Diocese of Polynesia in Fiji, and Presbyterian replacements for the CVM.<sup>14</sup> The 1928 peak particularly reflected an increase in non-denominational missionary departures.

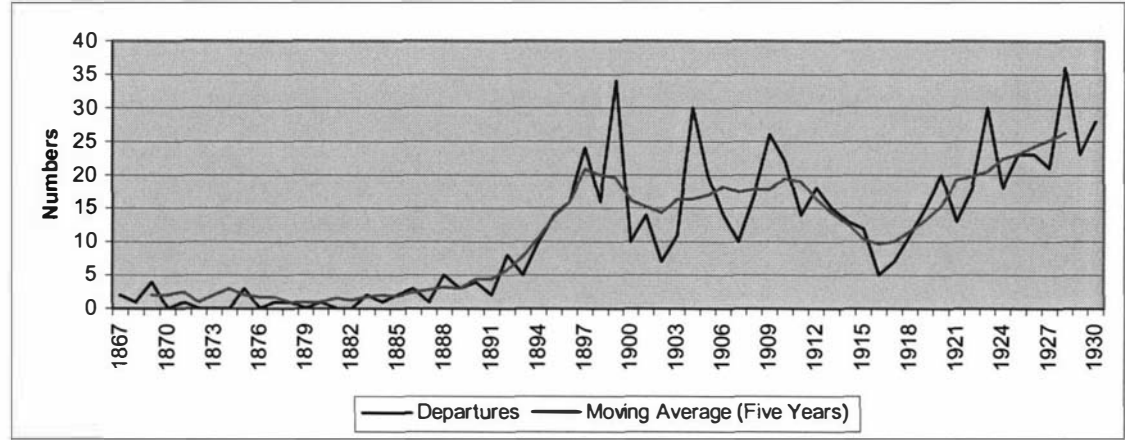
<sup>11</sup> 5 December 1924, Auckland Baptist Foreign Missionary Committee Minutes, 1924-1935, Book 2, Box 0027, NZBMS Archives; Lineham, 'Missions in the Consciousness of the New Zealand Churches', p. 37; 30 July 1926, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1912-1937, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives; Auckland Baptist Foreign Missionary Committee Minutes, 1924-1935 (23 February 1926), Book 2, Box 0027, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>12</sup> 'Missions Report, 1929', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 151.

<sup>13</sup> J. S. Murray, *A Century of Growth*, p. 51.

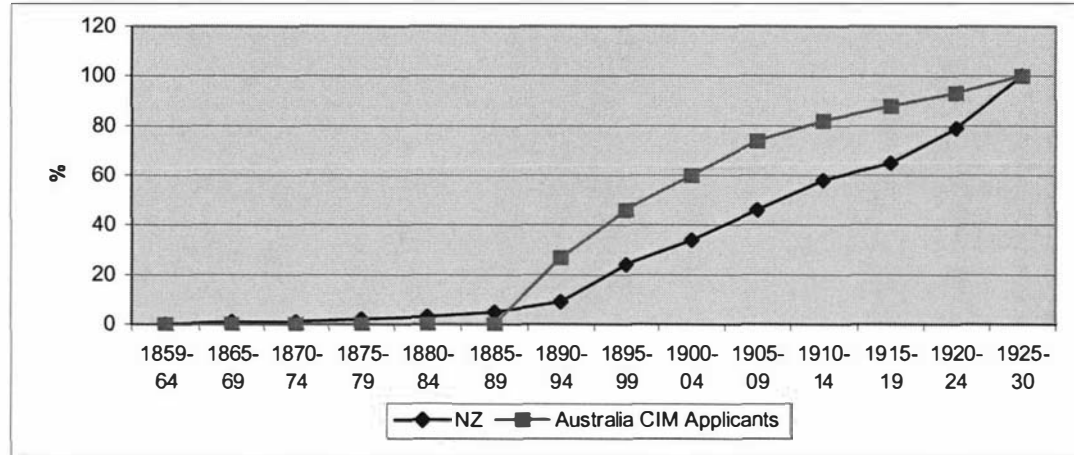
<sup>14</sup> Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, p. 213; 'Missions Report, 1923', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 132.

Figure 5.2 - Estimated New Zealand Missionary Departures, 1867-1930<sup>15</sup>



Five-year moving averages, and the cumulative percentage growth graphed in Figure 5.3, further define the nature of missionary growth by 1930.<sup>16</sup> The growth of the 1890s was largely sustained until 1911, and again from 1917 onwards, with the greatest growth towards the end of the 1920s. In the absence of further figures for the 1930s and 1940s, it is less clear whether the longer-term patterns were more uniformly cyclical. It is probable, however, that fluctuations in patterns of missionary recruitment were tied to such contextual factors as the impact of war and the onset of economic depression.

Figure 5.3 - Cumulative Percentage Growth of Missionaries, 1859-1930<sup>17</sup>



The following composite table (Table 5.1) illustrates some of the salient features of the evolving New Zealand missionary work force. Again many of the previous trends were continued and accentuated between 1919 and 1930.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 7.

<sup>16</sup> A basic explanation of moving averages is found in Hudson, *History by Numbers*, pp. 129-132.

<sup>17</sup> Based on: departure figures for New Zealand missionaries; and application data for the Australian CIM, Record of Applications, 1890-1930, Item 733, Box 5-1D, Australia CIM Archives.

**Table 5.1 – Selected Features of New Zealand’s Missionary Work Force, 1919-1930<sup>18</sup>**

Attribute	Males	Females	Total
Numbers	101 (37%)	171 (63%)	272
Age at Departure			
Mean	27.3 years	28.5 years	28.1 years
Median	27 years	28 years	28 years
Mode	26 years	28 years	28 years
Marital Status at Departure			
Single	71%	77%	75%
Married	29%	23%	25%
Length of Service			
Mean	20 years	18 years	19 years
Median	14 years	14 years	14 years
Mode	3 years	1 year	3 years
Origin (Ranked)			
Region #1	Auckland	Auckland	Auckland
Region #2	Otago	Wellington	Otago
Region #3	Wellington	Otago	Wellington
Birthplace			
New Zealand	89%	83%	86%
Overseas	11%	17%	14%
Denomination (Ranked)			
Denomination #1	Baptist	Presbyterian	Baptist
Denomination #2	Brethren	Methodist	Presbyterian
Denomination #3	Presbyterian	Baptist	Brethren
Educational Background (Ranked)			
Level #1	Other Tertiary	Other Tertiary	Other Tertiary
Level #2	University	University	University
Level #3	-	Technical	Technical
Occupational Background (Ranked)			
Occupation #1	Professional	Professional	Professional
Occupation #2	Dependent	Domestic	Dependent
Occupation #3	Agricultural	Comm'l/Dependent	Domestic
Service Ended (Ranked)			
Reason #1	Retired	Retired	Retired
Reason #2	Ill Health	Ill health	Ill health
Reason #3	Death	Marriage	Death

The numerical dominance of women missionaries was well established, with women comprising sixty-three per cent of the missionary work force. They were also more likely to be single, at least in the initial stages of missionary service. Median age at departure had now stabilised at around twenty-eight years, indicating that a large number of people were coming to missionary work from both a period of study and other work experience. Length of service continued to increase, perhaps reflecting improved ‘field conditions’ and the conviction held by many that missionary work was

<sup>18</sup> See Appendices Three and Four for the analytical categories and a detailed percentage breakdown.

to be a life-long vocation. These figures, however, were skewed by the tendency of Brethren missionaries to live and work overseas beyond the normal retirement age. New Zealand born missionaries continued to make up an overwhelming majority of the workforce. Amongst these were a handful of missionary children who, whilst they were born overseas, identified with and were educated in New Zealand, and who went on to missionary service themselves. The Baptist, Presbyterian and Brethren denominations continued to predominate, and missionaries continued to be better educated and to come largely from professional occupations. By way of contrast continuities and discontinuities in the sociological data are again viewed using Chi-square analysis for significant difference.<sup>19</sup> Comment is restricted to the most outstanding discontinuities.

**Table 5.2 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with Missionaries 1900-1918: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference<sup>20</sup>**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Gender	-	✓
Marital Status	✓	-
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	-	✓
Education	✓	-
Occupation	-	✓

The greatest discontinuity between the 1920s and the earlier period existed for missionary origins and educational background (Table 5.2). Geographically there was a pivotal swing in which Auckland had now become the new ‘centre of missionary gravity’. The greatest number of missionaries and applicants in this period (thirty-seven per cent and twenty-eight per cent respectively) came from the wider Auckland province, of which seventy-six per cent came specifically from Auckland City. This shift of focus may simply have mirrored wider spatial and structural changes in the population. By 1926 nearly two-thirds of New Zealand’s population was located in the North Island – a figure almost exactly matched in the missionary data – and Auckland was the largest urban area. Again New Zealand’s population was becoming more urbanised (sixty-seven per cent urban by 1926), and missionary data also reflected this change.<sup>21</sup> The four largest urban centres continued to contribute more than their proportional share of people to missionary work, and to dominate the statistics. By the

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix Five for an explanation of this analysis, and for the actual values calculated.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix Five for this and following tables. In each table the level of significance is  $p=0.05$ .

<sup>21</sup> Figures extracted from R. J. Warwick Neville and C. James O’Neill (eds), *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Auckland: Longman Paul Limited, 1979, pp. 5-7, 10-13.

turn of the twentieth century most of the former bush-enclosed areas of the North Island had been turned into pastoral farming land. By the 1920s many small service centres had been established, and a number of small towns had now grown into secondary urban centres.<sup>22</sup> This too was reflected in the data. In the 1890s missionaries and applicants came from forty-one separate localities. By the 1920s this figure had increased to fifty-six, of which seventy-three per cent were secondary urban centres or small towns. Wanganui was the fifth largest contributor to these figures, and such smaller centres as Eltham, Hawera, Gore and Ashburton also figured in the ten largest missionary and applicant centres. The presence of these smaller centres in the data suggests that these changes may have been more than simply a reflection of wider population change. They also add force to the argument that an active and sympathetic missionary consciousness now found its home in a very wide cross-section of regions, towns and cities. Whilst many missionaries and applicants continued to come from the larger urban centres, the movement was by no means an exclusively large urban phenomenon. There may well have been an interrelationship between the growing proliferation of smaller centres, increased farming income, the establishment of new congregations, a youthful sense of communal vibrancy and missionary enthusiasm.

With respect to educational background, the 1919-30 missionary cohort stands out in at least two respects. Firstly, the statistics highlight the almost exclusive presence of missionaries with some form of tertiary qualification. Hidden within this was a substantial degree of gender differentiation. More men, numerically and in relation to women missionaries, held a university qualification (forty-six per cent of men compared with twelve per cent of women). This reflected the expectation, which still existed in the denominational missions, that male missionaries should be ordained. Women were more likely to come to missionary work with a non-university tertiary qualification. Women missionary university graduates continued to grow numerically, with at least fourteen women graduates amongst missionaries departing between 1919-1930. Yet their numbers, and the growth rate between decades, seem to have fallen behind the proportions and growth rates of women university students in the general population.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> 'The Urban System: Cities, Towns and the Links between them, 1891-1961', and 'Between Town and Country: Small Town and Townships, 1900-1960', McKinnon (ed.), *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, Plates 65 and 90.

<sup>23</sup> Based on figures and calculations made from *Statistics of New Zealand*, 1900, p. 412; *ibid*, 1910, p. 604; *ibid*, 1920, p. 18.

A mixture of missionary vacancies for women (emphasising traditional ‘domestic’ roles like teaching and nursing), together with the increasing opportunity for lay institute training, may have accentuated this trend. Secondly, increasing numbers of men and women were additionally trained in one of a number of local or international Bible training institutes. Some sixty-two per cent of missionaries with non-university qualifications trained at one of at either the PWTI or the NZBTI (in New Zealand), or at one of at least five overseas institutes (Melbourne Bible Training Institute, Sydney Bible and Missionary Training College, Los Angeles Bible Training Institute, Toronto Bible Training Institute and Chicago’s Moody Bible Training Institute).

**Table 5.3 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with New Zealand Population 1919-1930: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Gender	✓	-
Birthplace	✓	-
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	✓	-
Education	[not analysed due to lack of comparable data]	
Occupation	✓	-

The 1920s missionary and applicants’ cohort continued to be largely atypical when compared with the wider New Zealand population (Table 5.3). Relatively lower chi-square values for most of the attributes suggest that this gap may have been closing, except for denomination and occupation. Presbyterian missionaries (twenty-two per cent) were most representative of the wider population. Anglican missionaries were the most under-represented (thirteen per cent) and Brethren and Baptist missionaries the most over-represented (twenty per cent and twenty-five per cent respectively). Baptists were now the largest grouping, taking into account both those working for the NZBMS and for other organisations. Baptists also had the highest number of missionaries per head of denominational population (a ratio of 1:120).<sup>24</sup> Brethren missionaries, whilst numerically now slightly smaller and proportionately the same as the growing group of Methodist missionaries, had the second highest number of missionaries per head of population (a ratio of 1:275).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Based on a total of 6,954 Baptist members listed for 1925. ‘Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 31 August 1925’, Appendix, *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1925-1926.

<sup>25</sup> Based on a total of 7,865 Brethren listed for the 1926 Census. Extracted from *Census of New Zealand*, 1926, Volume VIII, Table 1: ‘Religious Professions – Numbers and Proportions’, p. 6.



The high percentage from professional backgrounds also made this grouping atypical.<sup>26</sup> Those categorised as dependents were again largely tertiary students. Higher numbers of men coming from commercial, industrial and agricultural occupations rendered the cohort slightly more representative of the male population. More women than men came from a professional background (seventy per cent compared with forty-three per cent). It is probable that the missionary vacancies for women simply reflected the predominant occupational roles fulfilled by women – particularly teaching, nursing and secretarial occupations. Irrespective of gender the high proportions of missionaries who were from professional occupations, tertiary trained, or both, again reinforced the impression gained for the 1900-1918 period – that missionary work was becoming an increasingly specialised and professional field of endeavour, which demanded and attracted a disproportionately high number of employees from these backgrounds.

The gap between missionaries and applicants was closing in this period (Table 5.4). There was no discernible difference with respect to gender or geographical origins, and less difference than previously noted for marital status and occupation. A high chi-square value for denominational background simply reflects the non-existence or non-examination of various applicant records.<sup>27</sup> The greatest difference existed for educational background, where the chi-square value increased between 1900-1918 and 1919-1930. This particularly reflected a smaller than expected number of applicants with 'other tertiary' qualifications, reflecting the stage at which people applied (that is before they had completed the requisite qualifications) rather than the fact that applicants were less well qualified.

**Table 5.4 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with Applicants 1919-1930: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Gender	-	✓
Marital Status	✓	-
Geographical Origins	-	✓
Denomination	✓	-
Education	✓	-
Occupation	✓	-

<sup>26</sup> Occupations were found for thirty-four per cent of missionaries and sixty-two per cent of applicants.

<sup>27</sup> Whilst full records exist for the Presbyterian Church and the NZCMS, there are gaps in the applicant record for the BIM, CIM and NZBMS. Applicant records for the other missions were not examined.

As for the previous period, applicants tended to be more generally representative of the wider population, and did not display too great a degree of difference compared with those applying from the previous period (Table 5.5). Similar trends towards the dominance of Auckland, the proliferation of applicants from a range of smaller centres, and gender differentiation in terms of educational and occupational background were evident in the applicant cohort. Overall these continuing patterns in the applicant data add further weight to the impression that the New Zealand missionary movement, by the 1920s, was firmly rooted in an increasingly diverse range of geographical, denominational and socio-economic contexts.

**Table 5.5 – Applicants 1919-1930 compared with Applicants 1900-1918, and with New Zealand Population 1919-1930: Chi-Square Test for Significant Difference**

Attribute	Significant Difference	No Significant Difference
Applicants 1919-1930 compared with Applicants 1900-1918		
Gender	✓	-
Marital Status	-	✓
Geographical Origins	✓	-
Denomination	✓	-
Education	✓	-
Occupation	✓	-
Applicants 1919-1930 compared with New Zealand Population 1919-1930		
Gender	✓	-
Birthplace	✓	-
Geographical Origins	-	✓
Denomination	✓	-
Education	[not analysed due to lack of comparable data]	
Occupation	✓	-

#### 5.4 Theological Contours of the Missionary Movement, 1919-1930

The Pioneering phase in modern Christian Missions is passing, and the engineering phase of development is approaching. It is time, then, to review the past, to absorb out of that experience all that is permanently valuable, and then go ahead.<sup>28</sup>

Missionary thinking in the 1920s was a curious blend of business as usual and of reflective concern for the global progress of Christianity. In the New Zealand context the convocation of denominational and non-denominational missionary organisations at the Dunedin Missionary Conference, in April 1926, was the first time that such a wide range of practitioners and thinkers had met to consider the way forward. Yet if it was a period in which critical and strategic reflection took place, agreement on the outcomes was by no means unanimous. Whilst some were considering future changes in the light of both the past and the post-war present, others were seeking to steer foreign missions along a path considered to be more theologically orthodox and congruent with the past. Changing global and theological contexts, as with any change, evoked differing responses from New Zealand missionary observers and participants.

By the 1920s there were a wide range of enduring theological images and concepts with respect to mission (Table 5.6). The most consistent of these still revolved around notions of conversion and enlightenment, the action of going with the Christian gospel to meet a range of perceived international needs, the actions of preaching and teaching, and the missionary obligation resting upon the Church. Other categories, such as the sense of mission as a divine command from God, the extension of God's kingdom, and mission as service and sacrifice waxed and waned at various stages.<sup>29</sup> Mission as 'warfare', 'representing Christ' and 'establishing an indigenous Church' were concepts that emerged in the early twentieth century or by the early 1920s. More generally non-denominational missions tended to place a higher emphasis on mission as 'representing Christ' and as 'service or sacrifice'. This latter category was also more prominent for Presbyterians. The 'Christian leavening' aspect of mission now seemed to be emphasised just as much by groups like the NZSCM, with its growing concern for the social and ethical dimensions of Christianity, and missions like the Sudan United Mission, which played an increasingly important role in education and industrial

<sup>28</sup> 'Report of the Commission Appointed to Consider the Missionary Policy of the NZSCM', c. 1925-1926, Miscellaneous Publications, MS-Papers-1617-503, NZSCM Collection, WTU.

<sup>29</sup> This may have been a function of either time or context, or of the range of documents examined. The selection, reading, and analysis of representative textual material were as systematic as possible.

training in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. Women tended to place a greater emphasis on mission as ‘service or sacrifice’ and ‘preaching or teaching’. Conversely men tended to emphasise mission as a set of actions, and the notions of ‘warfare or conquest’. A wide range of dichotomous imagery was still employed. Finally the synoptic gospels, and the New Testament more generally, still provided the main biblical basis for missionary thinking, with most emphasis on the ‘Great Commission’ of Matthew 28:19-20 and Mark 16:15. By the 1920s, however, both sets of verses were commonly conflated, especially by missionary applicants, into one generally perceived command by God to go and preach the gospel worldwide.

**Table 5.6 – Ranked Descriptions of Mission by New Zealanders, 1856-1930<sup>30</sup>**

Mission as	1856-1889	1890-1899	1900-1918	1919-1930
Salvation/Conversion	1	2	1	<b>1</b>
Response to Great Need	7	4	2	<b>2</b>
Service/Sacrifice	-	9=	11	<b>3</b>
Going/Taking the Gospel	2	1	8=	<b>4</b>
Response to a Command	9	5	10	<b>5</b>
Warfare	12	9=	6	<b>6</b>
Duty/Obligation	8	6	3=	<b>7</b>
Preaching/Teaching	5	3	8=	<b>8</b>
Enlightenment	3	7=	7	<b>9</b>
Extending God’s Kingdom	4	11	3=	<b>10=</b>
Representing Christ	-	-	12	<b>10=</b>
Christian Leavening	6	7=	5	<b>12</b>
Reaping a Harvest	10	12	13	<b>13</b>
Liberation	11	14=	15	<b>14</b>
Establishing Indigenous Church -	-	-	-	<b>15</b>
Premillennial Urgency	-	13	14	<b>16</b>
Biblical Fulfilment	13	14=	16	<b>17</b>

At the same time there were a number of differences in the theological construction of mission in the 1920s that belied either its apparent homogeneity or its continuity with the past. One of these was an emerging cluster of categories that emphasised the obligatory and sacrificial nature of the missionary task, as perceived by the wider church-going public. On the surface it appeared as if an explicit appeal to duty was diminishing in importance. It is more likely, however, that the sense of duty was just as strong or even stronger in this period. Constant references to notions of self-sacrifice

<sup>30</sup> For the period 1919-1930 there were 367 phrases, collected from 244 different documents and grouped according to the dominant image or sentiment. Anglican – 54 phrases from 33 documents; Baptist – 99 phrases from 44 documents; Presbyterian – 129 phrases from 97 documents; Other – 85 phrases from 70 documents (seventeen from BIM, thirty-seven from CIM, thirty-one from a range of others).

and service, mixed in with the invocation of Christ's command and appeals to sympathy for a world in need, were essentially a call to duty. Archbishop Julius forcefully stated, in 1922, that 'the duty of preaching the Gospel to the heathen is laid upon the whole Church and not upon a section of it', qualifying this statement with the old adjectival phrase 'bounden (or obligatory) duty'.<sup>31</sup> The scriptural reference point for this notion of 'being under obligation' was the Pauline text – 'I am obligated both to Greeks and non-Greeks, both to the wise and the foolish' (Romans 1:14, *NIV*). Marion Neale (BIM), on hearing a sermon on this text, said that 'it had not been brought home to me before that I was actually a debtor to the heathen .... [because of] the appalling state and dire need of the Bolivian Indians, spiritually, morally, mentally and physically'.<sup>32</sup>

The combination of scriptural command, personal gratitude for the gift of divine love, and pulpit pressure must have been a heady and persuasive spiritual and psychological mix. It is also likely that this sense of duty and sacrificial service was heightened by proximity to the experiences of World War One. The Timaru Baptist Church anticipated in 1919 that, alongside its newly installed Roll of Honour for its war dead, there would be 'a new Roll of Honour ... for the names of those who go to fight the powers of darkness in the high places of the field'.<sup>33</sup> The impact of World War One on New Zealand society was unprecedented. Of 100,000 men sent to fight, around 58,000 died or were wounded – some twenty-five per cent of military aged males. Whilst the years quickly passed, the traumatic memories did not. During the 1920s the erection of public memorials and the annual ritual of Anzac Day reflected how close to the collective surface the trauma of war remained, and gave New Zealand the closest thing there was to civil religious observance. James Belich muses that a 'cult of 18,000 Kiwi Christs emerged, whose sacrifice simply had to have been for a noble cause'.<sup>34</sup> It was not surprising, then, that the potent language of warfare, sacrificial service and duty was co-opted for the missionary cause. We have already noted the ambiguity of warfare imagery in earlier missionary discourse. It was certainly linked with the notion of 'spiritual warfare', whereby missionaries saw themselves contending with the so-called 'spiritual forces of evil in the heavenly realms'.<sup>35</sup> Whilst this remained true in the post-

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in the *Annual Report of the New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions*, 1924-1925, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> 'Testimony', in *Bolivian Indian*, September 1926, pp. 65-66.

<sup>33</sup> *NZB*, May 1919, p. 80.

<sup>34</sup> James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 95-96, 116-117.

<sup>35</sup> Ephesians 6:12 (*NIV*) – a verse often cited in missionary literature.

war period, it was equally true that the New Zealand experience of war, especially the Gallipoli campaign, provided many of the anecdotes and much of the imagery used to stir people on in the missionary cause. An article in the NZBTI *Reaper* exemplified this in its depiction of ‘Christian villages’ on the island of Malaita in the Solomon Islands. Such villages were part of the ‘fighting line’ that had been ‘steadily pushed further and further [inland]’. The writer went on to use such words and phrases as ‘conquest’, ‘lonely outpost’, ‘gained a footing and dug in’, ‘further advance’, ‘the thinness of our line’, ‘our attacking forces’, ‘poorly equipped’, and ‘carry on this fight’.<sup>36</sup>

Missionary publicists and speakers exhorted young people to emulate the spirit of sacrifice shown by soldiers and other wartime volunteers. They had a keen sense that whilst wartime service had been of great importance, so also was the cause of world evangelisation and humanitarian aid. This was promoted as a high and worthy cause, and the language of patriotic service heard so often between 1914 and 1918 fitted easily into the missionary rhetoric of the post-war years. The Rev. William Hinton, newly installed as Baptist Union President in 1921, captured the spirit of this when he reminded young people that ‘the call is to sacrifice.... the Master and His service are abundantly worthy of it. No greater honour to a home or a church can be conceived than that they should have a representative on the Mission Field’.<sup>37</sup> Indeed it may have been the case that the subtext of this message was that the missionary cause was ultimately more important than the cause that had so recently scarred the national psyche.

There was also a second dimension to this particular theological cluster. It seems that individuals, more than corporate entities, tended to think of mission in terms of responsibility and sacrificial service. For example, between fifty and eighty-six per cent of Anglican and Presbyterian statements describing mission in this way came from individual missionary applicants. Furthermore these statements were often couched in almost exclusively personal terms. Dorothy Mathew’s comment to the Presbyterian FMC, that ‘God commanded “Go”. I heard and, in consequence am offering my services’, was a common refrain in applicant records.<sup>38</sup> In light of the above discussion,

<sup>36</sup> ‘Life for God on a Pacific Island’, [NZBTI] *Reaper*, March 1929, p. 22.

<sup>37</sup> William and Lilian Hinton had been PIVM missionaries in India between 1897 and 1906. He was invalided home and went on to a range of Baptist pastorates, and retained a keen interest in foreign missions. Quote is taken from *NZB*, January 1922, p. 3.

<sup>38</sup> ‘Dorothy Mathew’, 6.17, Folder 1, Punjab Mission (GA0149), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archive.

this suggests that the post-war rhetoric was finding its mark. It further indicates that many people applied a highly individualised biblical hermeneutic, by which the biblical texts were often interpreted as being personally addressed to them. The oft-cited notion of mission as a response to God's command, as embodied in the Matthean and Markan texts, was an example of this. The original Greek rendering of both texts conveys the notion that, with the use of second person plural verbs and the third person plural pronoun αὐτοῖς (to them), the missionary task was originally entrusted to a community of people rather than to any one individual. Yet a generation or more of evangelical theology and spirituality, with its increasing emphasis on individualised conversion and devotional practices, and on personal accountability before God, meant that by the 1920s a general commandment to the whole Church had been internalised as a personally addressed imperative. Missionary publicists, then, wielded a very potent tool in their repertoire of publicity and recruitment methods.

A second cluster of categories – responding to needs, Christian leavening and the establishment of indigenous churches – reflected the changing post-war socio-political contexts amongst which New Zealand missionaries worked, and again illustrated the various ways in which World War One continued to have an impact on the movement. On the one hand nationalist movements and sentiments, particularly in India and China, were having a ripple effect amongst indigenous Christian communities. It became increasingly obvious to missionary societies that a key task in this period would be the establishment of independent churches and structures. Dr. J. J. Kitchen, addressing the AGM of the Australasian CIM in 1922, declared that 'the most important feature of missionary work in China to-day is the preparation of the Chinese Church to undertake its responsibilities.... a self-supporting, self-propagating, and self-governing [Church] should surely be the ultimate aim of all Foreign Missionary effort'.<sup>39</sup> There was a noticeable maturing of attitudes. Some had the hindsight to realise that European domination was a 'historic accident'.<sup>40</sup> They at least acknowledged the inevitable democratisation of colonial societies, even if they were unsure about it, and they affirmed the principle of equality between European and non-European Christians. The Rev. H. H. Barton argued, after visiting Presbyterian missionaries in 1921, that:

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<sup>39</sup> *China's Millions*, June 1922, p. 63.

<sup>40</sup> Rev. A. W. Stuart, 'The Christ of the World's Highways', Annual Missionary Sermon at the New Zealand Baptist Union Conference, 1927, recorded in the *NZB*, November 1927, pp. 341-342.

most of all, perhaps, are we called upon to take our place alongside the Chinese and of the Indians as our brothers, not as lords over God's heritage, and to do what in us lies to help them to develop along lines that shall be natural to them and free from all suspicion of being a foreign importation imposed upon them from without.<sup>41</sup>

Of all the New Zealand missions it was the Presbyterian CVM in southern China that faced this issue most acutely. By 1927 its missionaries were working within the newly created autonomous Kwangtung Synod of the Church of Christ in China.<sup>42</sup> It would soon be a similar case for Presbyterian missionaries in north India, in the light of a progression towards autonomous church structures from the late 1920s.<sup>43</sup>

On the other hand the fear increased that these modernising societies would be swamped by the non-religious and materialist elements of Western civilisation, and that indigenous churches would not be mature or strong enough to stop or reverse this process (Chapter 4.5). Yet there was something more than just this fear evident in the post-war era. New Zealand and international commentators of the early 1920s repeatedly used the phrase 'race problem' when referring to the ferment of nationalist feelings in Asia. In 1924 J. H. Oldham, Secretary of the newly formed International Missionary Council, devoted a book to the relationship of Christianity to the race problem – particularly the 'ethical problems which arise from the contact of races and which constitute a grave menace to the peace of the world and to the co-operation and progress of its peoples'.<sup>44</sup> John R. Mott picked up on this theme in a keynote address at the 1926 National Missionary Conference in Dunedin, noting that:

The shrinkage of the world ... has set the races to acting and re-acting upon each other with startling directness, power, and virulence.... A serious aspect of the matter is that wherever two or more races are brought into close contact, without the restraining influence of a power greater than human, demoralisation all too often follows. Something takes place which tends to draw out the worst in each race.... There are in races, as in individuals, not only heights which reach up to highest heaven, but also depths which lay hold on deepest hell. The deepest hell into which I have ever gazed has been in places where the races have been thrown against each other without adequate restraint.<sup>45</sup>

Undoubtedly the missionary rhetoric sought to bring a Christian voice to bear on such complex global issues. Some may have argued that this was basically a theological problem, that 'individual regeneration afford[ed] the only solid basis for social

<sup>41</sup> 'Missions Report, 1923', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 129.

<sup>42</sup> Murray, *A Century of Growth*, pp. 38-39.

<sup>43</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 69-70; Neill, *A History of Christian Missions*, pp. 408-409.

<sup>44</sup> J. H. Oldham, *Christianity and the Race Problem*, London: Student Christian Movement, 1924, p. vii.

<sup>45</sup> J. R. Mott, 'The Race Problem', *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference Held at Dunedin April 27 to April 29, 1926*, Dunedin: New Zealand Missionary Conference Committee, 1926, p. 25.



betterment', and that 'only in Christianity do we find the higher synthesis in which mankind can thus be lastingly reconciled'.<sup>46</sup> Yet perhaps what Mott, Oldham, and the various New Zealand commentators were also expressing was a fundamental fear of change and of global disharmony, in which the West might come off second best and by which its progress, of which Christianity was the perceived apex, might be nullified. The 'problem' of Bolshevism, in the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1917, must have added to this mix of fear and confusion. Thus Christianity was the 'restraining influence' that Mott alluded to, but the question may have remained as to what really needed restraining. This fear found its most extreme expression in the words of an Australian Baptist, who openly argued that the evangelisation of the 'dark races' neighbouring Australia was the only certain way by which Australia might be spiritually and morally protected.<sup>47</sup> Whilst obviously an Australian opinion, it was deliberately reported verbatim in the *New Zealand Baptist*. Similar fears and notes of racial superiority were perhaps not so far below the surface in New Zealand.<sup>48</sup> Therefore the *raison d'être* of foreign missions may have been partly construed, in this period, as a restraining, civilising influence on potentially uncontrollable and anarchic forces.

In the 1920s the New Zealand missionary movement began to feel the impact of wider international theological debates and divisions. Recent theological developments, including new approaches to biblical criticism, debate over the historicity of Jesus and the nature of the Kingdom of God, and the emergence of what was called the Social Gospel - mixed in with the horrors and ethical issues thrown up by World War One - helped to precipitate something of a crisis for Western Protestantism. Changing views on the rationale and strategy of mission, and the subsequent formation of various theological camps, simply reflected the wider issues under debate. Chapter 6.6 will explore more closely how, and to what extent, this changing theological context contributed to the New Zealand missionary movement. Although the impact of these

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<sup>46</sup> *NZCMS Annual Report*, 1921-1922, p. 3; Address by Rev. George McNeur, 1926, *Otago Daily Times* clipping in George Hunter McNeur Papers, 95-012, ARC-038, HO:DU.

<sup>47</sup> Chairman of the Queensland Baptist Foreign Missions Committee, *NZB*, January 1923, p. 10. A similar set of opinions was published, for New Zealand, in the *Outlook*, 19 August 1919, p. 21.

<sup>48</sup> Tom Brooking notes that successive New Zealand governments, at least up until 1945, maintained an implicit and 'less honest version' of Australia's more explicit 'white only policy', and we can assume that this had its share of supporters scattered throughout the New Zealand population. Tom Brooking and Roberto Rabel, 'Neither British nor Polynesian: A Brief History of New Zealand's Other Immigrants', in Stuart Greif (ed.), *Immigration and National Identity in New Zealand: One People, Two Peoples, Many Peoples?* Palmerston North: The Dunmore Press Ltd, 1995, p. 23.

issues may have been felt more acutely in some New Zealand circles than in others, they did contribute to a degree of theological divergence amongst and within missionary groupings. The NZSCM, for example, debated missionary policy in the mid-1920s, and produced at least one reformulated policy statement as a result. This statement placed a new emphasis on intelligent engagement with world issues, and on identification with other peoples under the rubric of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Mission was essentially viewed as a co-operative exercise with indigenous peoples and churches.<sup>49</sup> An earlier statement in 1916 by George Allan (BIM), on the other hand, indicated that such flexibility of thought would not be welcomed everywhere.

There was a time when it could be taken for granted that missions existed for the purpose of carrying to the heathen an accepted standard of saving evangelical truth which was known as THE GOSPEL. That is no longer the case.... For while [the larger missions] have in the ranks of their workers very many who are true to that Gospel standard, they also have those who have embraced that which is subversive of the whole truth of the Gospel, and which is destructive of faith in God's Word.<sup>50</sup>

By the end of the 1920s organisations like the BIM would perceive themselves to be the true defenders of biblical and evangelical faith and the true dispensers of the Christian gospel overseas. As such the underlying theological rationale for and the ecumenicity of the missionary movement, noted from the 1890s onwards, was potentially under threat.

## 5.5 Assessing the Missionary Movement of the 1920s

In assessing the 1920s missionary movement, the first and obvious development to account for is the high number of both missionary applicants and departures, for growth in numbers presumably reflected an underlying growth of popular interest and enthusiasm. As with the 1890s, what we need to consider is the interrelationship between a range of specific and contextual factors.

In the first place a number of separate factors account for much of this growth. Methodist missionary work in the Solomon Islands became New Zealand's responsibility in 1919,<sup>51</sup> and nearly as many Methodist missionaries left New Zealand between 1919 and 1930 (forty-two) as had left in the previous three decades (fifty-one). The Anglican missionary workforce continued to diversify. At least twenty-nine missionaries departed to work for seven different Anglican mission agencies – the

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<sup>49</sup> See footnote 27.

<sup>50</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, April 1916, pp. 3-4.

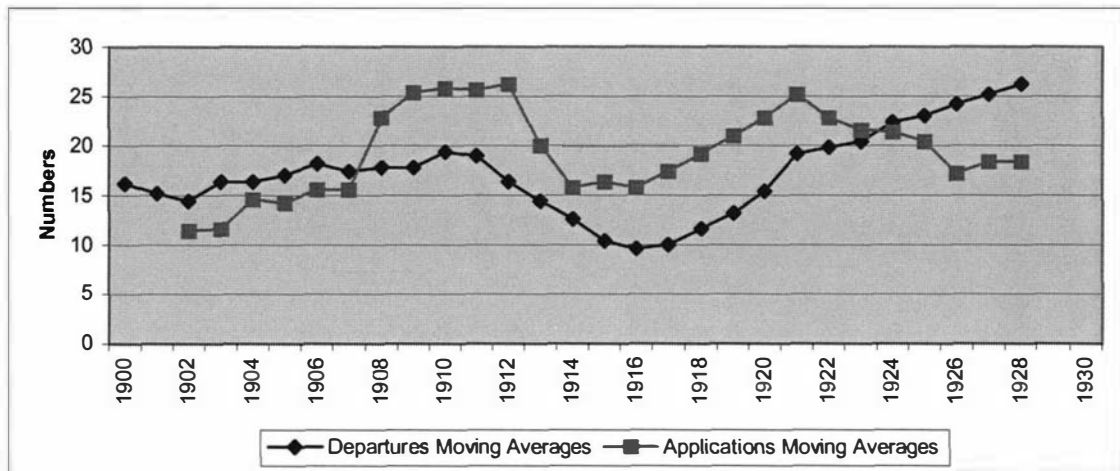
<sup>51</sup> Carter, *A Family Affair*, p. 103.

NZCMS, the Melanesian Mission, the SPG, the Australian Anglican Papua Mission, the NZABM own missionary scheme, the Diocese of Polynesia and the Australian Anglican Board of Missions. There were also a number of replacements appointed by both the NZBMS and the Presbyterian FMC. In 1929 the CIM in England initiated a worldwide recruitment campaign seeking 200 new volunteers. This was a motivating factor for at least one New Zealander who left by 1930, and probably for other departures over the next two years.<sup>52</sup> Following the 1927 visit of the Rev. Rowland Bingham, founder of the Sudan Interior Mission, a New Zealand SIM Council was formed in Auckland.<sup>53</sup> Between 1927 and 1930 nine New Zealanders subsequently left to serve with the SIM. Finally there were also a number of other individual factors that must have had their own impact – visiting speakers and the influence of John R. Mott in particular, the 1926 Missionary Conference, the well-oiled machinery of groups like the BWMU and PWMU, and the growing influence of the Bible Class movement amongst Baptist, Methodist and Presbyterian young people.

These developments fitted against a broader backdrop. The impact of World War One figured largely in this respect. It had a profound impact upon both the psycho-spiritual motivation of applicants – whereby missionary publicists and recruiters made appeals using the language of wartime sacrifice, service and duty – and upon the public's intellectual awareness of the changing contexts within post-war non-European societies. The war itself had exposed a disturbing human heart of darkness, raising serious questions about human progress *per se*. Many people now understood that world peace was a fragile commodity and, rightly or wrongly, that new forces of liberation in the Asian and African colonies were a potential threat to that peace. The sum effect was that people perceived in clearer terms the spiritual and humanitarian needs of the non-Western world, and their responsibilities in the face of that need. Yet the impact of the war was also somewhat ambiguous. Moving averages plotted for missionary applications and departures suggest that World War One was more of a temporary disruption in the movement's pre-war growth. If so then growth in the 1920s may simply have continued a pre-war trend. A closer consideration of the figures suggests otherwise (Figure 5.4).

<sup>52</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 7:6 (1929), p. 129; 'Arthur Saunders', Personnel Files, Cabinet A2, OMF Archives.

<sup>53</sup> 9 May 1927, New Zealand SIM Council Minutes, 1926-1934, Box MD-2, Archives of the SIM.

**Figure 5.4 – Comparison of Moving Averages for Missionary Applications and Departures, 1900-1930<sup>54</sup>**

The apparent wartime trough in figures actually dated from between 1910 and 1912, indicating that the decline was also due to a range of earlier factors – such as the labour strikes and social disruption of 1913, or simply a lack of applicants after the 1910 bubble. Similarly, when the post-war application figures are considered, it is not clear that this growth would be sustained long term. The growth in applicants for each of the five representative mission organisations largely peaked between 1921 and 1925, and had dipped noticeably by 1930. Latourette observed that internationally there was a ‘brave surge’ of Protestant missionaries after 1918, followed by a stagnation and decline in missionary figures.<sup>55</sup> The New Zealand figures for the early 1920s may simply have been a reflection of this broader trend – a burst of post-war enthusiasm that, in the long run, was difficult to sustain. Furthermore, for some at least, the experience of war may have served as a strong disincentive for missionary service. Henry Budd told the Rev. Alexander Don, on returning from wartime service, that he was withdrawing his application because of unspecified ‘personal circumstances’ and ‘a somewhat changed spiritual outlook’.<sup>56</sup> At least two Baptist, three Presbyterian, two NZCMS and two CIM pre-war applicants withdrew their applications after 1918, possibly for similar reasons.

If the war’s impact helps to explain growth in the early 1920s, then the emergence of conservative elements and sentiments within Protestant Christianity provides an

<sup>54</sup> Calculated from the same data base as for previous graphs for missionary applications and departures.

<sup>55</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 7, p. 16.

<sup>56</sup> Henry Budd to Alexander Don, 20 May 1919, ‘Budd’, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, Series 3.01, PCNZ FMC (GA0001), PCANZ Archive.

explanation for growth in the later 1920s. It may well be, as Douglas Ireton has suggested for the New Zealand context, that conservative Christianity was partly a reaction to the trauma and social changes engendered by war.<sup>57</sup> At the same time it was also the continuation of developments predating the conflict of 1914-1918. As Chapter 6.6 will point out, international debates over issues like biblical criticism and hermeneutics, and the Christian's relationship to the dominant culture, were largely aired in New Zealand within particular contexts. Bryan Gilling observes, however, that conservative Christianity in New Zealand was less divisive and occupied more of a middle ground than in the United States of America, was 'generally irenic in tone', and remained firmly denominational in character.<sup>58</sup>

Yet it obviously touched a chord amongst some sectors of the Protestant community. The proof of this was in the success that the NZBTI had in gaining the support of the public, the attention of prospective students, and in the number of these who went off to missionary service. Up to 182 (fifty-four per cent) NZBTI students went overseas as missionaries between 1923 and 1938, with 100 of these departing within ten years of the Institute's foundation in 1923.<sup>59</sup> They largely went under the auspices of non-denominational mission organisations that viewed the NZBTI as a trustworthy and reputable evangelical training institution.<sup>60</sup> In the period 1923 to 1930 at least fifty-seven missionary graduates went on to work for two denominations and at least another eleven non-denominational organisations (Table 5.7). Overall non-denominational missionaries made up just over a third of all missionaries departing from New Zealand between 1924 and 1930 and, by 1930, accounted for fifty per cent of all annual departures. The denominational societies increasingly struggled with financial exigencies from the 1920s. The indications are, however, that non-denominational missionaries continued to grow in number into the 1930s, as these more conservative agencies established working councils in New Zealand and drew upon graduates from the NZBTI in particular.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Douglas E. Ireton, '“O Lord How Long?”: A Revival Movement in New Zealand 1920-1933', MA Thesis in History, Massey University, 1986, p. 2.

<sup>58</sup> Bryan Gilling, 'Retelling the Old, Old Story', pp. 88-91. This is also Ian Breward's overall conclusion. Breward, *A History of the Churches in Australasia*, p. 423.

<sup>59</sup> J. Oswald Sanders, *Expanding Horizons: The Story of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute*, Auckland: Institute Press, 1971, pp. 94, 96.

<sup>60</sup> Missionary speakers regularly visited the NZBTI, being reported in the [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 1925-1930.

<sup>61</sup> Roberts, 'The Growth of Inter-Denominational Mission Societies in New Zealand', pp. 45-46, 46-50. For a further examination of the nature of these organisations see David Hilliard, 'The South Sea

**Table 5.7 – Missionary Graduates of NZBTI, 1922-1935<sup>62</sup>**

Missionary Organisation	Employed 1922-1930	Employed 1931-1935
Africa Inland Mission	1	-
Bolivian Indian Mission	6	-
Brethren	17	-
Ceylon and India General Mission	1	4
China Inland Mission	10	7
CJPM	-	1
Egypt General Mission	-	1
Emmanuel Mission to Seamen	1	-
Evangelical Union of South America	1	-
Kwato Evangelical Society	-	1
Latin American Prayer Fellowship	1	1
New Zealand BMS	2	-
Poona and Indian Village Mission	1	1
Roodeport Compounds Mission	-	2
South Sea Evangelical Mission	5	2
Sudan Interior Mission	10	8
Sudan United Mission	1	3
Unevangelised Fields Mission	-	4
United Aborigines Mission	-	3
Zenana Bible and Medical Mission	-	1

As a postscript, it is also probable that both of these broader contextual factors intersected with various socio-economic realities in New Zealand. By the 1920s people were perhaps generally better qualified and more financially able, than ever before, to respond to the perceived needs of the post-war world. Increasingly the demand and expectation was for skilled and qualified people to fill specific missionary roles and responsibilities, and the missionary workforce of the post-war period more properly fitted this expectation. Whilst the economy of the 1920s was not uniformly robust, it was possible that more people from middle class urban, small town or rural backgrounds were better placed financially to respond to this post-war call for missionary recruits. If it was not so much educational qualifications, but rather qualities of personal spirituality and character that were being sought, then the situation was similar. Local and accessible institutions like the PWTI, NZBTI and Baptist Theological College provided a mix of theological, vocational and character training for greater numbers of lay people otherwise unqualified for the task or who, financially, could not consider overseas training.

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Evangelical Mission in the Solomon Islands: The Foundation Years', *Journal of Pacific History*, 4 (1969) pp. 41-64; and Ross Weymouth, 'The Unevangelised Fields Mission in Papua, 1931-1981', *Journal of Pacific History*, 23:2 (1988), pp.175-190

<sup>62</sup> Student Record Cards, 1922-1962, Two Boxes, Secure Safe, Les W. Rushbrook Archive.

## New Zealand Bible Training Institute Missionary Graduates



***Photo 5.1 – Composite Portraits of Selected Missionary Graduates from the New Zealand Bible Training Institute in the mid-1920s***  
(The [NZBTI] *Reaper*, July 1927, p. 120)

The 1926 New Zealand Missionary Conference, and the subsequent formation of the New Zealand National Missionary Council, epitomised the extent to which foreign missions engaged the attention of churches and leaders by the mid-1920s. In a letter to Margaret Walker (NZSCM), concerning his impending visit in 1926, John R. Mott wrote that ‘it has occurred to me that the leaders of the Christian forces in New Zealand might look with favour on our having a similar, though somewhat briefer, conference [to one also planned for Australia]’.<sup>63</sup> Two things may have been in Mott’s thinking when he made this suggestion. One was his understanding that the constitution of the International Missionary Council, formed in 1921, theoretically provided for New Zealand missionary representation.<sup>64</sup> Yet New Zealand did not yet have any national vehicle for such representation. The other related factor was the embryonic plan for a future international missionary conference (subsequently held in Jerusalem in 1928), at which New Zealand should be represented.<sup>65</sup>

It appears that Mott’s desire for such a national gathering met with equal enthusiasm in New Zealand, indicating that there was a fair degree of equanimity amongst those involved in or concerned for foreign missions. In April 1926 at least 209 official delegates, plus other interested onlookers, gathered together at Dunedin’s Knox Presbyterian Church for three days of inspiration, reports, discussion and deliberation. The presiding chairman was the patriarchal and genial Presbyterian the Rev. William Hewitson who, in his post-conference comments, made much of the gathering’s co-operative tone and the remarkable consistency of attendance.<sup>66</sup> This was an apt observation given that the 1926 New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition was being held in Dunedin at the same time. The conference was the most ecumenical gathering to date, drawing on a wide and fairly representative cross-section of the Protestant community (Table 5.8). The only other gathering that equalled this was the earlier 1903 students’ missionary conference in Christchurch, also convened because of Mott’s presence. Just over two thirds of delegates represented denominational groups, with Presbyterians in the majority. Just over fifty per cent were delegates from Dunedin or its environs,

<sup>63</sup> John R. Mott to Margaret Walker, 1 June 1925, Folder 2084, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>64</sup> These details were listed in the minutes of an international missionary meeting held near Geneva in 1920, which drafted provisions for the IMC. This document stated that ‘Australasia’ would be allotted two representatives on the IMC. The letters ‘N.Z.’ are pencilled in beside this, in Mott’s handwriting, indicating that a final version would allow each country a representative in its own right. ‘IMC 1920-1927’, Folder 2028, Box 123, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

<sup>65</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 4:10 (1926), p. 275.

<sup>66</sup> ‘Introduction’, *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference*, pp. 6-7.



including seventy-one per cent of non-denominational representatives, suggesting that Dunedin was still a centre of quite diverse missionary interest. Women, however, barely made up one third of delegates and did not figure on the list of those making major presentations. Considering that women composed over two thirds of the actual missionary work force by this date, and were so dominant in organising missionary support, this was a telling comment on where the power lay in home-based missionary structures. Yet it was also obvious, from the attendance of substantial numbers of PWMU members, PWTI students, NZSCM women members and non-denominational women delegates, that women's participation was by no means discouraged.

**Table 5.8 – Composition of Delegates to the Missionary Conference, 1926<sup>67</sup>**

<b>Groupings<sup>68</sup></b>	<b>Delegates</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Male (%)</b>	<b>Female (%)</b>
Anglican (6)	22	10	95	5
Baptist (1)	13	6	77	23
Churches of Christ (1)	7	3	86	14
Congregational (1)	6	3	83	17
Methodist (3)	19	9	84	16
Presbyterian (9)	76	36	57	43
Salvation Army (1)	1	0.5	100	-
Students (3)	32	15	59	41
Mission Agencies <sup>69</sup> (16)	22	10	59	41
Overseas (3)	3	1	82	18
Domestic Agencies (4)	11	5	67	33
<b>Totals (48)</b>	<b>212<sup>70</sup></b>	<b>99.5</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>32</b>

It is also interesting to note who were not represented at the conference, at least in any official capacity – in particular members of the BWMU and MWMU, Brethren and BIM representatives, and personnel from the NZBTI.<sup>71</sup> This may have simply been a function of the conference's location in Dunedin, although it might be assumed that the Exhibition would have been an extra incentive for many to travel the distance. It may well be, however, that the conference's wide brief and representation was not palatable to all. The BIM is a case in point. George Allan was clearly unhappy over the conclusions of an earlier 1916 ecumenical Protestant conference in Panama, which

<sup>67</sup> Derived from 'Roll of Delegates', *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference*, pp. 102-107.

<sup>68</sup> The bracketed figures refer to the number of individual departments or agencies represented.

<sup>69</sup> This means non-denominational mission agencies. Denominational mission societies or committees come within the denominational groupings above.

<sup>70</sup> Three delegates were counted twice, as they each represented two organisations at the conference.

<sup>71</sup> There may, however, have been some unofficial representation from the NZBTI at some point, according to a report on the conference published in the *NZB*, June 1926, p. 156.

assessed Roman Catholic influences in Latin America in a positive light.<sup>72</sup> The IMC was probably perceived to hold similar views and therefore held in some contempt. Allan was also wary of the propensity of denominational missions to accommodate a wide range of theological viewpoints. If so that might explain the non-attendance of either himself or other BIM delegates at the Dunedin conference, even though he was possibly in New Zealand around that time.<sup>73</sup> So whilst the conference's representation reflected a willingness for a wide base of co-operation and participation, it also reflected small cracks in the Protestant veneer.

The conference did not cover much ground that was controversial or new. Mott had earlier voiced the hope that, through the conference, 'the outer world may have more fully the contribution that New Zealand has been providentially prepared to make' and that New Zealand citizens would have a 'larger part in co-operating with the rising churches of the Pacific basin areas, and in the non-Christian world in building up the Kingdom of God'.<sup>74</sup> Referring to the so-called missionary council at Jerusalem, recorded in Acts 15: 1-29, the Rev. William Hewitson further invoked the spirit of co-operation amidst diversity and sought divine guidance in their deliberations.<sup>75</sup> Mott's plenary addresses, and the reports on a variety of pre-conference surveys of New Zealand's home and foreign missionary activity, reflected a mix of pre-war optimism and the various post-war concerns that we have already identified. Reports and discussions covered the extent of New Zealand's missionary involvement, the context of the post-war world with a particular focus on the Pacific Basin, Maori and Home mission issues, missionary training and the education of the home churches with respect to their opportunities and obligations. Pragmatism over-ruled deeper theological or philosophical reflection on the issues, as delegates concentrated on facts, figures and practical outcomes. Even where a more philosophical turn was taken, as in discussion of the South Pacific, the language reflected the times – whereby Polynesian and Melanesian people were cast as the 'child races' who as 'adolescents', could not remain children forever in the face of ongoing global change.<sup>76</sup> Perhaps, in this pragmatic

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<sup>72</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 7, p. 172; 'Editorial', *Bolivian Indian*, July 1919, pp. 3-4.

<sup>73</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, September 1926, pp. 64-65; George Allan to Mary Allan, 2 August 1926, George Allan Correspondence, 1926-1930, George and Mary Allan Personal Collection, Box 11, BIM Archives.

<sup>74</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 26 April 1926, p. 5.

<sup>75</sup> *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference*, p. 9.

<sup>76</sup> *ibid*, pp. 72-81.

approach, New Zealand displayed some affinity with the activist current that underlay the American missionary movement and which was exemplified in Mott's approach and character. After this trip to New Zealand he recorded that 'as a result of preparation, not one day lost, not one hour unplanned, not one hour unprofitably unemployed'.<sup>77</sup>

The conference's outcomes were, by necessity, couched in practical terms. For example denominational children's and youth movements, along with other interdenominational agencies for young adults, were targeted as the most important groups amongst which to continue fostering missionary awareness and enthusiasm. Recommendations covered each of the major discussion areas of the conference, but not always with unanimity. It was obvious that there were differences of opinion between the denominational and non-denominational mission societies, particularly with respect to missionary training. The general tenor of the conference was that the highest standard of education, meaning university education, was essential for the complex contexts faced by new missionaries. Stalwarts of the non-denominational approach – R. S. Cree Brown, Dr. William Pettit, John Wilkinson, and the Rev. William Malcolm – proposed an alternative motion that placed equal emphasis on the need for missionaries with other forms of education and training.<sup>78</sup> This was eventually withdrawn, but highlighted essential differences in approach and hinted at lingering traces of superiority on the part of the denominational societies. For the wider public the conference was reported on extensively in major newspapers and denominational literature. In addition a Presbyterian study booklet was published, based on the substance of the conference's main addresses.<sup>79</sup>

The Conference's enduring outcome was the agreement to form the National Missionary Council for New Zealand. A draft constitution was later fine tuned and ratified at the Council's first meeting in November 1926. The Council was charged with the task of promoting 'counsel and co-operation in the matters of common concern to the Missionary Agencies of New Zealand'. Furthermore it sought to aid churches in grappling with world and missiological issues, to co-ordinate and maximise publicity opportunities, to make representations to government and to liaise with member councils

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<sup>77</sup> 'Travel Notes and Itineraries, 1925 to 1927', Folder 2115, Box 130, Mott Papers, 45, Yale; For an incisive analysis of the American contribution to the international missionary movement, from the late nineteenth century onwards, see Walls, *The Missionary Movement in Christian History*, pp. 221-240.

<sup>78</sup> 'Findings', *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>79</sup> New Zealand's Missionary Task', Publications, 1881-1936, Series 20, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

of the IMC. Meeting regularly in Wellington, it was intended to be a representative body for both denominational and non-denominational agencies, and included both domestic and foreign missions in its brief and membership.<sup>80</sup> In its initial years, at least, it mainly consisted of denominational representatives (Anglican, Baptist, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian), with a scattering of members from other groups – the NZSCM, the Mission to Lepers, the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Sudan United Mission. From early on, too, it had a consistent group of women executive members. Almost immediately, for instance, the Presbyterian FMC appointed the PWMU president as one of its representatives.<sup>81</sup>

Yet it was also in relation to membership of the Council that potential cracks within the missionary movement again showed up. In pre-conference surveys two of the mission agencies approached were not in favour of a Council, and another nine either held doubts or did not comment.<sup>82</sup> More specific reservations were possibly expressed by the CIM. In 1926 John Falls and his wife told the North Island Council that they would resign as missionaries because of the Council's 'association with the NCC Council'. By this he was referring either to the CIM's representation at the Conference or a perception that they were a part of the newly formed Council.<sup>83</sup> In 1927 the CIM was specifically approached about having membership on the Council. After deliberation the response was that 'the North Island Council of the CIM cannot see its way to accept an invitation to appoint a representative on the New Zealand National Missionary Council'.<sup>84</sup> This was a somewhat enigmatic response. It may simply have been the case that they saw no practical way of having a member at meetings in Wellington, when the CIM's two councils were in Auckland and Dunedin. There were, however, official CIM Council members living in Wellington. It seems more likely that, as with the BIM, there were inherent suspicions over the nature and intentions of the National Missionary Council. Thus this Council could not ultimately be wholly representative.

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<sup>80</sup> 'Constitution', 10 November 1926, National Missionary Council of New Zealand, Minutes of Executive and Annual Meetings 10/11/26 to 22/7/43, 87-204, Box 7, National Council of Churches Collection, WTU.

<sup>81</sup> 7 December 1926, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1924-1931, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ.

<sup>82</sup> 'Survey Number 1. New Zealand's Present Share in the Missionary Enterprise', printed in pre-conference papers, Miscellaneous Records, MS Papers 1617, Folder 4, NZSCM Collection, WTU.

<sup>83</sup> They did retire the following year, but it is unclear whether this was the ultimate reason. 5 November 1926, Minutes of CIM North Island Council 1912-1937, OMF Archives; Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China*, 1912-1949, pp. 184, 216.

<sup>84</sup> 18 March 1927, Minutes of CIM North Island Council 1912-1937, OMF Archives.

The Council never supplanted existing missionary work and structures. It brought together a relatively representative and diverse group of people who, in the normal course of events, would not have interacted outside of their own structures. Members regularly met between once and three times annually, at least up to 1930.<sup>85</sup> Discussions and agreements fed back into the life of the various member denominations and agencies. Two representatives travelled to the 1928 Jerusalem Conference of the IMC, and reported back to the Council and member churches. Perhaps for the first time, too, churches had a collective voice by which to approach Parliament over such issues as the ongoing Anglo-French Condominium in the New Hebrides, and the organisation of famine relief in China.<sup>86</sup> It would appear, then, that the missionary movement had found a forum in which regular dialogue could take place, amongst people whose concern for the wider world overcame the strictures of vestments and ecclesiology. Longer term the Council merged with the National Council of Churches (formed in 1941), and was instrumental in both the development of post-World War Two inter-church aid and New Zealand's links with the international ecumenical movement.<sup>87</sup>

Ultimately the 1920s signalled the beginning of global changes that would find their culmination in the years following World War Two. At the same time, however, it was obvious that there was still an overall mood of optimism concerning the place of missionary organisations in that wider global context. The Rev. John McKenzie (CVM) asserted optimistically in 1928 that 'to-day in China we face the symbolic challenge of the Open Road'.<sup>88</sup> Cataclysmic world events, and the prospect of future changes, were mostly viewed as a stimulus for greater effort. Furthermore it is probable that what missionaries were doing (and what the public perceived them as doing) was essentially not so different from previous decades, or from one type of organisation to another. Consider this Anglican children's cartoon from 1932 (Figure 5.5). Quite obviously this was aimed at a young audience, and may not have been given too much attention by the magazine's adult readers. Yet it was the product of an adult artist. It suggests that the missionary discourse of the 1920s and 1930s, just as much as in earlier years, still tended towards a certain degree of paternalism, some deprecation of non-Christian

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<sup>85</sup> Extracted from an overall survey of the minutes of the National Missionary Council, 1926-1944.

<sup>86</sup> 17 February 1927 and 31 October 1928, National Missionary Council of New Zealand, Minutes of Executive and Annual Meetings 10/11/26 to 22/7/43, 87-204, Box 7, NCC Collection, WTU.

<sup>87</sup> Margaret Lovell-Smith, *No Turning Back*, Christchurch: National Council of Churches, 1986, pp. 9-13.

<sup>88</sup> 'Missions Report, 1928', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 177

religion, and an emphasis on various Western cultural accoutrements right down to the deck chair and the missionary's cigarette. Further, in a period when missionary women outnumbered men two to one, it was also curious and telling that the missionary was still visually depicted as a male.

**Figure 5.5 – Children's Cartoon: The Adventures of Inky and Nugget, 1932<sup>89</sup>**

**THE ADVENTURES OF INKY AND NUGGET.**  
(Continued from December issue.)



<sup>89</sup> [NZABM] *Reaper*, February 1932, p. 6.

## Six

### Understanding the Contributory Streams, 1868-1926

#### 6.1 Introduction

When I was a child I was led to know Jesus as my Saviour.... It was a “red letter day” for many of us, amongst whom was my eldest brother.... As Superintendent of our Sunday School, my father took every opportunity of getting missionaries to address the scholars, and his prayer was that some from amongst us would go forward to the foreign work. His prayer was answered in that he has been called to give up his two eldest children.<sup>1</sup>

Jessie Pettit wrote this prior to leaving in 1912 for thirty-nine years service in China with the CIM. Her ‘elder brother’, William Pettit, served as a medical missionary with the NZBMS in India between 1910 and 1915. The Pettit family belonged to the Nelson Baptist Church, which had always maintained a keen interest in foreign missions. Between 1901 and 1930 at least six of its members had embarked on missionary service to India, China, Java and the Argentine. As adolescents, both Jessie and William were probably members of the Church’s Christian Endeavour Society in the mid to late 1890s.<sup>2</sup> As a young adult Jessie also served as congregational Convenor of the Missionary Committee.<sup>3</sup> William may have joined the newly formed Student’s Christian Union group at Nelson College, possibly attending both the first national students’ summer conference at Nelson in 1899,<sup>4</sup> and the Christchurch Students’ Missionary Conference in 1903. He had certainly signed the SVM Student Declaration by the time he graduated from Otago University.<sup>5</sup> Prior to departing for India, William Pettit spent several weeks touring Baptist churches to promote the newly formed Laymen’s Missionary Movement.<sup>6</sup> After World War One William and his wife Letitia settled in Auckland, where he acted as an official examining physician for missionary candidates, and as a North Island Council member of the CIM.<sup>7</sup> He also retained his long running involvement with the NZSCM. In the context of the student movement, however, he took an increasingly conservative position in various debates over modernism. In 1926 and 1927 William welcomed and supported the visits of Mott, and of Dr and Mrs

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Testimony by Miss J. H. Pettit’, *China’s Millions*, January 1912, p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The Nelson Baptist Christian Endeavour Society grew from twenty members (1895) to forty-three senior and seventeen junior members (1900). *NZB*, January 1896, Appendix; January 1901, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *NZB*, May 1911, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 16-23 January 1899, all p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Listing of New Zealand Student Volunteers, NZSCM Collection, MS Papers 1617, Folder 4, WTU; 9 October 1908, Otago University Christian Union Minutes, 1896-1910, Box 1, 90-138, HO:DU.

<sup>6</sup> *NZB*, August 1910, pp. 143-144; ‘Supplement’, *NZB*, November 1910, after p. 210.

<sup>7</sup> 13 September 1921, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

Howard Taylor (CIM).<sup>8</sup> He became an active participant at the annual Easter Conventions at Ngaruawahia,<sup>9</sup> and a Board member of the NZBTI. Leaving the Baptist Church to join an Open Brethren assembly, he also paved the way for a later evangelical movement amongst university students.<sup>10</sup>

Jessie and William Pettit's lives were influenced by and intersected with a wide range of movements, organisations and individuals that had a considerable influence on the progress and shaping of the wider New Zealand missionary movement up to 1926. Chapter Six argues that these various contributory streams served definitively to shape the theology, spirituality and ethos of this movement. At the same time these streams varied in the extent to which they influenced the eventual participation of New Zealanders as supporters and missionaries. The contributory streams assessed are not exhaustive, but they do point to the way in which a pervasive New Zealand missionary *mentalité* was formed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter will consider the influences of Christian Endeavour, the Student Movement, the PWMU, BWMU and the Laymen's Missionary Movement, Keswick style spirituality, and conservative evangelicalism's reaction to the emergence of theological modernism.

## 6.2 The Influence of the Christian Endeavour Movement

Christian Endeavour was founded in 1881 by an American Congregational pastor, the Rev. Francis Clark. By the late 1890s it had become a successful trans-national movement, with an estimated 50,000 societies and three million members worldwide.<sup>11</sup> In its broader context the movement sought to mitigate the impact of modernisation on adolescents and young adults. In New Zealand it was seen as one solution to such urban problems as juvenile delinquency, poverty and alcohol.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The contents of a promotional NZSCM leaflet in the Mott Papers collection, whilst not specifically containing Pettit's name, bears the hallmarks of his authorship. 'Biographical Documentation', Series 7, Folder 2590, Box 156, Mott Papers, 45, Yale; 18 March 1927, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1894-1912, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.

<sup>9</sup> *Outlook*, 19 January 1925, p. 28; 28 March 1928, Minutes of the Executive of the Ngaruawahia Easter Camps Inc., 1928-1939, Box 659/99, Les W. Rushbrook Archive, BCNZ, Auckland.

<sup>10</sup> Peter J. Lineham, 'Pettit, William Haddow 1885-1985', *DNZB*, updated 11 December 2002, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

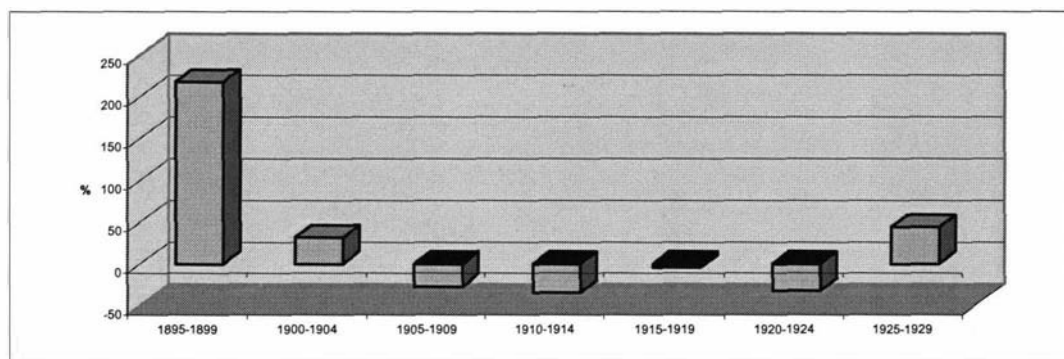
<sup>11</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 4, p. 37; *NZB*, October 1892, p. 158; *Christian Outlook*, 2 October 1897, p. 429.

<sup>12</sup> Erik Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', in W. H. Oliver (ed.), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, pp. 263-266; Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, pp. 157-188.



In Australasia Christian Endeavour found an enthusiastic reception, although growth was more modest than in North America. New Zealand's first group was probably established at Auckland's Ponsonby Baptist Church in 1891.<sup>13</sup> Within three years there were an estimated 115 Christian Endeavour Societies nationwide, with 3,888 members. By 1907 there were 257 societies, with 8,396 members.<sup>14</sup> Growth may have been greatest from 1891 until World War One (Figure 6.1). Baptist and Presbyterian membership, for example, peaked around 1905 with the greatest growth in the 1890s.

**Figure 6.1 – Percentage Growth and Decline in Baptist and Presbyterian Christian Endeavour Membership, 1895-1930<sup>15</sup>**



Greatest involvement appeared to be within Wesleyan Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian and Congregational churches.<sup>16</sup> From February 1893 there was a regular Christian Endeavour column in the *New Zealand Baptist*, and the Otago-Southland Presbyterian Synod anticipated a positive impact amongst southern churches.<sup>17</sup> Local conventions were being held as early as 1894 and national conventions by at least 1897.<sup>18</sup> Thus the overall impact on missionary awareness, enthusiasm, participation and support was probably greatest in the period up to 1914.<sup>19</sup> The Bible class movement became more influential amongst young people in the post-war period. A rigorous statistical assessment of Christian Endeavour's impact on the shape and growth of the missionary

<sup>13</sup> The first annual meeting was recorded in 1892. *NZB*, October 1892, p. 158.

<sup>14</sup> *NZB*, December 1907, p. 292.

<sup>15</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1902-1930; *NZB*, 1895-1900 and *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1905-1930. These figures include both 'active' and 'associate' members and, later, both junior and senior societies. The figures are limited by incomplete Presbyterian Christian Endeavour statistics for 1890-1900 and non-reported Presbyterian Christian Endeavour statistics after 1923.

<sup>16</sup> *NZB*, May 1894, p. 77. The one exception was the Anglican Church. One Anglican commentator remarked that 'churchmen have no need to join a Society smaller than the Church, in order to be Christian Endeavourers of the truest character'. *Church Gazette*, November 1895, p. 201.

<sup>17</sup> *NZB*, February 1893, p. 25; 'Committee on the State of Religion Report', *PCSO PS*, 1893, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup> *NZB*, October 1894, p. 159; *ibid*, January 1898, p. 15.

<sup>19</sup> Baptist Christian Endeavour activity in the 1920s may simply have been localised enthusiasm.

movement is problematic, due to the location of the primary sources.<sup>20</sup> Anecdotal information in application records, published missionary testimonies and reports of valedictory meetings indicates that Christian Endeavour had a relatively broad impact upon the missionary movement. There were ex-Christian Endeavour male and female members in four out of the five representative missionary organisations (the NZCMA/S being the exception), and also in other organisations.

Christian Endeavour was primarily a devotional or spiritual movement.<sup>21</sup> Herein lay the movement's greatest impact amongst missionary supporters and aspirants. The 'model constitution' of the Victoria Christian Endeavour stated that 'the object of this Society shall be to promote an earnest Christian life among its members, increase their mutual acquaintance and make them more useful in the service of God'.<sup>22</sup> Christian Endeavour tapped into prevailing revivalist sentiments (noted in Chapter 3.7) and accentuated the increasingly privatised view of faith emerging within late nineteenth-century evangelicalism. Personal salvation was foundational. Janet McKinnon told members of the Knapdale Presbyterian Christian Endeavour group that 'Jesus is always ready to save anyone who comes to Him, pleading his promise. No other way of salvation, but God's, will be of any avail, and all who do not accept His way will be eternally lost'.<sup>23</sup> Yet salvation was simply the entrance point. In the overall Endeavour scheme young people were also encouraged to devote (or 'consecrate') themselves both to God and to Christian service.<sup>24</sup> Central to Endeavour spirituality, then, was a consecrated life of usefulness. 'Useful service' proved the genuineness of an individual's faith, irrespective of gender or socio-economic status, and signified ongoing personal spiritual growth. It was also cast as a practical way of repaying what was seen as the unwarranted love of God. 'Life is a gift from God', Knapdale Endeavourers were told, and it should be 'used in His Service and for His glory'.<sup>25</sup> This notion of usefulness loomed large as a motivational factor, because missionary work was readily perceived as a possible avenue for service.

<sup>20</sup> Records are found within individual congregational archives and are therefore widely dispersed.

<sup>21</sup> The Rev. Francis Clark speaking to Auckland Baptists. *NZB*, October 1892, pp. 157-158.

<sup>22</sup> This constitution was probably adopted by New Zealand Christian Endeavour societies in the early 1890s. 'The Society of Christian Endeavour' (undated pamphlet, probably c. 1912), p. 10, Terrace Congregational Church, Wellington, Miscellaneous Records, 1896-1941, 96-059-3/12, WTU.

<sup>23</sup> 20 December 1896, Knapdale Christian Endeavour Minutes, 1896-1899, AN2/1, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>24</sup> 'The Society of Christian Endeavour' (undated pamphlet), pp. 31-32.

<sup>25</sup> 27 September 1896, Knapdale Christian Endeavour Minutes, 1896-1899.

The core activity reinforcing these sentiments was the monthly prayer or ‘consecration’ meeting. Members regularly restated their commitment to the Society’s pledge, worshipped and prayed together and listened to topical addresses. Topic headings typically included such phrases as ‘Kept for the Master’s Use’, ‘The Gift of Life and How to Use It’, ‘Giving Our Best to God’, ‘Humility of Christ and Humility of Man’, ‘Privileges and Responsibilities’, ‘Gratitude and Service’, ‘Be ye doers of the Word and not hearers only’ and ‘Blessed be Drudgery’. Biblical exemplars were Christ the servant, and the Good Samaritan (Luke 10:25-37).<sup>26</sup> Participation in these meetings, and on the various committees, also reinforced another dimension of the prevailing spirituality – that of whole-hearted commitment. The constitution differentiated between ‘active’ and ‘associate’ members. Greatest pressure was placed upon ‘active’ members to attend every consecration meeting, to systematically pursue the devotional practices of Bible reading and prayer, and generally to ‘lead a Christian life’.<sup>27</sup> Baptist figures suggest that the majority of Endeavourers were ‘active’ members.<sup>28</sup> This was a period in which institutional commitment was both expected and accepted. The notions of consecration and commitment were common in the statements of prospective missionaries, and were qualities demanded by the circumstances they would face in cross-cultural missionary life and work. Such sentiments were neatly summed up in an Oamaru Baptist Endeavourer’s poem in which the writer concluded:

Can I be tired longer  
When I hear His voice so clear?  
Can I think of yielding to slumber,  
With the cry of the lost in my ear?  
Dare I think of ease and comfort,  
Or ‘till the Resurrection Morn,  
Of resting away from earth’s troubles  
Where life’s cares are never borne?<sup>29</sup>

The poem ended with a declaration of personal commitment to a life of consecrated service, because ‘so few willing hands are helping, and but once I will pass this way’. At the same time Endeavour spirituality emphasised an expansive vision. The constitution stated that ‘the ultimate aim of Christian Endeavour is the evangelisation of the world for Christ’ and that as ‘an organisation intensely evangelistic and missionary

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<sup>26</sup> Knapdale Christian Endeavour Minutes, 1896-1899; Taranaki Street Wesleyan Young People’s Society for Christian Endeavour Minute Books, 1892-1896 and 1898-1905, MSY-0482, WTU; and the Christchurch Central Mission Endeavour Society, reported in the *Press*, 25 April 1896, p. 7.

<sup>27</sup> ‘The Society of Christian Endeavour’ (undated pamphlet), p. 11.

<sup>28</sup> ‘Youth Statistics’, *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1900-1915.

<sup>29</sup> From an anonymous poem entitled ‘Tired’, published in the *NZB*, May 1897, pp. 76-77.

in spirit, [it] desires to do all it may ... for missionary extension the world around'. Endeavourers at a united Dunedin convention in 1896 were told that they would be a 'mighty force for good'.<sup>30</sup> 'Missionary committees' were integral to the committee structure of Christian Endeavour. At the congregational level, where the heart of Endeavour life resided, these committees sought to educate members, promote the missionary cause and fundraise for specific projects.<sup>31</sup> Missionary topics and hymns were a regular component of consecration meetings.<sup>32</sup> Financial generosity was encouraged, and many groups supported missionaries and specific missionary projects.

Ultimately the Christian Endeavour movement sought to harness youthful energy and potential for a perceived greater good, by accentuating notions of heroism.<sup>33</sup> The link was quickly made between this generic appeal to heroism, and the perceived ultimate act of heroism - becoming a missionary. This was an ennobling act because it called for absolute commitment and the highest qualities of character and fortitude. In the opinion of the *Christian Outlook's* editor 'it is the stirring of the heart after which youth yearns.... Religion has come too often with comfits and comforts, with coaxing and coddling. There has not been enough of the soldierly element in its demands'.<sup>34</sup> This appeal was not without precedent. Missionary heroes (and increasingly heroines) were a firm feature of the popular mental landscape of the late nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup> Events like the deaths of Bishop Patteson, the CMS martyrs at Ku-Cheng, the Boxer martyrs and of James Chalmers all had an impact amongst New Zealand audiences, and added to this semi-romanticising of the missionary project. Endeavour members heard about these heroes in their meetings and, occasionally, met them at larger public events. At the same time Christian Endeavour set such aspirations within an intensely practical framework, with members encouraged to contribute in simple but effective ways. Young women and men served on committees, delivered topical addresses, visited the sick and elderly, raised funds, and organised local missionary exhibitions. These activities taught

<sup>30</sup> 'The Society of Christian Endeavour' (undated pamphlet), pp. 31-32; *OW*, 25 June 1896, p. 8.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Minutes of Grange Road Baptist Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour Executive, 1909-1914, Box 0096, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>32</sup> See footnote 26. Missionary hymns included such titles as 'Lift the Gospel Banner', 'Master Send Me', 'The Open Door', and 'The Missionary Call'. John Burnham (ed.), *Christian Endeavour Melodies*, London: W. Nicholson & Sons, n.d., pp. 9, 57, 66-67, 139.

<sup>33</sup> Rev. Francis Clark speaking in Auckland. *NZB*, October 1892, pp. 157-158.

<sup>34</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 3 October 1896, p. 421.

<sup>35</sup> See Judith Rowbotham, "Soldiers of Christ"? Images of Female Missionaries in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain: Issues of Heroism and Martyrdom', *Gender and History*, 12:1 (2000), pp. 82-106.

valuable organisational and communication skills, built self-confidence and shaped a personal spirituality that had tangible dimensions. Winnifred Stubbs (CVM missionary) noted in her application that ‘I first learnt to pray aloud and speak in a [Christian Endeavour] meeting.... I began to grow a new conception of the possibilities of the Christian life, the power of Jesus Christ in our daily lives, and the call to service for Him’.<sup>36</sup> Christian Endeavour acted, then, as an incubator for future missionaries that was undifferentiated gender-wise and that made missionary service and support accessible to a wide social grouping of younger New Zealanders.

### 6.3 The Influence of the Student Movement

The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions (SVM), allied with the wider Student Christian Movement (SCM), was initially an American movement that arose in the same period as Christian Endeavour and that shared similar values. It was initially sparked by a mixture of premillennial enthusiasm and evangelical piety, at a student summer conference sponsored by the American evangelist Dwight L. Moody in 1886.<sup>37</sup> This enthusiasm was then channelled through the SVM in 1888, linked to American YMCA university groups, and became more organised under the influential leadership of people like John R. Mott and Robert Speer. In 1892 a similarly inspired movement, the Student Volunteer Missionary Union, was established in Great Britain with links to the Inter-University Christian Union (later the SCM). Each of these became affiliated to the World’s Student Christian Federation founded in 1895.<sup>38</sup> By 1896 there were an estimated 5,000 student volunteers worldwide, of whom 1,000 had gone into overseas service with a range of missionary organisations.<sup>39</sup> John R. Mott’s 1896 visit was the catalyst for the formation of both the Australasian Student Christian Union (ASCU) and the SVM in Australia and New Zealand. Somewhat fittingly it was the British volunteer movement that prompted and financed Mott’s first southern visit.<sup>40</sup> ASCU branches were initially established in each of the university colleges and the SVM was constitutionally established as an ‘organic part’ of the ASCU, under the oversight of a

<sup>36</sup> ‘Stubbs’, 6.45, Staff Files, 1901-1930, CVM (GA0148), Series 6, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>37</sup> Robert, ‘The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword’, p. 146.

<sup>38</sup> Clifton J. Phillips, ‘Changing Attitudes in the Student Volunteer Movement of Great Britain and North America, 1886-1928’, in T. Christensen and W. R. Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era, 1880-1920*, Aarhus: Aros, 1982, pp. 132-135.

<sup>39</sup> Anderson, ‘American Protestants in Pursuit of Missions’, p. 106; Rabe, *The Home Base*, p. 92.

<sup>40</sup> ‘Work in Australasia, Part 1’, p. 1, John Mott Report Letters, 1895-1899, Series A912E, Folder 344, Box 42B, WSCF, 46/1, Yale. (From here on folder and box numbers will be abbreviated.)

‘Committee on Home and Foreign Missions’.<sup>41</sup> By the time of the students’ missionary conference in 1903 the movement had found a niche in New Zealand. Amongst the conference’s 316 delegates 147 were from the university colleges, sixty-four from secondary schools (of whom twenty-four were students), nine from theological colleges, and nine from teachers and art colleges.<sup>42</sup> An Australian travelling secretary and other international visitors then linked branches and members to the wider movement. In 1913 the ASCU became the Australasian Student Christian Movement. The New Zealand Student Christian Movement became autonomous in 1921, encompassing 596 tertiary students and 900 secondary students by that date.<sup>43</sup>

The missionary impact of the student movement is somewhat easier to quantify than for Christian Endeavour, although this must be read with some caution.<sup>44</sup> Detailed New Zealand student volunteer figures do not appear to exist past 1918 and the best Australasian estimates no later than 1916. Between 1896 and 1916 upwards of 410 Australian and New Zealand students had signed the Volunteer declaration - ‘It is my purpose, if God permit, to become a foreign missionary’.<sup>45</sup> An initial flush of Australasian enthusiasm was followed by slower and relatively sustained growth, with the greatest increases occurring between 1900 and 1910 (Figure 6.2). Calculations for percentage change and cumulative percentage growth reinforce this impression, indicating that the 1903 and 1910 growth peaks were anomalous, and that overall growth was tailing off by 1913, prior to World War One.

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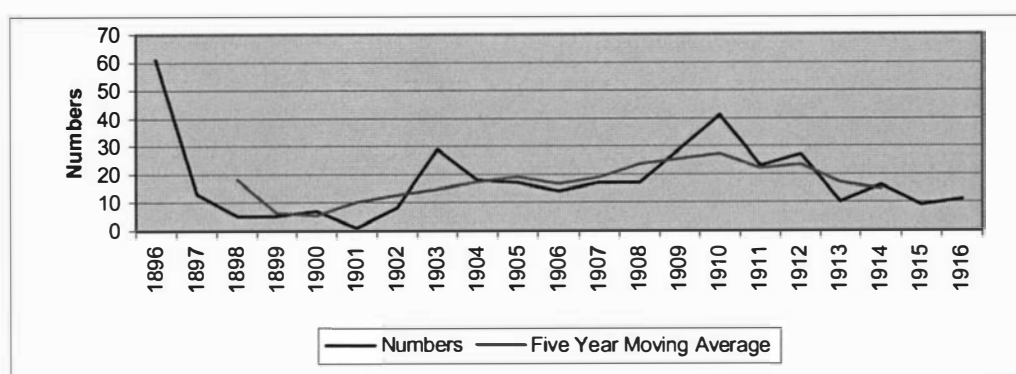
<sup>41</sup> ‘Constitution of the ASCU, 1896’, p. 4, Series G310: Australasia, 2015/244, WSCF, 46/8, Yale; ‘The Missionary Department of the ASCU, c. 1896’, World Trip – Australia and New Zealand, Series VII, Biographical Documentation, 2506/150, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

<sup>42</sup> A breakdown of conference attendance is found in at least two sources: Anon, *Australasia and the World’s Evangelisation: Addresses delivered at the Student Conferences [Melbourne and Christchurch], 1903*, Sydney: The Australasian Student’s Christian Union, 1903, p. 184; and a hand-written list in John R. Mott’s Personal Notes, Series G100, 2009/244, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>43</sup> ‘The New Zealand Student Christian Movement’, in Various NZSCM Constitutions and Drafts, Series G(b)123, 2078/249, WSCF, 46/8, Yale. See also: P. E. Sutton, ‘The New Zealand Student Christian Movement, 1896 – 1936’, Thesis submitted for the Degree of Honours and MA in History, Victoria University College, 1946; and Christine Berry, *The New Zealand Student Christian Movement, 1896-1996: A Centennial History*, Christchurch: The Student Christian Movement of Aotearoa, 1998.

<sup>44</sup> The following discussion is based on two ‘one-off’ and independent listings of student volunteers (see footnote 46), which have gaps with respect to the date of signing, denominational background and ultimate destination of volunteers (see Appendix Two for details). The information in them is supplemented by comments and statistics found in the contemporary and secondary literature.

<sup>45</sup> This had initially been formulated in 1886 as a volunteer pledge that read ‘I am willing and desirous, God permitting, to become a foreign missionary’. Phillips, ‘Changing Attitudes in the Student Volunteer Movement’, pp. 132-134. Furthermore this declaration ‘was intended as the statement of a solemn purpose, not as a binding pledge to be slavishly adhered to even if God obviously had other plans for the would be volunteer’. P. E. Sutton, ‘The Student Volunteer Movement [and] its Relation to the Student Christian Movement’, undated manuscript, MS Papers 1617, Folder 2, NZSCM Collection, WTU.

**Figure 6.2 – Trends in Total Australasian SVM Enrolments, 1896-1916<sup>46</sup>**

By 1918 at least 157 of these were New Zealand students, so that New Zealand SVM enrolments made up around thirty-eight per cent of all Australasian enrolments. Given that enrolment dates are not known for eighteen per cent of New Zealand volunteers, it appears that New Zealand figures followed the same basic pattern as above. There was the same initial burst of numbers (at least twelve enrolments in 1896), but further growth was at a slightly slower rate. A breakdown of the New Zealand data for 1896 to 1918 gives a further indication of the movement's structure and impact (Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1 – Aspects of the New Zealand SVM, 1896-1918<sup>47</sup>**

Attribute	Male	Female	Total
Totals	90 (57%)	67 (43%)	157
<b>Known Missionary Service</b>			
Yes	27 (51%)	26 (49%)	53 (34%)
No	62 (60%)	42 (40%)	104 (66%)
<b>University Colleges</b>			
Auckland	13 (56%)	10 (44%)	23 (15%)
Victoria	3 (33%)	6 (64%)	9 (6%)
Canterbury	19 (44%)	24 (56%)	43 (27%)
Otago	55 (68%)	26 (32%)	81 (51%)
Don't Know	-	1	1 (1%)
<b>Denominations</b>			
Anglican	15 (56%)	12 (44%)	27 (17%)
Baptist	12 (86%)	2 (14%)	14 (9%)
Congregational	-	2	2 (1%)
Methodist	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	7 (4%)
Presbyterian	36 (57%)	27 (43%)	63 (40%)
Quaker	1	-	1 (0.6%)
Salvation Army	-	1	1 (0.6%)
Don't Know	23	19	42 (27%)

<sup>46</sup> Based on: 'Listing of NZ Student Volunteers', NZSCM Collection, MS Papers 1617, Folder 4, WTU; 'List of Student Volunteers, 1916', G549.111, 2033/246, WSCF, 46/8, Yale; Jessie Reeve, *The Missionary Uprising among Australasian Students*, Melbourne: ASCU, [1910], p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Based on the two listings detailed in footnote 46.

Whilst relatively balanced gender-wise, greatest interest came from Presbyterian and Anglican students at Otago University and Canterbury University College. This reflected wider population patterns (the dominance of Anglicans and Presbyterians, and the numbers of students at Otago and Canterbury until about 1910), but it was not representative of patterns in the missionary cohort of that period. Furthermore the fifty-three known volunteers who went on to missionary service only made up twelve per cent of the 424 missionaries leaving New Zealand between 1890 and 1918, and were predominantly denominational missionaries.

Mott's confidence in 1896, that 'one of the strongest contingents of the Student Volunteer Movement is coming from these Colonies',<sup>48</sup> was possibly misplaced. On the surface the SVM was, in numerical terms, a minor contributor to the New Zealand missionary movement. Yet this impression does not do complete justice to some of the particularities involved in the New Zealand context. For example early New Zealand student volunteers were quick to leave New Zealand as missionaries between 1896 and 1898. Of the thirteen who signed the declaration in these years, seven had departed by 1897 – Isabella McCallum (NZCMA), Mary Moore and Kate Fraser (Church of Scotland), John Ings, Walter Barry, John Takle, and Charles North (NZBMS). New Zealanders made up the majority of the forty-nine Australasian volunteers departing as missionaries between 1896 and 1906.<sup>49</sup> Even if, as Renate Howe suggests, 'Australian students were reluctant missionaries', it seems fair to argue that the movement's impact accounts for some of the significant increase in missionary numbers from the late 1890s. Furthermore, even if the number of student volunteers was not great, those who did become missionaries were often notable as influential leaders or respected figures in the movement. These included the individuals named above, as well as a handful of others: Vivienne, Gwen and Rita Opie, and Dr Phyllis Haddow (NZCMA/S); the Rev. Dr Charles Fox (Melanesian Mission); the Rev. Henry Funnell (CIM); the Rev. John Burton (Methodist Mission); the Rev. Crichton McDouall (SPG); the Revs George McNeur and William Mawson, and Frances Ogilvie (CVM); the Rev. Thomas Riddle (Punjab Mission), Mary Salmond (Punjab Mission and later PWTI Principal); Jean Begg (LMS/YWCA); Eldred Hercus (Regions Beyond Missionary Union); and the Rev.

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<sup>48</sup> 'Work in Australasia, Part I', p. 4. See Footnote 40.

<sup>49</sup> Based on information found in the *Australasian Intercollegian*, the official journal of the ASCU. Renate Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism in the Asia-Pacific Region, 1890s-1920s', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 16:36 (2001), p. 312.



Donald MacDiarmid (SUM). Their impact was felt through literature, deputations, recruitment, education, missionary leadership overseas, and the shaping of missionary thinking in New Zealand. The SVM was a significant factor in these people becoming missionaries and missionary leaders, and in the contributions that they made.

Any assessment of the SVM's impact also has to take into account a range of other more indirect factors. Like Christian Endeavour, the SVM was viewed primarily as a religious or spiritual movement, and in many respects the spiritual contours of the movement were not dissimilar to those of Christian Endeavour. The ASCU constitution placed an equal emphasis upon personal conversion, ongoing discipleship and the expansive vision of 'extending the Kingdom of Christ throughout the whole world'.<sup>50</sup> Members had to affirm that they acknowledged 'the Lord Jesus as my only Saviour' and promised to 'abide by the Constitution of this Union, and to unite with it earnestly in Christian work'.<sup>51</sup> Meeting topics covered the spectrum of devotional practices, character formation, biblical and historical examples, and missionary topics, as well as other themes more pertinent to the intellectual life of the university.<sup>52</sup> Like Christian Endeavour, then, student spirituality placed great importance on personal vitality and usefulness, on self-sacrificing service that was heroic and humanitarian, on communal and institutional commitment, and on a practical, public-minded Christian faith.<sup>53</sup>

Two further dimensions of this spirituality served to distinguish it from Christian Endeavour. Firstly, the ASCU and SVM placed an emphasis on the shaping of an informed, educated spirituality much akin to women's groups like the PWMU. One of the complaints levelled against Christian Endeavour was that it had too easily settled for a trite and superficial personal spirituality that was informed more by 'chorus singing' and 'brief, bright and brotherly meetings' than by 'Bible study of a more thorough and systematic order'.<sup>54</sup> By way of contrast students were prompted to develop a robust

<sup>50</sup> 'Constitution of the ASCU, 1896', p. 4.

<sup>51</sup> 'Otago University Christian Union Membership Application Form', undated, Series G610.3, Australasia, 2036/246, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>52</sup> 'Otago Christian Union Syllabus, 1896', Mott's Notes, Series G100, Australasia, 2009/244, WSCF, 46/8, Yale; Sample Syllabi for New Zealand Christian Union Meetings, 1900 and 1903, Series G615.004, Australasia, 2037/246, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>53</sup> In an SVM recruitment paper the following hindrances to students volunteering were noted: 'selfish ambition, flattery or discouragement of relatives and friends, ignorance, indolence or drifting, indecision (inconclusive thinking), disobedience, becoming mission hardened, Satan'. 'The Student Volunteer Movement' undated, Series IV, Notes and Notebooks, 2506/150, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

<sup>54</sup> 'The Endeavour Movement on Its Trial', *NZB*, April 1898, p. 1.

spirituality through a broad mixture of prayer, systematic Bible study and topical reading, subscriptions to relevant journals, regular meetings and discussions, and reflective reading about contemporary events and issues.<sup>55</sup> Group and personal mission study was a spasmodic part of this approach from as early as 1902, and more regular from about 1909.<sup>56</sup> To bolster this approach both the ASCU/M and local branches compiled missionary libraries of varying sophistication.<sup>57</sup>

Secondly, there was a keen sense in some quarters that students who developed such an educated and mentally robust spirituality were strategically important both to New Zealand and the wider world. Mott was particularly alarmed, both in 1896 and 1903, by his encounter with what he perceived to be the highly secularised nature of Australian and New Zealand society. He argued that a voluntary student movement in the universities was a key strategy in attempting to reverse this secularism. Students, as ‘intelligent followers’ of Jesus Christ, were central to any transformation of society or attitudes in New Zealand and overseas.<sup>58</sup> Students and professors were ‘influential elements of society’, a point which Otago University’s Professor Salmond re-emphasised in a motion endorsing Mott’s 1896 visit.<sup>59</sup> In Mott’s conception of the issue students imbued with such a faith would generate a future organic ecumenism amongst clergy and leaders, and provide ‘a generation of professors, editors, lawyers, physicians, and statesmen in larger sympathy with Christianity’. They were also important because of Australasia’s geographic proximity to the Pacific Basin and the ‘gates of the three greatest mission fields of the world – Africa, India and China’.<sup>60</sup> It was a mark of Mott’s eternal optimism that no obstacle was too large. By 1903 he was convinced that real progress had been made along these lines.<sup>61</sup> Ultimately the numbers of student volunteers within the overall missionary movement may not have been large. In these graduates, however, the movement had supporters and participants who possessed a deep and keen spiritual sense of the strategic importance of home and foreign missions.

<sup>55</sup> ‘Suggestions to Volunteers’, undated, Series G540.3, Australasia, 2027/246, WSCF, 46/8, Yale.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Annual Report, 1907-1908’, Reports of the Bible Study Committee, Otago University Christian Union, 1896-1911, MS Papers 1617, Folder 292, WTU; *Outlook*, 18 January 1908, p. 12.

<sup>57</sup> ‘ASCM Catalogue of Literature, 1919’, Series G011, Australasia, 2007/244, WSCF, 46/8, Yale; Reports of the Bible Study Committee, Otago University Christian Union, 1896-1911 (footnote 56).

<sup>58</sup> ‘University Christian Movements’, *Otago Daily Times*, 23 April 1896, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> *ibid*; see also footnotes 40 and 53.

<sup>60</sup> *ibid*.

<sup>61</sup> ‘A Seven Year Contrast in Australasia’, 1903, pp. 1-2, Series III, Report Letters, Journals and Diaries, 1937/117, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

The impact of the SVM on the missionary movement can also be observed in two further respects. Firstly, the student movement added a certain degree of intellectual rigour to the missionary movement. Students did not question the need or rationale for foreign missions - this was more or less taken for granted. Rather they were encouraged to read widely and deeply, to be well informed, and to debate the issues involved. There was a willingness to critically examine some of the existing shibboleths, including the student volunteer watchword. The watchword was debated and accepted by British and European students in 1896.<sup>62</sup> New Zealand students debated the issue at their first annual summer school at Nelson in January 1899. Those in favour emphasised the potential of the slogan to capture a wide measure of attention and energy, and its fundamental congruity with the Great Commission. Its detractors highlighted the ambiguity and essential meaninglessness of the phrase ‘in this generation’, the intemperateness of the concept, and its potential for bringing the movement into disrepute.<sup>63</sup> This debate highlighted the fact that students were well informed and that future missionary leaders displayed an early aptitude for critical reflection.

This propensity to provide an intellectual edge to missionary thinking was further highlighted in the post-war era. The war itself, along with deepening theological rifts, took a toll on student missionary enthusiasm (at least in the ways it was earlier expressed), and precipitated the divisions that would occur from the mid-1920s.<sup>64</sup> The NZSCM responded to this changing climate by a readiness to revisit and revise its missionary thinking. This was not wholly radical, but it was enough for conservatives to take alarm. Perhaps it was also significant that the NZSCM was one of the few non-denominational groups to accept representation on the National Missionary Council in 1926, where they could contribute an intellectual edge to ongoing missionary thinking.

Secondly, the 1903 students’ conference provided the most specific instance of how student missionary enthusiasm could have a direct impact upon New Zealand churches.

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<sup>62</sup> Robert, ‘The Origin of the Student Volunteer Watchword’, p. 148; Phillips, ‘Changing Attitudes in the Student Volunteer Movement’, p. 134.

<sup>63</sup> *Nelson Evening Mail*, 19 January 1899, p. 2; *ibid*, 20 January 1899, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> For the American context see H. Wilbert Norton Sr., ‘The Student Foreign Missions Fellowship over Fifty-Five Years’, *IBMR*, 17:1 (1993), pp. 17-21; and Nathan D. Showalter, ‘Crusade or Catastrophe? The Student Missions Movement and the First World War’, *IBMR*, 17:1 (1993), pp. 13-17. For the New Zealand context see Peter J. Lineham, ‘Finding a Space for Evangelicalism: Evangelical Youth Movements in New Zealand’, in W. J. Sheils and D. Woods (eds), *Voluntary Religion*, Studies in Church History, Vol. 23, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, pp. 477-494.

A broad mixture of students, educators, denominational leaders and missionaries spent two intense days discussing home and foreign missions.<sup>65</sup> The content and thrust of the presentations reflected both the confidence and sense of urgency that commonly marked the missionary rhetoric of the period. Its immediate outcome was not spectacular. There is little initial evidence of a great rush of students signing the Student Volunteer Declaration. Some financial support was offered for a second travelling secretary, and a strategy for greater student missionary support was mooted.<sup>66</sup> A month later Presbyterian and Anglican students offered to promote the missionary cause amongst churches, as a result of the conference's 'quickenning influence'.<sup>67</sup> The Presbyterian experience, between 1903 and 1910,<sup>68</sup> indicated the nature of this impact upon churches. Each summer two students, either together or separately, promoted foreign missions in a designated area. In 1906-1907, for example, J. W. Shaw and Thomas Miller made contact with congregations in around ninety rural and urban communities in Southland, Otago, Nelson, Wellington, Wairarapa, Manawatu, Wanganui, Rangitikei and Taranaki. They estimated that they had held 213 services and helped to start at least eleven new PWMU branches.<sup>69</sup> PWMU reports noted the students' role (all of whom were male) in strengthening PWMU branch work. FMC reports often commented on the financial impact. Churchgoers were encouraged to raise their level of missionary giving, or to become regular missionary donors. General missionary funds often received an annual boost.<sup>70</sup> Yet there was more significance to all of this than simple financial gain. On the one hand students helped to raise the profile of missionary claims, and of informed missionary awareness, amongst rural and urban congregations. On the other hand, through their reports, the students helped the members of the FMC to form a much more realistic picture of the relative depth and breadth of congregational missionary awareness. In this way two otherwise quite separate elements of the missionary movement came together for mutual benefit - town, country and gown worked together for the cause of world evangelisation.

<sup>65</sup> Whilst there were participants from a range of denominations present, the most comprehensive reporting on the conference was provided in the Presbyterian *Outlook*, 16 May 1903, pp. 3-38.

<sup>66</sup> *ibid*, pp. 12, 38.

<sup>67</sup> 22 May and 16 June 1903, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1901-1913, Series 1, GA0001; 6 October 1903, Minutes of the Executive Committee of the NZCMA, 1900-1912, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1.

<sup>68</sup> It may well be that the establishment of a PWMU travelling secretary and the emergence of the Laymen's Missionary Movement negated the need for student deputies after 1910.

<sup>69</sup> 'Deputation Schedule, 1906-1907', in Student Missionary Deputations, 1903-1909, Subject Files, 1905-1935, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>70</sup> Cited in FMC Annual Reports to General Assembly, in *PCNZ PGA*, 1904-1909.

#### 6.4 The Influence of Women's and Men's Movements

The various women's groups emerging from the 1890s were arguably the most indigenous of the streams contributing to the missionary movement. There was already a plethora of localised Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist groups in the 1890s, prior to the formation of the national denominational unions.<sup>71</sup> Baptist women were not locally or nationally organised until 1903. We have also noted the early existence of the WCTU missionary department. Such groups were not entirely without international precedent. In Britain many women's auxiliary and charitable groups were established from the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>72</sup> American women's sending agencies and support organisations emerged particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>73</sup> Australian Presbyterian women had established similar organisations in Victoria, New South Wales and Queensland by 1892.<sup>74</sup> New Zealand women were aware of all of these through literature and personal experience. Margaret Hewitson drew on her earlier involvement with the Victorian PWMU in Melbourne to help establish a similar venture in Otago after arriving in 1895.<sup>75</sup> Yet these early New Zealand groups were clearly initiated and driven by the energies of local women, despite their international links and tone, and were further fuelled by the vitality of the wider women's movement of the late nineteenth century. By 1930 at least 10,000 New Zealand women across the denominations were supporting foreign missions.<sup>76</sup>

It appears that the direct impact of women upon missionary policy and decision-making was minimal. This was largely true, reflecting the continuing exclusion of women from

<sup>71</sup> Alice Henderson, *Women's Work for Missions*, pp. 8-14, 16-18; *Church Gazette*, May 1895, pp. 80-81; *ibid*, June 1895, Supplement; *ibid*, July 1905, p. 135; Carter, *A Family Affair*, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> Francis Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 24-25.

<sup>73</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling: American Protestant Women in World Mission*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1968, pp. 85-114; Margaret Bendroth, 'Women and Missions: Conflict and Changing Roles in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1870-1935', *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 65:1 (1987), pp. 50-53; Shirley S. Garrett, 'Sisters All. Feminism and the American Women's Missionary Movement', in T. Christensen and W. R. Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era*, pp. 221-230; Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 130-188.

<sup>74</sup> Judith Godden, 'Containment and Control', pp. 77-80.

<sup>75</sup> G. S. King, 'William Hewitson', in Jane Thomson (ed.), *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, Dunedin: Longacre Press, 1998, p. 224.

<sup>76</sup> This is a conservative estimate based upon 6,817 Presbyterian women belonging to the PWMU in 1925, and 1,486 Baptist women belonging to the BMWU in 1930, the existence of the MWMU and the Anglican Women's Auxiliary (from 1928) plus other Anglican groups, and the involvement (organised and unorganised) of women in the other denominations and non-denominational organisations. Statistics quoted are from: 'PWMU Report, 1925', *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1905-1925, Box AF2/1, PCANZ Archives; 'BMWU Report, 1930', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1930-1931, p. 154.

ordained ministry and the denominational decision-making bodies. Whilst debate occurred over the issue of women and church ministry the actual reform of attitudes and legislation took much longer, with significant changes not occurring until at least the 1920s.<sup>77</sup> This exclusion was also true of non-denominational missionary organisations. BIM single women missionaries only received field conference voting rights in 1920, and Miriam Conway (née Jones) was the first woman CIM Council member in New Zealand, appointed in 1926.<sup>78</sup> Yet from the 1890s the scope of women's involvement in wider church life did begin to expand. In addition to their traditional roles women became more prominent through their missionary support and participation, and through deaconess work in the larger cities and amongst rural Maori communities.

Furthermore the relationship between women's missionary groups and denominational mission executives reflected subtleties and slowly changing attitudes. The NZCMA Ladies' Committee was a case in point. Formed in 1895 it was made up of Nelson women, whose roles included 'interviewing lady candidates' and 'corresponding with lady missionaries in the field'.<sup>79</sup> It was a sub-committee of the Executive in all but membership, whose sphere of influence was largely circumscribed. As late as 1920 it was advised that women members of the Candidates Committee should not interview male candidates, and that 'men are better able to decide the theological side of the training or of views, than women'.<sup>80</sup> Yet the Ladies' Committee was able to exert a persuasive influence on NZCMA/S Executive decision-making, especially where those decisions affected women. These included: the suitability of various geographical regions for the placement of women missionaries; recommendations over specific women applicants; changes in the training of women candidates at St Hilda's in Melbourne; minimum training standards for all missionary candidates; and the felt need for systematic prayerful support. Women evidently had the self-confidence and self-perceived mandate to directly advise the Executive. It was equally clear that the Executive listened to and acted upon such advice.<sup>81</sup> Similar opportunities gradually

<sup>77</sup> Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, pp. 144-149, 193-195.

<sup>78</sup> 5 November 1926, Minutes of the CIM New Zealand Council (North Island), 1912-1937, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives; 19 April 1920, Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913-1945, [Bound Volume], BIM Archives.

<sup>79</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1899, p. 13.

<sup>80</sup> Kimberley to Bishop of Nelson, 14 September 1920, Correspondence of the Ladies Committee, 1914-1947, ANG 143/4.6, Box 21, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>81</sup> 18 October 1905, 26 March 1907, 10 November 1925, Minutes of the NZCMA Executive, 1900-1912, and 1923-1941, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1; 10 December 1907, Correspondence of the Ladies Committee,

opened up for other groups. PWMU Executive members became full voting members of the PCNZ FMC in 1913 and BMWU Executive members became *ex officio* members of the NZBMS in 1917.<sup>82</sup> Other more informal and yet equally important linkages may also have existed, one of which was the influence exerted within marital relationships. At the same time that particular husbands held influential roles on mission executives, their wives held similar roles within the various women's groups. These 'partnerships' included the Rev. William and Jane Bannerman (Otago/Southland Synod FMC and the Otago/Southland, and later national, PWMU), the Rev. William and Margaret Hewitson (for the equivalent groups after union in 1901), the Rev. Harry and Annie Driver (NZBMS executive and BMWU executive) and Bishop Charles and Mrs Mules (NZCMA Executive and Ladies' Committee). It seems plausible that these wives, each of whom took an active and educated interest in foreign missions, conversed and debated the issues with their husbands and exercised a perhaps more subtle but no less important influence on the business of the male dominated executives.

The spiritual contours evident amongst women's groups were essentially similar to those identified for Christian Endeavour and the students' movement. It was their emphasis on prayer that marked them out in particular. This was not an emphasis exclusive to women, nor to the denominational agencies and auxiliaries. Other organisations, like the BIM and CIM, were acutely aware of the importance of prayer. Yet prayer was an important common thread for the various women's missionary groups. The BMWU and PWMU constitutions both emphasised prayerful support of foreign missions as a fundamental objective. Furthermore the BMWU took the motto 'Ye also helping together by prayer' (2 Corinthians 1:11), and was commonly referred to early on as the Baptist Women's Prayer Union.<sup>83</sup> Communal and private prayer was a common activity and a frequent focus for discussion papers at all levels.

In this respect women's groups were significant for at least two reasons. By emphasising prayer, the women's movement drew attention to the fundamentally

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1914-1947, ANG 143/4.6, Box 21; 'Submission to the Sub-committee of NZCMA Executive' and 'Preparation of Missionaries', in Historical and General Papers, ANG 143/1.6, Folder 2, Box 1 – all in NZCMS Archives.

<sup>82</sup> 10 September 1912 and 11 March 1913, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC 1901-1913, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ Archives; 16 October 1917, Minutes of NZBMS Committee Meetings 1911-1931, Box A47, NZBMS Archives.

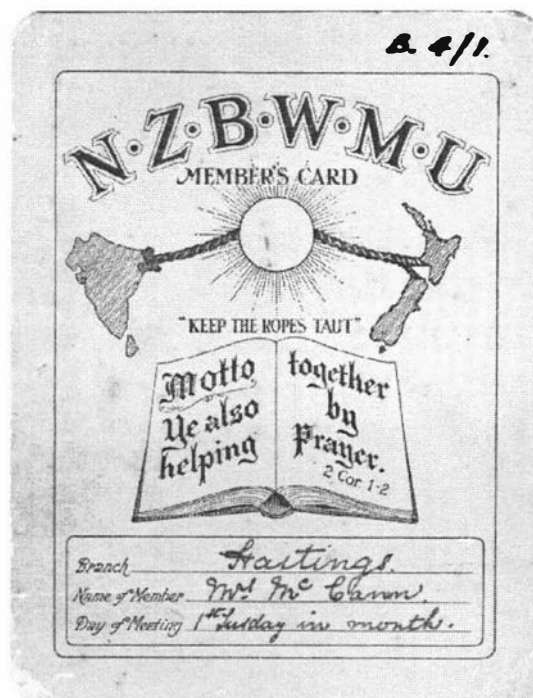
<sup>83</sup> 'BMWU Report, 1905', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1905-1906, p. 94; 'NZBWMU Member's Card', undated, Folder 1, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives; 'PWMU Report, 1905', *PCNZ PGA*, 1905, pp. 167-169.

theological and spiritual nature of the missionary project. Women perceived the missionary task to be a unique partnership between God and people, as well as a divinely entrusted responsibility. Annie Driver commented in 1905 that

God has in a marked degree honoured the faith and resolution of those who ... prayed and wrought for the sending of the first New Zealand missionaries to India.... It is our happy privilege not to shrink backward, but to press forward.... and there will yet appear new points of light in the darkness, until it is finally broken up and dissipated in the light of the rising of the Sun [sic] of Righteousness.<sup>84</sup>

The BMWU member's card portrayed this relationship as a three-stranded rope strung between New Zealand and East Bengal, and held tight in the middle by a brightly blazing sun (Figure 6.3).

**Figure 6.3 – A Sample BMWU Member's Card<sup>85</sup>**



Annie's reference to 'the Sun of Righteousness', then, was no mistake. Baptist missionaries, Indian Christians and Baptist supporters in New Zealand were connected, through the divine act of prayer, not just with each other but also with God. Intercessory prayer (prayers made on behalf of others) was a tangible and important way that women could directly participate in this partnership, and became both a hallmark of the women's missionary movement and of its participants and fundamental to its missionary discourse. Early PWMU leaders were remembered as 'women of great faith

<sup>84</sup> 'BMWU Report, 1904', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1904-1905, p. 92.

<sup>85</sup> Undated, Folder 1, Box 0036, BMWU Records, NZBHS Archives



and much prayer' who envisaged the whole world worshipping God.<sup>86</sup> The task and importance of prayer was constantly urged upon women supporters of foreign missions. PWMU readers were reminded, based on texts in Matthew 19:20 and 21:22, 'what a stupendous power the ideal prayer meeting should be the channel of.... We can everyone do our share of assembling, agreeing and believing'.<sup>87</sup>

An alternative reading suggests a second area of significance. By emphasising the importance of prayer, and in underscoring the essentially spiritual and theological nature of mission, women's missionary groups provided a legitimate and potentially empowering context for women within church life. Public and private prayer was directly accessible to women, especially in the context of group meetings. Women freely prayed, taught, gave testimonies and lead worship in these meetings, in ways that were essentially the same as Sunday public services. Women at a united BWMU meeting in Auckland, for example, addressed the meeting on a wide range of topics. 'All present felt the power of the spirit and every heart felt the need for prayer.'<sup>88</sup> Women understood that, through this 'spirit', they had equal access to God's love, forgiveness, restoration and empowerment for useful service, and they exercised a strong sense of the responsibility attendant upon being Christian.<sup>89</sup> This reading needs to be set in a wider interpretative context. Yet the emphasis on prayer, within the spirituality of the women's missionary movement, exerted a reflexive influence on the wider role of women in the churches, serving to unite women in a common cause.

Women also brought a wider sense of connection to the missionary movement. In 1910 Emily North called on BWMU members to 'clasp hands, and re-consecrate our lives to this high service, and during the year let us make united prayer to God.'<sup>90</sup> This sense of connection extended across denominational lines and a demonstrable, if limited, ecumenism emerged. Annual BWMU conferences regularly invited women to attend from other denominational missionary groups.<sup>91</sup> Women also forged links within non-denominational missions. There was still denominational suspicion over the so-called

<sup>86</sup> 'Reminiscences of early PWMU and Presbyterian Association by Mrs Stewart', Undated, Box AF3/1, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>87</sup> 'Prayer Meetings as part of the work of the PWMU', *Harvest Field*, September 1907, p. iv.

<sup>88</sup> 30 August 1918, Minutes of the Auckland United BWMU, 1916-1925, Box 0129, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>89</sup> 'Reflections on Zechariah 4:6' by Mrs Mackay, *Harvest Field*, December 1908, pp. iv-vi.

<sup>90</sup> 'BW MU President's Address', *NZB*, January 1910, p. 11.

<sup>91</sup> 13 October 1919, 8 October 1920, 13 October 1921, 13 October 1922, Minutes of BW MU Annual Meetings, 1905-1928, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives; *OW*, 17 October 1922, p. 30.

faith missions.<sup>92</sup> Yet the 1903 visit of Manoramabai (daughter of Pandita Ramabai) and Minnie Abrams drew a wide cross-section of women (and men) interested in the Ramabai Mukti Mission. This resulted in the formation of a New Zealand auxiliary (whose General Secretary was Mrs McKenzie of Queenstown), regular financial support, and at least four New Zealand women going to India.<sup>93</sup> A strong sense of international connection and concern also underlay women's missionary sentiments. Mrs Fulton, WCTU President, prosaically signalled this consciousness as early as 1890:

I am glad that our WCTU has been called a Union rather than an Association.... Ye see our calling, sisters – each individual as a dew-drop uniting as a rivulet in a local Union, these streams gathered into a river by each National Union, connecting with a great world river, which is being stored in a reservoir of womanly power and influence.<sup>94</sup>

In 1896-1897 the Otago/Southland PWMU appointed Jane Bannerman as 'Corresponding Secretary'. She became responsible for keeping links with Australian, British and North American women's Presbyterian missionary organisations.<sup>95</sup> A clearly perceived sense of international partnership existed, expressed through the many references to 'sister Associations' and 'our Christian sisters all over the world',<sup>96</sup> as well as through the frequent interchange of annual reports and periodical literature, and invitations to attend international conferences. Whilst there may have been a degree of colonial deference to the older British unions,<sup>97</sup> the relationship was essentially viewed as a partnership of equals. By philosophically and theologically identifying with their international 'sisters' Presbyterian women understood that they were doing so in the company of the incarnational Christ, and saw themselves forming part of a great feminine 'girdle around the earth'.<sup>98</sup> The PWMU was formally associated with a North

<sup>92</sup> The FMC was obviously embarrassed by student deputation support for the Ramabai Mukti Mission in 1903-1904; the Revs George McNeur and William Mawson thought it necessary to defend the CIM to the FMC in 1906; the Rev. William Hewitson was advised by a Church of Scotland representative to steer Presbyterians clear of the SUM in 1912; and the FMC refused a request to financially support the work of the Zenana and Bible Medical Mission in 1917. 13 January 1904, 5 June 1906 and 23 October 1917, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC 1901-1913 and 1914-1919, Series 1, GA0001; W. Stevenson to W. Hewitson, 22 November 1912, Church of Scotland Records, 1848-1931, Micro MS Coll 20, M1554, WTU.

<sup>93</sup> *NZB*, March 1903, p. 46; *ibid*, October 1909, p. 440; *ibid*, January 1911, p. 20; *ODT*, 17 January 1903, p. 9 and 24 January 1903, p. 9; *ibid*, 28 August 1912, p. 6; Helen S. Dyer, *Pandita Ramabai: A Great Life in Indian Missions*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Impression, London: Pickering & Inglis, n.d., pp. 41, 148, 162.

<sup>94</sup> 'President's Address, 1890', *Reports and Minutes of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union*, 1886-1894, Microfiche 178.1 NEW, Massey University Library.

<sup>95</sup> 'PWMU Report, 1897', *PCSO PS*, 1897, pp. 87-88.

<sup>96</sup> For example in 'PWMU Report, 1898', *PCSO PS*, 1898, p. 111; *ibid*, 1899, p. 73.

<sup>97</sup> In her 1900 report Jane Bannerman referred to 'our elder sister Unions in Queensland' and remarked that 'it is good and very pleasant to be remembered by the Home [British] Unions, and to know that they have a motherly interest in their far-away daughters'. 'PWMU Report, 1900', *PCSO PS*, 1900, p. 75.

<sup>98</sup> 'PWMU Report, 1899', *PCSO PS*, 1899, p. 74; 'PWMU Report, 1900', *PCSO PS*, 1900, p. 111; 'BWMU Report, 1913', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1913-1914, p. 101. For a fuller feminist theological

American Presbyterian women's missionary alliance that, in turn, had links with the American based World's Missionary Committee of Christian Women formed in 1888.<sup>99</sup> The New Zealand women's missionary movement did not produce a systematic or unique body of missionary theology or, indeed, initiate ecumenical gatherings such as those held under the banner of the 1910 American Women's Missionary Jubilee. Yet it did serve to align New Zealand women more directly with their international counterparts in the cause of world evangelisation, pre-dating the ecumenical sentiments of the Edinburgh Conference by at least a decade. Despite the disruption of war and the death of Jane Bannerman, who was a most enthusiastic exponent of international sisterhood, the PWMU continued to value its global sense of connection.

New Zealand women's groups and women missionaries did produce literature that: highlighted the role of women in the missionary movement, reinforced a stereotypical view of the non-Western world; and exemplified the overall importance of missionary literature in the shaping of a missionary *mentalité*. Women missionaries frequently featured as the authors of articles in the various religious periodicals. The PWMU and BWMU had regular designated columns or pages in their respective denominational periodicals. The PWMU was also unique in that the *Harvest Field* was an explicitly missionary magazine produced by women for women readers. New Zealand women did not produce a systematic set of missionary books equivalent to that produced by the American Central Committee on the United Study of Foreign Missions (a project of the World's Missionary Committee of Christian Women), which published twenty-one study books between 1901 and 1921, fourteen of which were written by women.<sup>100</sup> Yet there were New Zealand women authors who wrote one-off missionary study books, inspirational titles and biographies. Amongst these were Beatrice Harband (LMS India), Emma Beckingsale and Annie Driver (NZBMS), Alice Henderson (Presbyterian Punjab Mission), Maud Dinneen (NZCMS), and Lilian Hinton (ex-PIVM missionary).<sup>101</sup>

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and sociological treatment of this subject see Yvonne Robertson, 'Girdle Round the Earth': *New Zealand Presbyterian Women's Ideal of Universal Sisterhood, 1878-1918*, Annual Lecture, Auckland 1993, Dunedin: Presbyterian Historical Society of New Zealand, 1994.

<sup>99</sup> See Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, pp. 143-155; Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 257-272.

<sup>100</sup> Robert, *American Women in Mission*, p. 261.

<sup>101</sup> The titles associated with these authors were: Beatrice Harband, *Under the Shadow of Durgamma* (1901), *Daughters of Darkness in Sunny India* (1903), *Pen of Brahma*, (1906), *Altar of Superstition* (date unknown); Emma Beckingsale, *The Gold of Tipperah* (1912); Annie Driver, *Missionary Memories* (1930); Alice Henderson, *The Golden Gate of India* (1922); Maud Dinneen, *Not of Gennesareth* (1933), Lilian Hinton, *Ethel Ambrose: Pioneer Medical Missionary* (date unknown).

Baptist and Presbyterian evidence suggests that these books were published in sizeable numbers and were widely read, thus educating and inspiring the readers and underscoring the notion that women's involvement in foreign missions was normative. Female role models also became accessible through face-to-face encounters during deputation tours, at youth missionary rallies and at Easter Bible class camps. Obituaries of missionaries like Rosalie Macgeorge and Hopestill Pillow (NZBMS), and Nellie MacDuff (CIM), served to further romanticise and idealise the missionary vocation, and to quasi-beatify (or at least sanctify) the woman missionary.

Recent surveys of late nineteenth and early twentieth century American and British missionary literature also reveal that women writers often tended to reinforce, rather than subvert, prevailing western stereotypes of the non-western world and to accentuate notions of racial superiority.<sup>102</sup> Joan Brumberg argues that such literature led to American women constructing a popular ethnological view of their non-western counterparts that was marked by three common themes – intellectual deprivation, domestic oppression, and sexual degradation.<sup>103</sup> This then served to feed back into the motivational mix for missionary fund raising and recruitment amongst women more generally. As noted for the New Zealand context, one of the dominant theological motifs was the great need of the non-Western world. Women's literature tended to feed this perception, and fitted into the thematic schema proposed by Brumberg. Edith Giesen (PIVM/Free Church of Scotland) and Helen MacGregor (United Free Church of Scotland), for example, typically related sad stories about Indian women and children to their Presbyterian constituency through the pages of the *Harvest Field*.<sup>104</sup>

New Zealand women, in highlighting this motif, also emphasised one further thematic strand – the perceived spiritual barrenness and degradation of heathen religions. This was often aimed at Hinduism, but not exclusively. Perhaps typical was this reaction by Rita Dobson (CIM), on visiting a Chinese home:

As I looked at the people my heart ached for them in their great need. One felt if only the Christians the world over could see the need, how they would be inspired to pray more for salvation to be preached to those in darkness. As we see the horrible idols and signs of heathenism everywhere we realise how terrible it is that these people are

<sup>102</sup> For examples of these images see Chapter 4.4, footnote 69.

<sup>103</sup> Brumberg, 'Zenanas and Girlless Villages', pp. 356-367.

<sup>104</sup> For example: 'Some Superstitions of India', *Harvest Field*, March 1906, pp. ii-iii; and 'Letters from Miss McGregor [sic]', *Harvest Field*, October 1908, pp. i-ii.

worshipping and are controlled by evil spirits which have a very real power.... We have no idea of what heathenism means, except that it is something these people need saving from. It means misery and suffering and unhappiness, and at the end an awful death.<sup>105</sup>

In this respect New Zealand women's representation of the non-Western world was no different from that of male writers, or from attitudes held in Australia, Britain and North America.<sup>106</sup> It was partly the reactive product of a predominantly mono-cultural environment in which Christianity was the main religious influence. This was especially so for many New Zealand missionaries who went overseas, often with little or no prior cross-cultural contact with either Maori or minority immigrant groups. The influence of the printed media was powerful. Non-western women and children were constantly cast in a negative light as heathen, benighted, wretched, helpless, down-trodden people who needed the religious, educative and curative technologies of the West. Yet women's literature also highlighted the needs of women and children, and brought the colour and vivacity of the inaccessible and exotic 'other' into many New Zealand homes.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement emerged against the backdrop of this dynamic women's missionary movement. Initially formed in America in 1907, it was an example of the American ability to bring business-like publicity and organisational methods to bear on men's support for foreign missions.<sup>107</sup> It was promoted primarily as a spiritual movement. Yet it was clearly also a business enterprise aimed particularly at men of political and commercial influence. The Rev. F. G. Buckingham noted that:

Men are awakening to the world's need. They are being seized with the conviction that Christianity is a dominant factor in true human progress.... With their business capacity, command of wealth, and power of organisation, they have decided that it shall be done, and they are changing missionary enterprise from a bit of cheap philanthropy to a real business for Jesus Christ.<sup>108</sup>

Lauded in America and Britain as a significant new development, it quickly came to prominence in New Zealand in 1908-1909.<sup>109</sup> By 1910 Baptists and Presbyterians had established committees to oversee its development. The NZBMS and NZBU executive and the PCNZ FMC both expected it to be a significant factor in the growth of missionary support and participation. One PWMU writer commented that 'we have long felt that the mission interest was not what it ought to be, when so large a proportion of

<sup>105</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, October 1929, p. 191, extracted from *China's Millions*.

<sup>106</sup> A fruitful area for further research, however, lies in the comparison (where possible) of the missionaries' original manuscripts compared with the edited versions.

<sup>107</sup> Rabe, *The Home Base of American Missions*, pp. 11-12, 26-36.

<sup>108</sup> 'NZBU Presidential Address, 1908', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1908-1909, p. 21.

<sup>109</sup> *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1908-1909, p. 21; *Outlook*, 15 May 1909, p. 8.

the men had not sufficient enthusiasm to work directly for the promotion of Christ's kingdom beyond the bounds of their immediate congregations. Now we expect a rising tide of interest, more prayer, more giving'.<sup>110</sup>

The New Zealand Laymen's Missionary Movement was more of a volcanic episode than a 'rising tide'. Largely restricted to the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations, between 1910 and 1919, it was never the trans-denominational movement that some had anticipated. Dr William Pettit toured Baptist churches in 1910, aiming to establish branches and enlist the support of business, educational and professional leaders.<sup>111</sup> Subsequent reports indicated that Baptist and Presbyterian branches were formed at the congregational and regional level, but there are no statistics to verify the extent of this growth. Initial enthusiasm was erratic and short-lived. Presbyterian annual reports indicate that signs of growth and enthusiasm one year were often not repeated.<sup>112</sup> The impact of the Laymen's Missionary Movement appeared to be restricted to the years up to World War One. Amongst Baptists this impact was most typically expressed through organised prayer, study groups and regional gatherings for men.<sup>113</sup> Presbyterian men helped to increase the number of missionaries to China in 1912. They also held local conferences, such as one that attracted 100 men in Invercargill in 1914, and financed the distribution of FMC literature to congregations in the Dunedin Presbytery.<sup>114</sup> The most notable achievement was the organisation of the 1913 'Every Member Campaign' that netted £12,670-5s-3d for a hospital in Canton, and for building projects in India.<sup>115</sup>

Baptist references to the movement were sparse after 1913. Reports to the Presbyterian Assembly ended in 1917. In 1918 the Dunedin branch indicated to its national executive that it was amalgamating with a newly formed Presbyterian Men's League.<sup>116</sup> The

<sup>110</sup> *Harvest Field*, December 1909, p. x.

<sup>111</sup> *NZB*, August 1910, pp. 143-144; Supplement, *NZB*, November 1910, between pp. 210 and 211.

<sup>112</sup> Reports for 1911 and 1912 signalled growth in the Wellington Presbytery, but in 1914 it was reported that the movement 'has not caught on here ... and I don't think it can be revived anymore'. 'Reports of the NZ Council of the Laymen's Missionary Movement of the Presbyterian Church, 1911-1912', *PCNZ PGA*, 1911, pp. 201-202 and 1912, pp. 227A-228A; and for 1914 in 'Annual Reports, 1914-1918, NZ Council of the Laymen's Missionary Movement of the PCNZ', N12/1-8, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>113</sup> *MM*, January 1911, p. 1; *NZB*, September 1911, p. 167.

<sup>114</sup> 'LMM Reports, 1912 and 1914', *PCNZ PGA*, 1912, p. 228A; *ibid*, 1914, p. 245; 'Fourth Annual Report, 1914', General Reports on Foreign Missions, 1914-1933, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>115</sup> 14 June 1913, 8 July 1913, 12 August 1913, 14 October 1913, and 11 November 1913, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1901-1913, Series 1, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>116</sup> M. W. Johnson to J. S. Thomson, 17 August 1918, in 'Annual Reports, 1914-1918, New Zealand Council of the Laymen's Missionary Movement of the PCNZ', N12/1-8, PCANZ Archives.

Laymen's Missionary Movement did not take root in New Zealand for a mixture of reasons - primarily its dependence on men already committed to and involved in a range of church, missionary and community responsibilities, and the impact of World War One on people's resources of time, energy and money. Yet the movement's failure raises a more fundamental issue that will be addressed in Chapter 8.3 – that is the extent to which New Zealand's missionary movement was ultimately a women's movement in which men were less centrally or enthusiastically involved.

## 6.5 The Influence of Keswick Style Spirituality

A theological stream reflecting aspects of Keswick spirituality was also important in fertilising and shaping the spirituality, theology and resulting world view of many New Zealanders in this period, and in motivating people towards missionary service. In its early stages it reflected the religious enthusiasm and piety that characterised late nineteenth-century revivalism. After World War One it continued to have these traits, but was also closely identified with the conservative evangelical reaction to modernism. Keswick was a small English Lake's District town where Christian conventions began in the mid-1870s. These were subsequently duplicated in other English-speaking countries. A major missionary focus was introduced from 1885.<sup>117</sup> A holiness movement derived partly from Wesleyan second blessing theology and North American revivalism, Keswick was a blend of evangelical conservatism, Protestant quasi-mysticism, and proto-Pentecostalism. Within a broader context David Bebbington suggests that it was both an expression of evangelicalism's growing socio-cultural introversion, and a late nineteenth-century Romanticist reaction to the Enlightenment.<sup>118</sup>

New Zealanders were aware of Keswick's growing impact through religious literature, and from visitors to Keswick. The visits of the Anglican Keswick style evangelist the Rev. G. C. Grubb, of Eugene Stock (CMS), and of such Keswick speakers as George Wilson and Charles Inwood, brought New Zealanders into more direct contact with the movement's message and flavour from the early 1890s.<sup>119</sup> Convention speakers mediated varying elements of a Keswick style of spirituality. The first such events were

<sup>117</sup> Walter Sloan, 'The Influence of the Keswick Convention on Missionary Work', *International Review of Missions*, 3:12 (1914), pp. 708-712.

<sup>118</sup> David Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, London: Unwin Hyman, 1989, pp. 151-180.

<sup>119</sup> *NZB*, October 1907, p. 275; *ibid*, March 1908, p. 42.

church-based conventions in Dunedin (beginning in 1891) and Auckland (by 1899), and a summer convention at Owaka, South Otago (first recorded for 1896).<sup>120</sup> Over subsequent years similar conventions were held in Queenstown (1903),<sup>121</sup> Pounawea, South Otago (1908), Wanganui (1909), Hamilton (1918), Ngaruawahia, Waikato (1924), and Cambridge (1926).<sup>122</sup> Pounawea and Ngaruawahia were the longest running of these conventions, although not related organisationally. Keswick themes were also encountered by many others in the context of Christian Endeavour, the student movement and at Bible Class camps and conferences. Individual enthusiasts, such as the Rev. Thomas Miller (Presbyterian) and the Rev. A. S. Wilson (Baptist), often preached or wrote on such themes within the context of their own denominations.<sup>123</sup> Women highlighted similar themes, in emphasising dependence upon God (through prayer) and the need for ‘being filled by the Holy Spirit’.<sup>124</sup> Pentecostalism, which arrived in New Zealand in the early 1920s,<sup>125</sup> later developed a number of these same themes.

The New Zealand missionary movement was especially influenced by the Keswick emphasis upon the individual’s relationship with God, and a sense of personal accountability for how that life was to be lived. Keswick spirituality embraced the various elements identified for movements like Christian Endeavour and the SVM – personal conversion, consecration, usefulness, vitality, self-sacrifice, and commitment. At the same time Keswick provided a theological viewpoint that underlay the various surface expressions of spirituality like self-sacrifice and service. Bishop H. C. G. Moule summed this up, first, as ‘Christ in us’ - ‘Christ our power for internal simplicity and cleansing’ - and, secondly, as ‘Christ over us’:

<sup>120</sup> *OW*, 30 March 1899, p. 12; *Christian Outlook*, 9 January 1897, p. 599; *White Already to Harvest*, November 1899, pp. 153-155.

<sup>121</sup> Bracketed dates are those in which first mention was found, in the published sources, for these conventions. It was not always clear whether these continued or were one-off events.

<sup>122</sup> *Outlook*, 10 January 1903, pp.3-5; *ibid*, 9 January 1909, p. 6; *ibid*, 20 February 1909, p. 29; *ibid*, 19 January 1925, p. 28; *ibid*, 17 January 1927, p. 7; *NZB*, March 1918, p. 36.

<sup>123</sup> Wilson, son-in-law of the Australian Baptist missionary enthusiast the Rev. Silas Mead, was a popular convention speaker and often published his addresses as compilations. His book *Faith’s Fight* (Auckland: Scott & Scott Limited, 1933) included an address entitled ‘Christian Missions - Reflex Benefits of Self-Denial’ (dated c. 1910), of which the NZBMS had 2,500 copies printed in 1911. In 1908 he addressed the Baptist Union on the need for ‘Pentecostal Christianity’. *MM*, August 1907, p. 1; *NZB*, December 1908, pp. 233-235; April 1911, NZBMS Committee Meetings 1911-1931, Box A47, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>124</sup> PWMU Conference Paper by Mrs Mackay, *Harvest Field*, December 1908, pp. iv-vi.

<sup>125</sup> Davidson, *Christianity in Aotearoa*, p. 107. That Pentecostalism took an early interest in foreign missions was evidenced in an advertisement for a missionary meeting of the Pentecostal Church of New Zealand in 1927, and the application of three Pentecostals to the CIM in 1925 and 1927. *New Zealand Herald*, 2 April 1927, p. 16; CIM Register of Candidates, 1893-1937, Cabinet A1, OMF Archives.



Christ ... the Master... He is the Master because He made us.... [and] even more, the Master of us in grace. When we had fallen away as a race, and as individuals, He gave Himself for us, that He might have us unutterably for His own, that He might possess us as a people of His own possession, that we might be altogether His own property, and then respond to Him altogether.... This great truth of Christ over us by every claim of lordship, sovereignty, and possession – this is the other side of Keswick’s distinctive message to Christian hearts’.<sup>126</sup>

This style of spirituality was concerned with the issue of Christian sanctification - that is the unfolding process of becoming more like Christ throughout one’s life. It particularly emphasised the need for a believer to submit or surrender to God, so that this process could be worked out as a matter of God’s indwelling grace and power. In this schema the Christian life could then be ‘a life of continuous victory [over sin]’ in which ‘God is able to give exceeding abundant grace to every soul’.<sup>127</sup> Common catchwords at New Zealand conventions included ‘the overcoming [or victorious] life’, ‘filling with the spirit’, ‘deepening of the spiritual life’, ‘religion as experience’, ‘the gracious indwelling of the Spirit of God’, and ‘the surrendered life’.<sup>128</sup> In effect this message helped to create a two-tiered understanding of Christianity that distinguished between those who settled for a mundane faith, and those who sought a deeper and higher spiritual life. Conventions were typically times when individuals, confronted with this message, often made what they perceived to be the leap from one to the other.

An extended quotation from a New Zealand CIM missionary’s narrative clarifies how this worked out for particular individuals. Olive Searle recalled that as a young adult:

My joy and satisfaction, however, were not wholly in the Lord at this time, for I still sought enjoyment in the pleasures of the world. Through ignorance of the Word of God, I did not know, as I do now, that in the Lord Jesus there was a fullness and completeness of joy and peace that nothing in the world could give. As I grew older I longed more for this abiding peace and satisfaction. I sought to obtain it by working harder for the Lord, but I did not get it, and I was very conscious of such failure and weakness, and began to doubt if it were really possible to live the Christian life. At this critical time God graciously flooded my soul with the light I so much needed. I heard an address on “Attaining the Unattainable,” or “How to Live the Victorious Life,” and I saw I had been trying to live in my own strength. I discovered that I was a temple of the Holy Ghost. So, according to my light, I gladly yielded my life to the guidance and control of God’s Holy Spirit. Later, and consequent upon this experience, I became conscious of a growing desire to be out wholly in the Lord’s service; I felt it was not enough to be giving just my spare time to His work.

<sup>126</sup> ‘The Victorious Christian Life’, *Biblical Recorder*, July 1923, p. 221. Bishop Moule was a key figure in linking the spirituality of Keswick with higher education for prospective CMS missionaries at Cambridge University, 1881-1899. See Andrew Porter, ‘Cambridge, Keswick and late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Africa’, *JICH*, 5:1 (1976), pp.12-19.

<sup>127</sup> ‘Religious Conferences’, *Christian Outlook*, 10 April 1897, p. 121.

<sup>128</sup> *NZB*, October 1907, p. 257; *ibid*, March 1908, p. 42; *ibid*, February 1910, p. 29; *Christian Outlook*, 9 January 1896, p. 599; *Outlook*, 15 January 1909, p. 11; *ibid*, 22 January 1918, p. 7.

[Later as a NZBTI student]....

When I first began to be exercised about China, I tried to account for it in many ways rather than acknowledge it as coming from my all-wise and loving Heavenly Father.... Some time passed in this way before I realised that I must decide on one of two steps. Either trust God for China or have my own way and be as a vessel marred in the hands of the potter.... So, by His grace I willingly gave myself to God for China if He so willed.<sup>129</sup>

The apparently formulaic character of the contents of this quote raises a number of interpretative issues (Chapter 7.3). It does, however, point to a degree of resonance with Andrew Porter's conclusion, for the English context, that 'as Keswick stressed the idea of personal commitment and service as the expression of true holiness, so for many ... full attainment of the promises of the Higher Life and the obligation to take up missionary work became synonymous'.<sup>130</sup> In the New Zealand context one was a logical next step from the other – and one that was less restricted for men, with the availability of ministry training and ordination. In Keswick spirituality, however, there were theoretically no barriers of gender or of socio-economic status. This 'deepening of the spiritual life' was freely available for everyone, as was a life of purposeful, surrendered service. Missionary service was a logical next step.

The impact of this stream was also felt through the emphasis on foreign missions in convention programmes. This was evident at the Owaka Convention in December 1896, where Charles Reeve (PIVM) was the main speaker.<sup>131</sup> Earlier, in 1890 and 1892, the Rev. G. C. Grubb held missionary meetings in a number of localities, obviously deeming these to be an important part of his overall evangelistic campaign. Four of the early NZCMA missionaries (Marie Pasley, Della Hunter-Brown, Isabella McCallum and Florence Smith) stated that Grubb's visit had been the catalyst for their application.<sup>132</sup> At the 1902-1903 Queenstown Convention one of the noted highlights was the presence of Manoramabai and Minnie Abrams of the Ramabai Mukti Mission. Abrams, an American Methodist missionary, was later a leading missionary exponent of the holiness and early Pentecostal movements.<sup>133</sup> A major outcome of this convention was the formation of a New Zealand auxiliary for the Ramabai Mukti Mission.

<sup>129</sup> 'Testimony of Olive Searle', *China's Millions*, October 1924, p. 151.

<sup>130</sup> Andrew Porter, 'Cambridge, Keswick and late Nineteenth Century Attitudes to Africa', p. 19.

<sup>131</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 9 January 1897, p. 599.

<sup>132</sup> 'Pasley', ANG 143/3.98, Box 13; 'Hunter-Brown', ANG 143/3.68, Box 10; 'McCallum', ANG 143/3.86, Box 12; 'Smith', ANG 143/3.105, Box 14 – NZCMS Archives.

<sup>133</sup> *Outlook*, 10 January 1903, pp. 3-5; Gary B. McGee, 'Minnie F. Abrams', in Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, p. 3; Dana Robert, *American Women in Mission*, pp. 244-248.

The largest of these conventions, independently held at Pounawea and Ngaruawahia, each incorporated a strong emphasis on missionary support and recruitment. In the 1920s the Ngaruawahia Convention programme booklet included photos and details of missionaries who had been past campers, along with details of how they could be supported. Various faith mission representatives attended and a quarterly newsletter of updated missionary news was also offered. Campers were exhorted 'to volunteer for Missionary work' or at least 'to pray and work for those who are now serving God in distant lands'.<sup>134</sup> A regular feature of both conventions was the inclusion of missionaries in the line-up of key speakers. Pounawea often included returned local missionaries and representatives or leaders of familiar organisations like the CIM and BIM, as well as other groups like the Presbyterian Church of Tasmania New Hebrides Mission, the Ceylon and Indian General Mission, and the Evangelical Union of South America.<sup>135</sup> Programmes also deliberately included opportunities in which people could pray for missionaries, sing missionary hymns and personally respond to the missionary vocation.

Substantial numbers of people attended the conventions. Reports for Pounawea regularly cited attendance of between 150 and 200 people as campers or day visitors. The meeting tent had space enough to seat 300 people.<sup>136</sup> Attendance at Ngaruawahia grew gradually, as its reputation became established in the central and upper North Island, but numbers are less easy to gauge. A report for 1927 cited 570 campers, of which 400 were aged between fifteen and thirty.<sup>137</sup> Each year a good proportion of these were day visitors, whose participation in all aspects of the Convention would have been more limited.<sup>138</sup> Denominational representation may have varied depending on the region in which a convention was held but, overall, attendees from most of the main denominational groupings (including Anglicans) were to be found at these events.

We can at least speculate, then, that the conventions had a broad impact in terms of missionary awareness and ongoing support. They were reported on favourably in denominational newspapers, and appeared to sustain a general interest throughout the period. It is less easy, however, to be categorical as to their statistical impact on

<sup>134</sup> 'Ngaruawahia Easter Camp Programmes, 1926-1927', Item 507, Box 659/99, Les W. Rushbrook Archive.

<sup>135</sup> *Outlook*, 7 January 1913, pp. 8, 25-26; *ibid*, 22 January 1918, p. 7; *NZB*, February 1925, p. 38.

<sup>136</sup> *Outlook*, 7 January 1913, pp. 8, 25-26.

<sup>137</sup> *New Zealand Herald*, 21 April 1927, p. 10.

<sup>138</sup> 'The Visitors and Campers Book', 1922-1929, Box 659/99, Les W. Rushbrook Archive.

missionary support and participation. Much evidence is of the anecdotal kind, representative amongst which was the nebulous report that many people left the 1911 Pounawea Convention ‘fully resolved, by God’s grace, to launch themselves out into the deep, to cut the shore lines that have bound them so long, and in the ocean divine ... cast the net at the Master’s bidding’.<sup>139</sup> Statistics of such events were often imprecise, conflicting, and open to interpretation. Pounawea was credited, in two separate reports for 1929 and 1930, with having provided seventeen and thirty missionary volunteers. At Ngaruawahia, in 1926, over half the camp ‘rose to their feet in token of surrender’ for missionary service.<sup>140</sup> Broader evidence in application records and missionary testimonies certainly points to congruity with the themes found in the narrative of Olive Searle. Elements of Keswick style theology and spirituality, combined with the high profile of foreign missions at conventions, served to normalise and further entrench missionary support and involvement. That this was an enduring movement was highlighted at the Pounawea Convention’s Fiftieth Anniversary in 1958. Between 400 and 500 people mixed, on ‘Missionary Day’, with visiting New Zealand missionaries from the Maori Mission, Peru, Japan, Papua, Sudan, Malaya and India.<sup>141</sup>

## 6.6 The Influence of Modernism and Conservative Evangelicalism

In 1911, the Rev. John Takle noted with some concern that:

Innumerable articles and bewildering proposals have been thrown off the printing presses of the world, and they have exercised the minds of many a faithful soul as to where they stand in regard to faith in Christ. The criticism of the Bible, Evolution, Socialism, and the findings of certain scientists.... All this religious unrest at Home, affecting both laymen and ministers, has a tremendous influence on the conception and work of missions.... For example the ‘New Theology’ with its higher pantheism can never help missions. Such views undermine the missionary imperative.<sup>142</sup>

New Zealanders were well aware of contemporary developments in the sciences, in literary and Biblical criticism, and in political philosophy, and of their implications for Christian thought and practice. In the mid to late nineteenth century there had been energetic and sympathetic debate over Darwin’s theory of evolution. By 1910 several Presbyterian clergy had also faced heresy charges.<sup>143</sup> It was obvious that the theological landscape of Western Protestantism was beginning to change. Growing rifts within

<sup>139</sup> *Outlook*, 9 January 1912, pp. 8, 25-26.

<sup>140</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 7:9 (1929), p. 202; *ibid*, 8:10 (1930), p. 237; [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 4:3 (1926), p. 78.

<sup>141</sup> *Otago Daily Times*, 9 January 1959, p. 9.

<sup>142</sup> ‘Address to Australasian Baptist missionaries in East Bengal’, *Our Bond*, January 1912, pp. 11-12.

<sup>143</sup> In McEldowney (ed.), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa*, pp. 53-54, 99-100.

Protestant Christianity, the emergence of fundamentalism, and the implications of these for the missionary movement are important themes in American religious historiography. Whilst they are also important themes in the history of other Western societies, it is less certain that American analytical categories or terminology transfer so easily. British and New Zealand studies indicate that the debates over theological doctrine, biblical criticism and hermeneutics, and the relationship of the Church to the dominant culture, were all less divisive or acrimonious than in America. Furthermore the term ‘fundamentalism’ needs to be understood within the particular contexts within which it took root, as the product of a few particularly influential denominational leaders.<sup>144</sup> Therefore the extent to which these debates had an impact on the New Zealand missionary movement up to 1930 was limited to certain groups and contexts.

There is little direct evidence for the kind of reflexive impact of theological modernism identified by Xi Lian for American missionaries in China.<sup>145</sup> Most post-war applicants framed their doctrinal statements in fairly orthodox terms. Those few who stated a modernist bent were somewhat ambivalent in their stance. John Allan (Presbyterian applicant) supported a ‘modern attitude towards Scripture’, rejected the Virgin Birth, and was uncertain about the bodily resurrection of both Jesus and Christian believers. At the same time he was quick to point out that ‘as regards fundamental evangelical doctrines such as salvation by faith, you can assure the Committee that I am delightfully orthodox’.<sup>146</sup> It is likely, however, that a number of New Zealand missionaries did experience change in their own theological and missiological perspectives, particularly those working in union ventures in China. There is also little evidence that many New Zealand missionaries of this period resigned in protest over liberalising tendencies amongst missionaries. We have already noted the case of John and Mrs Falls (CIM) in

<sup>144</sup> D. W. Bebbington, ‘Baptists and Fundamentalism in Inter-War Britain’, in K. Robbins (ed.), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750-1950*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 7, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, pp. 297-326; Allan K. Davidson, ‘A Protesting Presbyterian: The Reverend P. B. Fraser and New Zealand Presbyterianism, 1892-1940’, *JRH*, 14:2 (1986), pp. 193-217; Jane Simpson, ‘Joseph W. Kemp: Prime Interpreter of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand in the 1920s’, in Douglas Pratt (ed.), *“Rescue the Perishing”*, pp. 23-41; John Stenhouse, ‘The Rev. Dr James Copland and the Mind of New Zealand Fundamentalism’, *JRH*, 17:4 (1993), pp. 475-497.

<sup>145</sup> Xi Lian argues that ‘liberalism among the China missionaries expressed itself in a departure from traditional church doctrines and the literal reading of the Bible, and in its preoccupation with the regeneration of society.... [and] was characterised above all by its proclivity towards religious and cultural synthesis – its search for an underlying unity between Christianity and the religions of the East’. *The Conversion of Missionaries: Liberalism in American Protestant Missions, 1907-1932*, University Park Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992.

<sup>146</sup> ‘John Allan’, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCNZ FMC, GA0001, Series 3, PCANZ Archives.

Chapter 5.5. The only other such case was that of Elizabeth Stinson (NZCMS). Originally from Christchurch, Elizabeth had transferred to the NZCMA in 1913, after five years working in China with the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.<sup>147</sup> In January 1925 she offered her resignation to the NZCMS Executive in apparent protest over the growing influence of modernist theology in China. She was ‘very grieved about the state of the Church’, citing the experience of an ex-student now in ministry and the numbers of missionaries who had either not joined the recently formed Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society or a missionary Bible Union formed earlier in China. It appears that Elizabeth later followed up these convictions by being re-baptised in a Baptist Church in China, an act that would most likely have disqualified her from further Anglican missionary service.<sup>148</sup> This appeared to be an isolated incident. There was no major defection of New Zealand missionaries to other societies, and no organisational schism such as the formation of the breakaway British Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society in 1922.<sup>149</sup> Rather it was more likely that a missionary’s theology was reflected in the sort of organisation to which s/he first applied, particularly as the 1920s and 1930s unfolded.

After World War One some of the non-denominational missionary organisations, and their supporters, cast themselves as the true defenders of evangelical faith. In part this was a defensive measure, designed to maintain a degree of perceived theological purity and of quality control over potential recruits. Netta Yansen (CVM) initially applied to the New South Wales CIM in 1922, but was essentially rejected because her views on ‘eternal punishment’ and biblical interpretation did not satisfy the Council members who interviewed her.<sup>150</sup> Similarly, in response to the 1925 NZSCM report on missionary policy, one commentator sought in some detail to delineate the ‘dangers of the present position’ adopted in the report. Primarily these were an overemphasis on the terms ‘fatherhood of God’ and ‘brotherhood of man’ (which served to blur distinctions

<sup>147</sup> H. Herbert to Kimberley, 15 December 1913, ‘Stinson’, ANG 143/3.115, Box 15, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>148</sup> Stinson to Canon J.R. Dart, 19 January 1925, *ibid*; D. H. C Bartlett to Canon J. R. Dart, 20 January 1926, ANG 143/3.11, Box 4, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>149</sup> The Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society was formed in October 1922, in protest over the perceived acceptance by the CMS of missionaries with modernist views or tendencies. Between 1922 and 1947 over 300 missionaries served with this new organisation. The NZCMS was not affected by this development, although there may have been an attempt by some individuals to recruit interest around 1925. W. S. Hooton and J. Stafford Wright, *The First Twenty Five Years of the Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, 1922-1947*, London: The Bible Churchmen’s Missionary Society, 1947, pp. 1-16, 226-230; 13 October 1925, Minutes of the NZCMS Executive, 1923-1941, ANG 143/1.2, Box 1, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>150</sup> ‘Yansen’, Staff Files, 1901-1930, CVM (GA0148), Series 6.53, PCANZ Archives.

between ‘the saved and the unsaved’), and a misunderstanding of the concept of the ‘Kingdom of God’. The writer concluded that these would weaken foreign missions, warning that ‘it is at our peril that we turn aside from our divinely appointed task to some fascinating programme of social betterment and internationalism’.<sup>151</sup>

These organisations positively perceived themselves to be in continuity with the orthodox past, but quite self-consciously discontinuous with the unorthodox present. They emphasised what they represented, rather than what they did not represent. This was most clearly defined in the 1927 version of the BIM ‘Doctrinal Standards’. When compared with its original 1908 version, the changes and their rationale are most striking (typescript in bold font denotes 1927 changes or additions).

**The standards of the Mission are the doctrines of grace expressed in the evangelical Faith; founded on and in agreement with the Bible as the Word of God – not as merely containing the Word of God.** All members of the Mission must subscribe to and continue to hold and defend the following points of the **Evangelical Faith**:

1. The Trinity of God – **God the Father, Jesus Christ His Son our Lord, the Holy Spirit.**
2. The Scriptures **of the Old and New Testaments in their entirety as the Word of God**; their **Divine** inspiration and **infallible** authority.
3. The fall of man, his state **of sin through the fall** and his need of the new birth.
4. **The Deity of our Lord Jesus Christ and his Virgin Birth.**
5. Full atonement **for sin** through the death of Christ.
6. **Salvation** as the free gift of God’s grace and justification by faith.
7. **The bodily resurrection of Christ from the dead, His ascension into Heaven, His high-priestly intercession on behalf of believers and His coming again.**
8. The **Premillennial Coming** of the Lord, the Resurrection of the body, the **Everlasting Life and Blessedness of the Redeemed and the Eternal Punishment of the Lost.**<sup>152</sup>

Additional changes to the document’s 1927 text also included the following. Requisite training had to be done in ‘any accredited **evangelical** Missionary Training Home **or Bible School**’. If a missionary became ‘conscious that his or her view in regard to any of these doctrines has undergone a change, **leading to doubt or rejection of them**, he or she must ... communicate the fact to the Field Council and be prepared to resign’. Organisations like the BIM effectively drew a line in the sand, in terms of their own

<sup>151</sup> It is possible that the writer of these comments was Dr William Pettit who, by this stage, was increasingly strident in his criticism of the NZSCM’s direction. Typewritten report found in ‘Pacific Basin Tour 1926 – NZ’, Series VII, Biographical Documentation, 2590/156, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

<sup>152</sup> ‘Bolivian Indian Mission Principles and Practice, 1908’, Minutes of the New Zealand Council of the BIM, 1908-1916, Box 5; and ‘Principles and Practice of the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1927’, in Minutes of the Field Conferences of the BIM, 1913-1945, [Bound Volume], BIM Archives.

identity and task. They sought to build a support base and work force that emotionally and theologically identified with those same beliefs and values. These organisations would become culturally and numerically dominant over successive decades. The net effect was the division of Protestant missionary endeavour into two increasingly estranged camps, even though their mode of operation was often quite similar.<sup>153</sup>

Finally the controversies and debate of the post-war period had a particular impact through a set of related evangelical ‘institutions’ – the NZBTI, the *NZBTI Reaper*, and conventions like Ngaruawahia. The common factor in all of these was the Rev. Joseph Kemp. An English Baptist minister with an international reputation as a public orator, pastor, evangelist and Bible teacher, Kemp took over as Minister of the Auckland Baptist Tabernacle in 1920. He was in many ways a controversial figure - pugilistic and doctrinaire - and yet an alluring speaker and admired by many. It was perhaps a measure of New Zealand’s relatively small population that one man effectively became what Jane Simpson calls New Zealand’s ‘prime interpreter’ of American fundamentalism.<sup>154</sup> There were other such individuals, most prominent amongst which were clergymen like P. B. Fraser, Thomas Miller, A. A. Murray and Ford Carlisle. Their impact was restricted to denominational, congregational or regional contexts. Kemp was able to cast a wider national and interdenominational net. Foreign missions were integral to Kemp’s anti-modernist and pro-conservative evangelical stance, and to his underlying evangelistic zeal. At the 1929 ‘Great Bible Demonstration’ in Auckland, he noted that modernism ‘is working havoc among the [Asian] converts’. He further labelled the use of Christian money by so-called modernist missionaries as ‘morally indefensible’, lamenting that modernism was ‘a menace to the whole work of God’.<sup>155</sup>

Kemp initiated the idea of an Auckland based Bible Training Institute in 1922 from a combination of personal conviction and experience, and in the face of increasing demand. The 1920s saw significant growth in such institutions world wide, as

<sup>153</sup> Grant Wacker notes that the only real point of difference was the ‘virtually unbridgeable’ gap over the nature of non-Christian religions. Otherwise they were often united by the need to survive and by an overarching sense of Western superiority. Grant Wacker, ‘Second Thoughts on The Great Commission: Liberal Protestants and Foreign Missions, 1890-1940’, in J. A. Carpenter and W. R. Shenk (eds), *Earthen Vessels*, pp. 281-285.

<sup>154</sup> Jane Simpson, ‘Joseph W. Kemp: Prime Interpreter of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand in the 1920s’, pp. 23-27; Jane Simpson, ‘Kemp, Joseph William 1872-1933’, *DNZB*, updated 4 April 2003 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>.

<sup>155</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 7:2 (1929), p. 29.



evangelical churches sought alternative or supplementary lay training options.<sup>156</sup> Founded ‘under a deep and pressing sense of the claims of the heathen world’, its aim was ‘to train men and women of any evangelical faith for Christian Service in the Home and Foreign Lands’.<sup>157</sup> It provided a mixture of academic and vocational education, with an emphasis on biblical knowledge and application, doctrine, practical training and practical experience. Foreign missions were an integral part of both the curriculum and of extra-curricular activities, with courses offered in mission theology and history, Spanish, first aid and elementary medicine.<sup>158</sup> At various times there was also a ‘Students’ Missionary Committee’ and regular weekly missionary evenings ‘for widening the students’ knowledge of the mission fields throughout the world’.<sup>159</sup> Overseas and New Zealand missionary speakers were regular visitors at the Institute. Students were also often drawn into missionary events at the nearby Baptist Tabernacle, from where a significant number of missionaries departed. The *Reaper*, established in 1923, was a multi-purpose monthly magazine that soon became a national voice-piece for Kemp’s views and Bible teaching skills, and a useful means of both advertising the NZBTI, and of keeping graduates in touch with one another. It carried a clear and consistent missionary emphasis, through its articles, general snippets of missionary ‘intelligence’, and updates on the activities of graduate missionaries. Missionary content was a curious blend of late nineteenth-century traditionalism and contemporary stories. Together with the NZBTI and the Ngaruawahia Convention, it ensured that foreign missions retained a high profile amongst its evangelical constituency.

Given its prescribed theological parameters and constituency, the NZBTI might arguably have had a limited impact upon the missionary movement. The evidence suggests otherwise. Missionary graduates entering non-denominational organisations accounted for much of the growth from the mid-1920s (Chapter 5.4). These graduates were evenly balanced gender-wise (as was the Institute’s wider student body), came from a relatively broad geographical and denominational background, and went to a diverse range of international locations (Table 6.2 and Figure 6.4).

<sup>156</sup> ‘The Bible Training Institute Idea’, [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 1:1 (1923), p. 5; ‘The Value of the Bible Training School’, [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 5:8 (1927), pp. 200-203.

<sup>157</sup> ‘Prospectus, c. 1923’, p. 9; ‘Prospectus, c. 1928’, p. 6. Box 963/02, Les W. Rushbrook Archive.

<sup>158</sup> ‘Prospectus, c. 1928’, pp. 15-20.

<sup>159</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 3:4 (1925), p. 107; *ibid*, 7:4 (1929), p. 102.

**Table 6.2 – Origins and Denominations of NZBTI Students, 1922-1930<sup>160</sup>**

Geographical Origin	%	Denomination	%
Northland/Auckland	46	Anglican	1
Waikato	5	Baptist	46
Bay of Plenty	0.9	Brethren	17
Taranaki	0.9	Church of Christ	1
Hawkes Bay/East Coast	4	Congregational	2
Wanganui/Manawatu	5	Methodist	5
Wairarapa	0.5	Presbyterian	18
Wellington	3	UEC <sup>161</sup>	3
Nelson/Marlborough	1	Undenominational	4
West Coast	0.5	Other <sup>162</sup>	2
Canterbury	8		
Otago	11		
Southland	12		
Overseas	2		

Whilst the dominance of both Auckland and Baptist students might be expected, these figures indicate that conservative evangelicalism was not denominationally or geographically confined. There was a broad denominational constituency that perceived the NZBTI to be a viable training option, especially with missionary service in mind. The figures also indicate that, whilst the NZBTI was a genuinely national institution, it still drew on specific geographic heartlands of missionary enthusiasm. For example, fifty-three per cent of the students from Otago and Southland in the 1920s came from smaller towns and rural localities. In the midst of an urbanising society, there were still significant pools of vibrant church life and financial resources to be found in rural areas. Conservative evangelicalism's impact was as much in the missionary ethos, theology and spirituality it nurtured as in the numbers of missionaries it contributed. Specific evangelical 'institutions' like the NZBTI aided significantly in this process.<sup>163</sup> At the same time, due perhaps to specific factors like Kemp's evangelistic and pietistic concerns and his emphasis on what Simpson calls 'orthopraxis' (that is greater emphasis on 'correct behaviour and practice of one's faith' than on 'correct belief'), it may well be that 1920s conservative evangelicalism contributed more to a 'popular piety' that, in turn, found a potent outlet in missionary support and involvement.<sup>164</sup>

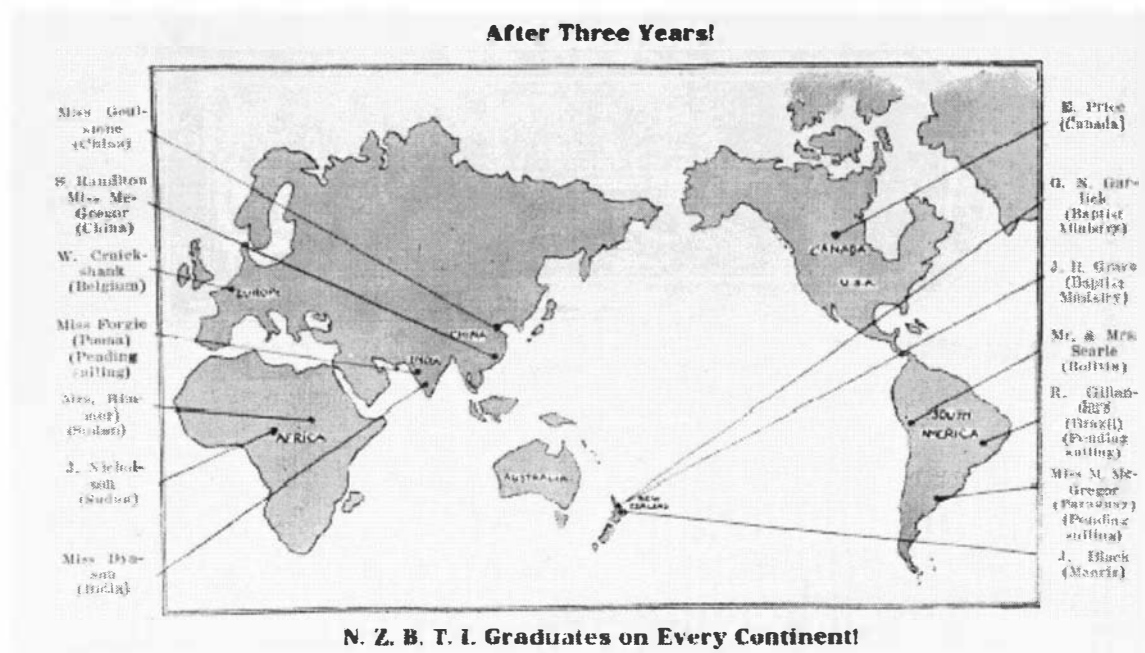
<sup>160</sup> Student Record Cards, 1922-1962, Two Boxes, Secure Safe, Les W. Rushbrook Archive.

<sup>161</sup> This was the United Evangelical Church which was located in Newmarket, Auckland.

<sup>162</sup> One Quaker, one 'Richmond Mission', one Salvation Army, and one from 'Pilgrim Homes, USA'.

<sup>163</sup> This mirrored American evangelical patterns. Joel A. Carpenter, 'Fundamentalist Institutions and the Rise of Evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942', *Church History*, 49:1 (1980), pp.66-73.

<sup>164</sup> Simpson, 'Joseph W. Kemp: Prime Interpreter of American Fundamentalism in New Zealand in the 1920s', pp. 39-40.

**Figure 6.4 – Overseas Destinations of NZBTI Graduates, 1922-1925<sup>165</sup>**

Two final observations can usefully be made at this point. Firstly, all these diverse contributory factors were constantly shaping and refining not just what New Zealand Christians thought about the world, but also how they understood and constructed their particular place in the world. It is in this respect that we can conceive of the missionary movement more particularly as a *mentalité* (Chapter 1.4). The contours of this *mentalité*, in the New Zealand context, were hinted at in a colourful description of the NZBTI graduation service in 1929 (and will be considered again in Chapter Nine):

The marking of the map of the world proved a unique finale to a great gathering, and in striking fashion linked the big congregation with the students who have gone out to regions overseas in obedience to the great commission “Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel.” From the elevated pulpit of the Tabernacle students threw amongst the audience coloured streamers which were pinned on to a large map of the world, the position of the various mission fields being thus clearly indicated. Streamers thus connected relatives and friends with loved ones who had left all and followed the Lord Jesus to the great beckoning fields of India, China, Islands of the Pacific, Africa, Palestine, and South America. Thus with heartfelt praise and thanksgiving the great congregation rose and sang the closing hymn

“Jesus shall reign where’ere the sun,  
Doth his successive journeys run  
His Kingdom stretch from shore to shore,  
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.”

.... May we who remain at home and “hold the ropes,” be faithful labourers together in prayer on their behalf.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>165</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, October 1925, p. 224.

<sup>166</sup> [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 7:11 (1929), p. 269.

Secondly, this *mentalité* had taken firm root amongst New Zealand Christians. Two indicators give a sense of the extent to which this was happening by the 1920s. The first was the relatively long time period between applicants' initial interest and date of application (Table 6.3), and the early age at which interest was often first registered.

**Table 6.3 – Applicants' Length of Missionary Interest, 1890-1930<sup>167</sup>**

Details	Dates of Application or Enquiry			
	1890s	1900s	1910s	1920s
Mean Interest (Years)	6	9	7	6
Median Interest (Years)	5	9	6	5
Range (Years)	1-21	2-19	1-28	1-32
Decade of Initial Interest (%) <sup>168</sup>				
1870s	7	-	-	-
1880s	33	11	-	-
1890s	60	55	16	2
1900s	-	34	48	14
1910s	-	-	36	33
1920s	-	-	-	36

Missionary interest was not an overnight phenomenon, because many applicants displayed a prolonged interest over many years. Longevity of interest was greatest for those applying in the period between 1900 and 1919 – the period in which the movement and its increasingly sophisticated organisational apparatus was consolidated. Furthermore applicants in the 1890s and 1920s often had their interest piqued within those same decades – which adds further weight to the argument that these decades were the two temporal polarities around which pronounced missionary growth revolved. Data on first age of interest further corroborates the impression that this *mentalité* was well entrenched. The median age of first interest for this sample of applicants was nineteen years, with ten being the modal age value. Interest possibly occurred earlier for women than for men. Sixty-three per cent of women indicated that their interest occurred either in childhood or up to late adolescence, as opposed to forty-seven per cent of men. However these differences might be interpreted, it was apparent that the contributory factors were effective in nurturing a missionary *mentalité* from a young age or over many years, that led many to take the next step of application or enquiry.<sup>169</sup>

<sup>167</sup> Calculated from applicant and missionary data for the CIM, NZCMA/S and the PCNZ.

<sup>168</sup> Percentages need to be read down each column, so that seven per cent applying in the 1890s dated their missionary interest to the 1870s, thirty-three per cent to the 1880s and sixty per cent to the 1890s.

<sup>169</sup> Langmore notes similar patterns amongst missionaries to Papua in the same period up to 1914. Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, pp. 35-37.

The second indicator suggests that, for many churchgoers, there was a well-entrenched climate of expectation that missionary service represented the pinnacle of Christian life and service. This was hinted at in a number of applicant narratives, amongst which Alice Hercus wrote ‘I feel that I cannot settle to work at home, until Foreign Work has been found inadvisable’. More explicitly the Rev. Oliver Kimberley reassured one unsuccessful NZCMS applicant by saying that ‘there is just this satisfaction, that you have faced the question which so many have failed to do, and thus cannot blame yourself for remaining in the homeland’.<sup>170</sup> This expectation was often highly internalised, as evidenced by the various degrees of anguish that some applicants went through. Kate Cooper (NZCMA applicant), for example, struggled for several months over the decision to apply. Having initially assumed that she should offer for service, it was with a good deal of remorse (and perhaps a hint of relief) that she finally retracted her initial offer to the NZCMA in 1910.<sup>171</sup> This expectation also reflected a fair degree of perceived public pressure to conform to a commonly accepted norm. Missionary service, as a concrete expression of this underlying *mentalité*, was an increasingly accepted ideal both in corporate church life and in the spiritual understanding of individual New Zealand Christians of this period. It is in light of this that discussion now turns to the more vexed issue of missionary motivation.

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<sup>170</sup> ‘Alice Hercus’, PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates, PCANZ Archives; Kimberley to Rev. Henry Wright, 25 June 1919, ‘Wright’, ANG 143/3.131, Box 17, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>171</sup> ‘Cooper’, ANG 143/3.28, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

## Chapter Seven

### Understanding Missionary Motivation, 1868-1926

#### 7.1 Introduction

In April 1913 Mona Dean, of Napier, wrote a letter of enquiry to the New Zealand Church Missionary Association. Mona was the nineteen-year-old daughter of an Anglican vicar, and just out of high school. Her interest in missionary work had been aroused at a student conference the previous summer. She was specifically interested in becoming a music teacher in China. In her initial enquiry Mona wrote:

This has been puzzling me ... whether it is God's Will that I should go. I am only nineteen, and how can I tell whether it will be His Will at say 23 or four? In many ways my idea is of duty.... But when at Rangiora Conference ... it came to me suddenly that here was something I could do for Christ, and it seems now as if all my life has been working up to this point.... There is only one place in all the world where your life can obtain the maximum of usefulness and blessedness and that is the one place where God would have you be.... There is this thought also in my mind if Christ did so much for me such [sic] I can give up my life, to help those in [the] mission field who are trying to extend his Kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The Rev. Oliver Kimberley re-assured Mona, with some sensible advice about training and preparation. Later, because the way was not opening up for music teaching, he suggested that she qualify for missionary work 'in the ordinary way', which would mean university or a professional course such as nursing or teaching.<sup>2</sup> In response Mona complained that to gain matriculation and professional qualifications would delay her departure interminably. Further she argued that her first love of music would be lost:

Would it be right to give up the talent God has given you on which you have spent all your time and energy and money, in trying to develop, for something quite strange? Music draws me, so, it would be a big thing to give up, but I hope I should do so if God willed it. But at present I can't see daylight.... My father will object to my giving up the music I am afraid.<sup>3</sup>

Three years later, in the light of a possible music teaching position in Ceylon, the correspondence came to an end. Mona did not, it seems, end up going overseas as a NZCMA missionary. Her final correspondence contained a mixed set of sentiments:

But there are these reasons in the way, my father has been very ill.... Don't you think it is my place to work hard and earn as much as possible, for the only other earning member of the family is my brother and he is at the war. [Further] I am sure Dad will object on account of my health.... The last reason is you know how unfit I am to take up a position in the Mission Field. I don't know my Bible nearly well enough and I have not even touched the subjects in connection with my 1<sup>st</sup> Grade [Theology] exam.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 'Mona Dean', ANG 143/3.35, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>2</sup> Kimberley to Dean, 23 April 1913 and 22 October 1913, ANG 143/3.35, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Dean to Kimberley, 9 November 1913, 'Mona Dean', ANG 143/3.35, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>4</sup> Dean to Kimberley, 12 February 1916, 'Mona Dean', ANG 143/3.35, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

From the perspective of historical enquiry the correspondence raises a number of intriguing questions. What was the source of such a confident conviction? What was significant in the confused mix of theological, spiritual and personal sentiments? Was this a misguided notion or indicative of a deeper and more tenacious set of expectations, sentiments and values? To what extent was there the interplay of individual personality and compulsion, and of wider socio-religious influences? What was the role of age or gender? Was there dissonance between the populist religious context from which such thinking emerged and the realities of missionary training and work?

Mona Dean's application indicates some of the complexities and ambiguities that must be weighed together. Robert Glen's observation that 'in missionary service there were various layers of motivation which might come into play together or at varying stages in a missionary's life' is a sensible caution against seeking simplistic or categorical answers.<sup>5</sup> Yet it is also unsatisfying, simply because there needs to be a more nuanced excavation of the contextual factor(s) acting upon these 'various layers', and of their inherent interrelationships.<sup>6</sup> Since the seminal work of R. Pierce Beaver and Johannes van den Berg,<sup>7</sup> scholarship has focussed on both the common factors and on those that were more specific to particular periods, types of organisations and national contexts.<sup>8</sup> This quest has been complemented and informed by the more recent academic discourses of social and cultural history, feminist and gendered history, and of postcolonial history.<sup>9</sup> Recent New Zealand research has tended to locate missionary

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<sup>5</sup> Robert Glen, 'Those Odious Evangelicals: The origins and background of CMS missionaries in New Zealand', in Glen (ed.), *Mission and Moko*, p. 35.

<sup>6</sup> S. Piggin, 'Assessing Nineteenth Century Missionary Motivation: Some Considerations of Theory and Methods', in D. Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian*, Studies in Church History, vol. 15, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978, p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, 'Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries', in Jerald C. Brauer (ed.), *Reinterpretation in American Church History*, Essays in Divinity, vol. 5, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1968, pp. 113-151; Johannes van den Berg, *Constrained by Jesus' Love*, Kampen: J. H. Kok, NV, 1956.

<sup>8</sup> Representative amongst these are: N. A. Etherington, 'American Errand into the South African Wilderness', *Church History*, 39:1 (1970), pp. 62-71; Wayne J. Flynt and Gerald W. Berkley, *Taking Christianity to China: Alabama Missionaries in the Middle Kingdom, 1850-1950*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1997; Diane Langmore, *Missionary Lives: Papua, 1874-1914*; G. A. Oddie, 'India and Missionary Motives c. 1850-1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 25:1 (1974), pp. 61-74; Andrew Porter, 'Evangelical Enthusiasm, Missionary Motivation and West Africa in the late Nineteenth Century: The Career of G. W. Brooke', *JICH*, 6:1 (1977), pp. 23-46; Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858: The Social Background, Motives and Training of British Protestant Missionaries to India*, Abingdon: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1984.

<sup>9</sup> Representative amongst these are: Derek Dow, 'Domestic Response and Reaction to the Foreign Missionary Enterprises of the Principal Scottish Presbyterian Churches, 1873-1929', PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1977, and C. P. Williams, "'Not Quite Gentlemen": an Examination of

motivation within the latter two discourses.<sup>10</sup> Whilst these provide necessary correctives, there are at least two difficulties. On the one hand the underlying theological factors that would have been important to aspiring missionaries of the period often tend to become obscured or minimised. Perhaps this is necessary in order that the intersection between other factors (for example gender, race, class and colonialism) can be better understood. It is also a function, to some extent, of scholarship that lacks the necessary theological background to give this motivational category its due interpretative place. The net result is a potentially myopic understanding of motivation. On the other hand any future attempt to use this increasing array of interpretative perspectives, whilst necessary, becomes somewhat unwieldy and the presentation of the material pedantic and stultifying.

An alternative approach might begin with the narratives and details of the missionaries and applicants themselves, and then work outwards to consider the interplay and influence of contextual factors. This approach may then generate a more synthesised motivational model that allows for generalisations to be framed within particular contextual parameters (Figure 7.1).<sup>11</sup> The content and structure of a narrative by an early NZBMS missionary may serve to illustrate this more fully. Annie Driver (née Newcombe) wrote an account of her brief time in East Bengal in the late 1880s, to raise further support for New Zealand Baptist missionary work.<sup>12</sup> There were two interesting

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'Middling Class' Protestant Missionaries from Britain, c. 1850-1900', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31:3 (1980), pp. 301-315 (social history); Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility: American Women Missionaries in Turn-of-the-Century China*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984, and L. N. Predelli, 'Sexual Control and the Remaking of Gender: The Attempt of Nineteenth-Century Protestant Norwegian Women to Export Western Domesticity to Madagascar', *Journal of Women's History*, 12:2 (2000), pp. 81-103 (feminist or gendered history); John and Jean Comaroff, 'Through the Looking-glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 1:1 (1988), pp. 6-32, and Nicholas Thomas, 'Colonial Conversions: Difference, Hierarchy, and History in Early Twentieth-Century Evangelical Propaganda', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 34:2 (1992), pp. 366-389 (postcolonial history).

<sup>10</sup> Representative amongst these are: Sarah C. Coleman, "'Come over and help us": White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876-1920', MA Thesis in History, University of Canterbury, 2002; Lisa Early, "'If we win the Women": The Lives and Work of Methodist Missionary Women in the Solomon Islands, 1902-1942', PhD Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1998; E. Johnston, "'Cannibals Won for Christ": Oscar Michelsen Presbyterian Missionary in the New Hebrides, 1878-1932', MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1995; Brooke Whitelaw, 'A Message for the Missahibs: New Zealand Presbyterian Missionaries in the Punjab, 1910-1940', MA Thesis in History, University of Otago, 2001.

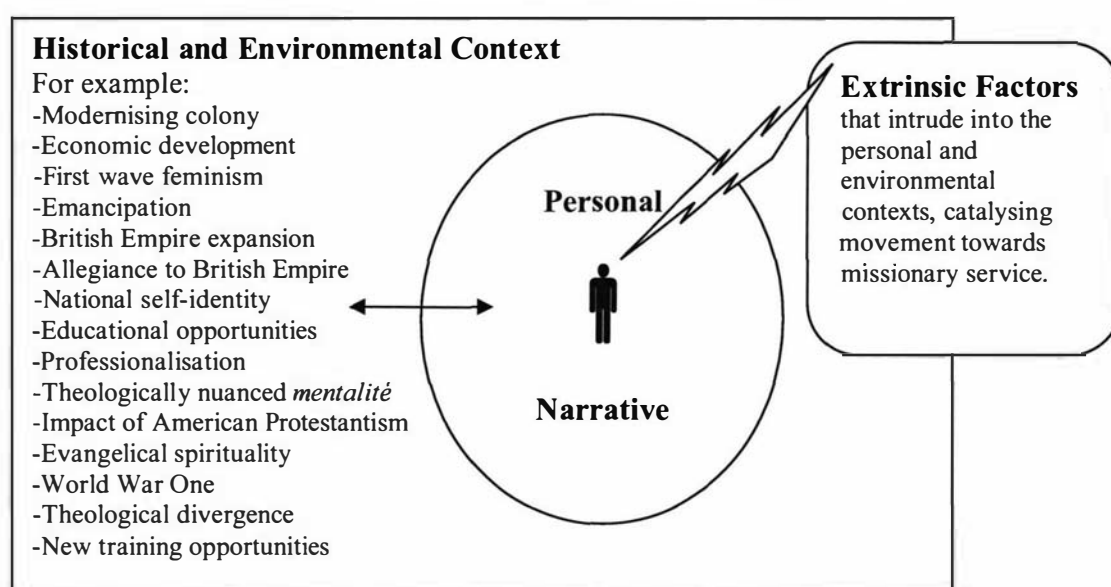
<sup>11</sup> A precedent for this approach can be found in Jane Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility* which, in turn, had its precedent in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg's seminal essay 'The Female World of Love and Ritual', in *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

<sup>12</sup> Annie J. P. Driver, *Missionary Memories*, Dunedin: H.H. Driver, 1930. Annie was an important figure in early Baptist and interdenominational missionary circles. She was the second NZBMS missionary,



facets to her account. Firstly, there were the biographical details. The third child of seven, Annie grew up in a comfortable small town in southern Victoria. Childhood memories were happy ones – of kite flying, birthdays and kindly parents. Church going, Sunday school and family devotions were also part of the mix for this Congregational family. Annie’s mother prayed regularly that each child would be ‘led to know and love Jesus Christ’. When thirteen years old Annie joined the church. Around the same time ‘the desire had possessed’ her to ‘devote’ her life ‘to the work of God in India’. A little later she went through ‘times of spiritual darkness when I doubted whether I was a child of God at all’. Once this had been resolved she ‘desired more than ever’ that her life should be ‘yielded to God’. Annie went on to the Melbourne School of Art and to a short period of art tutoring in Bendigo. In early adulthood she changed denominations, over new convictions about baptism, gained her parents’ approval for her proposed missionary vocation, and found an outlet for this vocation through the NZBMS.<sup>13</sup>

**Figure 7.1 – Conceptualisation of Missionary Motivation, 1868-1926<sup>14</sup>**



Secondly, there was an interesting juxtaposition of imagery in Annie’s introduction. She presented a civilised, rustic and Arcadian idyll – a ‘comfortable home’, a ‘long garden full of fruit trees of many kinds’, a ‘rockery and a fountain in which gold and silver fish sported in the sunshine’, ‘hives of bees’, an ‘aviary of songful canaries’, and ‘hutches of

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serving in India between 1887 and 1889. Dr. F. W. Newcombe (her brother) also served briefly with the NZBMS. She later established the Dunedin Missionary Training Home for women, which operated between 1899 and 1903. She was also a foundational and key member of the BMWU, and a regular contributor to missionary columns in Baptist periodicals.

<sup>13</sup> Based on information in *Missionary Memories*, pp. 5-10.

<sup>14</sup> This model is offered as one possible way of reflecting upon and synthesising the data from this study.

long-eared rabbits with pink eyes'. This was preceded, however, by starkly contrasting imagery. Her intention was to 'create a deeper interest in the people of India, millions of whom are still in darkness and unreached by the Gospel of Jesus Christ'.<sup>15</sup> She then included an unidentified piece of verse, or possibly a fragment of a hymn, which read:

The night lies dark upon the earth and we have light;  
So many have to grope their way and we have sight;  
One path is their and ours of sin and care,  
But we are borne along and they their burden bear.  
Foot-sore, heart-weary, faint they on the way,  
Mute in their sorrow, while we kneel and pray;  
Glad they are of stone on which to rest  
While we lie pillowed on the Father's breast.<sup>16</sup>

Here is a not unusual scenario of an un-travelled, perhaps middle-class young woman from a relatively mono-cultural background who stepped off with apparent confidence into a completely different culture and way of life. The 'various layers of motivation', for both Annie's and Mona's narratives, are discernible. Yet, again, the more important question becomes this - what moved seemingly comfortable, white, settler Christian people to exchange (or to be prepared to exchange) the known for the unknown?

Further reflection on both the narratives and the juxtaposition of imagery suggests the following three lines of enquiry, which Figure 7.1 attempts to represent. Firstly, what were the elements that made up an applicant's personal narrative and environmental context? These may have included the kinds of contributory factors already identified in Chapter Six, in association with issues of gender, socio-economic status and context, personality, mission theology, colonialism, and international events – which have been examined in Chapters Two to Five. Secondly, what circuit-breaking external factors enabled an individual to contemplate moving from the known to the unknown? These ranged from the influence of another person, to more ambiguous factors like religious conversion or a significant paradigm shift in Christian faith, to factors that created dissonance between an individual's lifestyle and perception of the wider world. Thirdly, how did both the external factors and the personal-environmental contexts intersect to produce movement towards missionary service between 1868 and 1926? Therefore Chapter Seven argues that missionary motivation for New Zealanders between 1868 and 1926 can best be understood by considering the intersection of personal narratives and

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<sup>15</sup> *ibid*, 'Introduction'.

<sup>16</sup> *ibid*, p. 5.

their wider historical, socio-religious and mental contexts. It begins with the motivational data from individual applicants, and sets this material in the context of more general statements on motive and theology. A set of questions will then seek to tease out answers to the above three questions, assessing the relative importance of theological, sociological, gendered and colonial interpretations.

## 7.2 Motives and Motivation – Data Sources and Trends

The core of motivational data is drawn from Presbyterian and Anglican sources. Data from the three other organisations is much more fragmentary (Table 7.1).

**Table 7.1 – Proportions of Motivational Data by Organisation, 1868-1930<sup>17</sup>**

<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Motivational Data from Missionaries</b>		<b>Motivational Data from Unsuccessful Applicants</b>	
	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
BIM	14	54	-	-
CIM	35	64	2	2.5
NZBMS	13	27	1	1
NZCMA/S	25	83	71	75
PCNZ FMC	50	42	78	55
<b>Overall</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>24</b>

The NZCMA/S application records are relatively comprehensive from 1893 onwards,<sup>18</sup> encompassing letters of enquiry, formal applications, and correspondence between applicants and NZCMA/S Secretary. The most comprehensive Presbyterian material exists from 1905<sup>19</sup> and is similar to NZCMA/S material, with the addition of appended freehand accounts of personal Christian experience. Application records do not exist for the NZBMS and only partially for the BIM and CIM. Additional motivational data was found in a range of contemporary periodicals and biographical accounts. Most of the material considered dates from the 1890s, with less known about missionary departures prior to 1890. Interpretation based on these types of sources must remain somewhat tentative. There are some good grounds for assuming the essential veracity of the motivational comments in application papers and published testimonies.<sup>20</sup> The data

<sup>17</sup> See Appendix Two for specific details of applicant sources.

<sup>18</sup> Correspondence of the NZCMS, ANG 143, Series 3, Boxes 3-18, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>19</sup> PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates; Canton Villages Mission (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files; New Hebrides Mission (GA0146), Series 6, Staff Files; Punjab Mission (GA0149), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>20</sup> Langmore notes that motives of missionaries to Papua were carefully scrutinised. Piggin argues that the essential veracity of early to mid-nineteenth-century missionary motives can be accepted because of the contemporary influence of personal piety and intense spiritual self-examination. For the New Zealand

itself is not wholly representative - the material is largely Presbyterian and Anglican, and the NZCMA/S material represented only a part of the Anglican constituency. Yet Table 7.1 indicates that missionary opinions, as opposed to those of unsuccessful applicants, were relatively well represented in the data. Whilst motivational statements were obviously formulated with a particular purpose or audience in mind, two things mitigate this. For Presbyterian applicants a substantial amount of unsolicited motivational data exists in the appended freehand accounts of spiritual experience. When these statements are compared with answers to a similar question in NZCMA/S papers, and with the testimonies of BIM and CIM missionaries, there is a surprising degree of congruity. This suggests that there was a commonly conceived mental narrative structure regarding missionary motivation. As Stuart Piggin notes:

To accept in large measure the missionary candidates' statements of their own motives will not enable us to tell the whole story.... But neither will it be devoid of "explanatory force", for in this material on missionary motivation we are not far removed from "the grain of human experience" to which the "historian's categories must in the end correspond".<sup>21</sup>

Motivational statements from the five organisations were broken down into two sets of data. The first set contains the identifiable factors that catalysed or precipitated the act of enquiring about or applying for missionary service (Table 7.2). This aspect has received little systematic attention in the secondary literature and there were no guidelines on how to categorise the data.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently the categories in Table 7.2 are those that emerged from the data itself. Because individuals often referred or alluded to more than one factor, the data has been presented in ranked form (with '1' representing the most frequently scoring category). Grouped here are some of the external factors postulated by Figure 7.1. In most cases the applicants or missionaries cited these explicitly. 'Life stage' factors were sometimes also inferred from wider comments made in the correspondence.<sup>23</sup> 'Divine Guidance' was often bracketed with other factors that

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context, Brooke Whitelaw draws attention to the rigorous process through which PCNZ candidates had to go, to prove their eligibility. Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, pp. 39-40; Piggin, 'Assessing Nineteenth Century Missionary Motivation', pp. 328-330; Whitelaw, 'A Message for the Missahibs', pp. 41-48.

<sup>21</sup> Piggin, 'Assessing Nineteenth Century Missionary Motivation', pp. 329-330.

<sup>22</sup> One exception to this was an early survey of missionary motives conducted by Ruth Rouse, and published as 'A Study of Missionary Vocation', *International Review of Missions*, 6:22 (1917), pp. 244-257. A brief consideration is also found in Rosemary Seton, "'Open Doors for Female Labourers": Women Candidates of the London Missionary Society, 1875-1914', in Robert Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 1996, p. 57.

<sup>23</sup> It may be that 'Life Stage Transition' and 'Life Stage Dissatisfaction' should have been grouped together. The choice was made, however, to separate these out from one another because the dynamics involved appeared to be fundamentally different.

indicated how that ‘guidance’ had been perceived. The ‘other’ category contained a range of miscellaneous factors, with wives often citing the husband’s application as the catalyst. The main factors were relatively consistent across the whole period, with ‘advertised positions’ discernibly more important for Presbyterians by the 1920s. Similarly there was little difference in the data with respect to gender and organisation. ‘Personal contact’ and ‘visiting speakers’ were cited marginally more frequently by women, and ‘life stage transition’ by men. ‘Life stage transition’ was also higher for denominational applicants (reflecting the fuller nature of the Presbyterian and Anglican sources), and ‘visiting speakers’ and explicit statements about ‘divine guidance’ appeared more frequently for non-denominational applicants.

**Table 7.2 – Factors Catalysing Enquiry or Application, 1868-1930 (Ranked)<sup>24</sup>**

Category	1890-99	1900-18	1919-30	Overall	
				No.	Rank
Life Stage Transition	6	1	3	88	<b>1</b>
Personal Contact	2	2=	1	83	<b>2=</b>
Visiting Speaker	1	2=	4	83	<b>2=</b>
Advertised Position	4	6	2	62	<b>4</b>
Divine Guidance	3	4	5	52	<b>5</b>
Life Stage Dissatisfaction	7=	5	7=	24	<b>6</b>
Missionary Literature	5	8	9	18	<b>7</b>
Other	-	9=	6	16	<b>8</b>
Student Volunteer	7=	7	-	14	<b>9</b>
Bible Study/Prayer Group	-	11	7=	9	<b>10</b>
International Events	-	9=	10	4	<b>11</b>

The second set of data contains the identifiable motivational factors (Table 7.3). These categories were derived from a combination of Johannes van den Berg’s general treatment of missionary motivation, and Stuart Piggin’s more specific study of early to mid-nineteenth-century British missionaries to India.<sup>25</sup> ‘Life stage transition’ was the only additional category. The data has again been ranked because of the multiple motivational comments offered by individuals. Apart from a ‘sense of usefulness’ the main factors were relatively consistent across time, and again displayed little difference with respect to gender or organisation. Women more often cited ‘obedience’ as a motivational factor. Denominational applicants tended to more frequently stress the notion of being ‘useful’.

<sup>24</sup> These calculations are based on known catalytic factors for forty-four per cent of total applicants – NZBMS ten per cent, BIM and CIM both twenty-seven per cent, NZCMA/S sixty-seven per cent and PCNZ FMC sixty-four per cent.

<sup>25</sup> Van den Berg’s categories are listed in Max Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, pp. 45-48; Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries*, pp. 124-149.

**Table 7.3 – Motivational Factors, 1868-1930 (Ranked)<sup>26</sup>**

Category	1890-99	1900-18	1919-30	Overall	
				No.	Rank
Obedying God's Command	1	1	3	90	<b>1</b>
Sense of Usefulness	9	3	1	86	<b>2</b>
Response to Need	3	2	2	83	<b>3</b>
Sense of Personal Calling	2	4	4	71	<b>4</b>
Sense of Pity	5	5	5	54	<b>5</b>
Sense of Duty	4	6	6	48	<b>6</b>
Love for God	6=	7=	7	30	<b>7</b>
Life Stage Transition	6=	9	10	20	<b>8</b>
Heavenly Reward	10=	7=	-	13	<b>9</b>
Personal Aptitude	10=	12	8	12	<b>10</b>
Other	-	10=	9	11	<b>11</b>
Civilising/Imperial Impulse	-	10=	12	5	<b>12</b>
Eschatological	6=	13=	-	4	<b>13=</b>
God's Glory	-	13=	11	4	<b>13=</b>
Sense of Adventure	-	13=	13	2	<b>15</b>

Finally, an implicit distinction is made between motive and motivation. The former refers to generic or corporately agreed ideas of what constituted the driving force(s) for foreign missions. The latter refers to factors operating at the level of the individual applicant. The two were not mutually exclusive, with underlying motives often feeding individual motivation. Whilst individual motivation is the emphasis in this chapter, the interplay between the two needs to be kept in sharp focus. This is particularly pertinent, because of the way in which generally understood motives were being translated into a more personalised perception of missionary responsibility and calling (Chapter 5.3).<sup>27</sup>

In 1856 the Auckland Presbytery tabled an early statement on the missionary motive:

That the Presbytery believing that it is the duty of the Church of Christ, in obedience to her Master's Command, - in harmony with her design, - in gratitude to God for all the unspeakable benefits she enjoys, - and out of respect to her own Spiritual welfare, to endeavour to extend the knowledge of Salvation throughout the world, feel called on thus early to acknowledge the obligations that rest upon them, while seeking to advance and maintain the interests of the true religion at home, to enter on the work of Missions, in general, so soon as in God's Providence they shall be in circumstances to [do so].<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> These calculations are based on known motivational factors for thirty-nine per cent of total applicants – NZBMS ten per cent, BIM twenty-five per cent, CIM twenty-eight per cent, NZCMS/A seventy-three per cent and PCNZ FMC forty-nine per cent.

<sup>27</sup> Beaver notes, for example, that 'a highly individualized and personalized sense of missionary obligation or duty, combined with the conviction that God in His providence had now prepared all things for success' was the driving force behind the SVM slogan 'the evangelization of the world in this generation'. Beaver, 'Missionary Motivation through Three Centuries', p. 148.

<sup>28</sup> 15 October 1856, Minute Book of the Presbytery of Auckland, 14 October 1856-7 July 1869, MS 1501.P928, Box 1, Auckland Institute and Museum Library.

‘Duty’, ‘obedience’ and ‘obligations’ held true as motives for the entire period and were echoed in the broader theological motifs already considered. Similarly the ‘Master’s Command’, embodied in the Matthean and Markan texts, provided the commonly accepted Biblical mandate for foreign missions. For some this command was the only true motive. A PIVM writer exhorted would-be applicants not to ‘listen to any other voice: don’t admit any other motive, don’t advance any other reason. Let your going be only on the lines of Matthew 28, 18-19’.<sup>29</sup> These texts were more usually understood to constitute an over-arching, divinely authoritative, universal, sustaining, binding and ongoing motive.<sup>30</sup> Other commentators went one step further back, locating the missionary motive in the person of Jesus Christ. Gustav Warneck argued that the life, teaching and incarnational presence of Jesus formed the deepest basis for mission, from which the Great Commission was the logical extension.<sup>31</sup> Similarly the Rev. Frank Oldrieve told Baptists that ‘it is devotion to the King which prompts self-sacrificing labours.... With Paul we say, “The love of Christ constraineth us”’.<sup>32</sup>

Ruth Rouse argued in 1917 that love, once dominant as a motive, had been largely replaced by duty in the early twentieth century.<sup>33</sup> By way of contrast, Christ’s love and a love for Christ emerged by 1900 as a very important motive in the New Zealand context.<sup>34</sup> The forms of personal piety and spirituality examined in Chapter Six more generally influenced this. Auckland Baptist Endeavourers were reminded in 1894 that ‘it is in the union our hearts have with Him that gives whatever reality or strength our profession of Christianity may have. Religion has its seat in loyalty of heart, and devotion to the Saviour’.<sup>35</sup> Once loved, the Christian was then exhorted to return that love primarily through a life of service. The Rev. Herbert Davies (CVM) captured this by writing that ‘the man who knows God in Christ becomes imbued with a restless love that can never be satisfied until it sees the whole world sharing its own joys and privileges’.<sup>36</sup> PWMU women read in 1913 that ‘if we are to be really helpful we must be filled with Christian compassion. Love must determine our attitude, love for Christ must be our prime motive. Our love for Christ impels us to take up the same attitude

<sup>29</sup> ‘Motives for Missionaries’, *White Already to Harvest*, June 1901, p. 84.

<sup>30</sup> Inglis, *The Doctrine of Christian Missions*, 1881, p. 5; *NZCMA Report*, 1899-1900, p. 4.

<sup>31</sup> Warneck, *Outline of a History of Protestant Mission*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>32</sup> Missionary sermon preached to the NZBU Conference, *MM*, January 1917, p. 2.

<sup>33</sup> Rouse, ‘A Study of Missionary Vocation’, pp. 255-257.

<sup>34</sup> Bosch argues this for the wider contemporary missionary movement. See Chapter 2.7, footnote 102.

<sup>35</sup> Rev. A. H. Collins, *The New Motive in Religion*, 15 July 1894, p. 6, Box 0194, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>36</sup> Herbert Davies, *Four Studies in World-wide Evangelisation*, p. 7.

that He took up'.<sup>37</sup> The perceived spiritual and humanitarian plight of non-Christian peoples, and the call to duty and responsibility, were increasingly linked with this underlying motive of love. Other motives were also stressed at varying times. One Presbyterian commentator canvassed seven motives that fleshed out the phrases 'love of God' and 'love of neighbour'. No less than twelve different motives were suggested for recruiting student volunteers.<sup>38</sup> Against prevailing trends the CIM continued to stress the 'thousands dying daily in darkness' as a key motive.<sup>39</sup> These underlying motives, and the data profiled in Tables 7.2 and 7.3, form the backdrop for further discussion.

### 7.3 Contextual Interpretations of Missionary Motivation

When we ask what motivated New Zealanders towards overseas missionary work it seems that we must begin with the categories of religious thought and experience that were so prevalent throughout the narratives. Applicants came from varied personal, socio-economic, geographical, denominational and even theological backgrounds. Yet despite these differences their personal narratives were essentially couched in common religious, theological or spiritual terms, by which they primarily understood and described their own experience of missionary interest and calling. Furthermore it is difficult to otherwise make sense of the ways in which the various extrinsic factors broke into individual lives and circumstances, propelling people towards missionary service. In other words these factors, and their implications, had to be intelligible to the participants. They penetrated a mental world that had already been prepared for their reception. Most applicants and candidates from this period came from overtly Christian homes or at least had been brought up attending church, Sunday school, Christian Endeavour or Bible class. Barely ten per cent came from identifiably non-religious backgrounds.<sup>40</sup> So at the very least the majority's perception of the world, and how they should relate to it, was increasingly shaped by regular exposure to missionary publicity and calls for financial support.

<sup>37</sup> Mrs McLean, 'Our Attitude Towards the Non-Christian World', *Harvest Field*, November 1913, p. iii.

<sup>38</sup> 'The Permanent Missionary Motive', *Outlook*, 15 December 1900, pp. 17-18; 'Student Volunteer Recruitment', undated, Series IV, Notes and Notebooks, 2105/130, Mott Papers, 45, Yale.

<sup>39</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 7 March 1896, p. 72. There was a general 'decline in the importance of the "perishing heathen" as a motive'. Langmore, *Missionary Lives*, pp. 41-42. It is possible, however, that organisations like the CIM continued to emphasise this as a motive, as evidenced in Rita Dobson's narrative written prior to her departure in 1928. *China's Millions*, November 1928, p. 165.

<sup>40</sup> The discussion that follows is based on the known 'spiritual experience' of: thirty-one per cent of Presbyterian applicants and missionaries; nineteen per cent of NZCMA/S applicants and missionaries; thirty-eight per cent of BIM missionaries; forty-five per cent of CIM missionaries. Equivalent material does not appear to exist for BIM and CIM applicants, or for NZBMS applicants and missionaries.



A commonly shared narrative of religious experience emerged that helps to explain the impact of the extrinsic factors. This narrative followed a basic trajectory of Christian upbringing, childhood and adolescent faith development, and an increasing ownership of personal faith from late adolescence onwards. There were at least four permutations of how this narrative was conceived. Least amongst these, but more common amongst women, was the notion of Christianity as an organic and relatively untroubled life-long process. Elsie Goodson (CVM) was ‘taught from the tiniest tot to love and serve God and to follow in the footsteps of my Lord Jesus Christ’. Nellie MacDuff (CIM) noted that she could ‘never remember the time’ when she ‘did not love the Lord Jesus’.<sup>41</sup> A second strand identified a moment or phase of religious ‘conversion’. This experience was variously described as ‘being converted’, acknowledging ‘Christ as Saviour’, making a ‘stand to follow Christ’, ‘accepting’ or ‘appropriating Jesus Christ as personal saviour’, and being ‘brought to a personal knowledge of Christ’.<sup>42</sup> Conversion was both the fulfilment of a Christian upbringing and the springboard into a life of useful service. For Presbyterians and Anglicans it was often bracketed with baptismal confirmation and church membership. A third strand identified significant crisis points that, once resolved, often served to inculcate into a deeper sense of faith and a greater desire to serve God. Crises were typically an expression of adolescent individuation, or involved traumatic events that impacted family life. Katherine Ensor (NZCMA applicant) related how she was ‘led astray ... by the allurements of Theosophy’, until a missionary friend later ‘disabused my mind of many illusions ... and gradually turned my thoughts more and more to the meek and lowly Jesus’.<sup>43</sup> George McNeur (CVM) credited the untimely death of his brother James as the means by which God ‘brought me into a closer union with Christ’ and ‘led me to look with more of the traveller’s eye on the things of this world, and to lay up treasure in Heaven’.<sup>44</sup> Such crises could also be precipitated by experiences that cast doubt on the content and confidence of childhood faith, or by ongoing struggles with ‘besetting sins’. A fourth strand, again often found amongst women, involved the individual arriving at a significant new understanding of Christian faith. These included a new apprehension of God’s loving nature through Christ, a

<sup>41</sup> ‘Elsie Goodson’, 6.11, CVM (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives; ‘Obituary for Nellie MacDuff’, *China’s Millions*, September 1927, p. 131.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Christina Anderson’, ‘Eveline Arthur’, ‘William Byrt’, ‘Reginald Judson’, ‘Joseph Venables’, PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates, PCANZ Archives; ‘Arthur Carr’, ANG 143/3.19, Box 6, and ‘Florence Smith’, ANG 143/3.105, Box 14, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>43</sup> ‘Katherine Ensor’, ANG 143/3.40, Box 9, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>44</sup> ‘New Year Retrospect and Prospect, 1896’, Diaries of George McNeur, 1890-1900, George Hunter McNeur Papers, MS-1007, ARC-038, HO:DU.

spiritual ‘awakening’, or a personal awareness of the role of the Holy Spirit. Such paradigm shifts often occurred during evangelistic campaigns, conventions and camps.

There may be at least two equally valid ways of interpreting such narratives. On the one hand, following the developmental theory of James Fowler, these narratives indicate the natural stages through which religious faith may progress.<sup>45</sup> Whilst individual circumstances varied, the transition between stages (wherein faith became increasingly individuated) often involved moments of personal decision, crisis, and revelation. On the other hand these narratives employed common rhetorical devices that reflected how Christian faith was popularly constructed within the increasingly privatised schema of late nineteenth-century evangelicalism. These devices typically included the struggle with human sinfulness, the need for personal encounter with Christ as Saviour and personal obeisance to Christ as Lord, and the notion of sacrificial service as an outworking of such encounters.<sup>46</sup> Church life generally, allied with the impact of specific groups (Christian Endeavour, ASCU, NZSCM, PWMU, BWMU), formed the context within which this interpretation of faith was shaped and explicated.

A narrative from an early NZCMA missionary further illustrates the interplay of these experiences. Although from a strong Anglican family this woman wrote in 1893 that:

My first remembrance is rebellion against any authority – God or man’s.... Then a conversion which took the form of many many [sic] “comings” to Christ before I was sure he had accepted me. From seventeen to twenty-eight I was known as a Christian: taught, wrote etc as such: but was a slave hand to foot, to one special besetting sin. Early in 1890 it came to this: first three or four days temptation to most awful thoughts, downright blasphemy: with no desire to escape from them: a coming to myself, which made me desperate over my helplessness: and in bewilderment as to what the Bible could mean practically by its glorious description of the life of Christ’s redeemed: for I knew I was saved from death – yet they did not describe my life. Mr Grubb’s mission in 1890, and the teaching of the Holy Spirit’s work: I came to Christ in faith to keep me from my sin, against which twenty years of struggling had done nothing: and He has kept me from that day to this, for I am well assured I am not keeping myself. [Then when asked specifically what led her ‘to engage in Foreign Missionary work’ she went on to say].... Ever since the mission in 1890 I have cared that Christ should love those for Whom He died: but waited, not knowing if He would have me one of those who went abroad.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> See James Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Development and the Quest for Meaning*, Blackburn, Victoria: Dove Communications, 1981.

<sup>46</sup> For an extended discussion of the prevalent discourses emerging within nineteenth century British evangelicalism, and particularly the notion of gendered evangelical narrative structures, see Callum G. Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain: Understanding Secularisation, 1800-2000*, London: Routledge, 2001, pp. 35-57, 58-114, 115-144.

<sup>47</sup> ‘Name withheld’, ANG 143/3.68, Box 10; ‘Form No. 3, NZCMA, Questions for Candidates’, ANG 143/3.8, Box 4, NZCMS Archives.

There is a mysterious element to all of this, for it is not immediately clear why these particular individuals should be so moved when this was obviously not the experience of all churchgoers. Religious or spiritual experience was apparently more intense for some, and less so for others. The narratives highlight individuals for whom faith was so enlivened that they sought to respond in like manner. There was a common sense of spiritual experience or progression that led individuals to significant points of understanding, heightened spiritual awareness or perceived divine revelation. These interpretative categories are somewhat unfamiliar in a more secularised age, and sit uncomfortably within a reasoned approach to historical explanation. Yet this was how the participants understood their own experiences. Taken overall their narratives reveal that they viewed their relationship with God to be the primary expression of personal Christian faith. They variously felt loved, accepted, forgiven, and empowered by God. Furthermore they perceived that they belonged to God in a way that was hitherto not understood. Their narratives commonly displayed a developing awareness that to be Christian meant more than regular involvement in the rituals and activities of denominational and local church life, and that it entailed certain obligations. Movements like Christian Endeavour and the Bible classes served to reinforce such sentiments. The NZCMA applicant above used the phrase 'He has kept me' to describe her perception of how God related to her. The corollary was that she 'cared that Christ should love those for Whom He died'. 'Belonging to God' also carried the sense that there were others, the 'heathen', who did not yet belong and hinted at the Christian's duty to rectify that imbalance. With empowerment came a desire to live a life of meaningful and useful service on behalf of others. Mona Dean reflected this by realising that 'here was something I could do for Christ, and it seems now as if all my life has been working up to this point'.<sup>48</sup> Most of all, in gratitude for receiving the gift of God's love, many applicants stated their desire for consecrated service. Annie Hancock (CVM) most eloquently observed that:

I have found that the greatest, grandest, and best things are open to those only whose lives are illuminated by the Christian faith; that there is possible to men and women, love so great as to make tremendous sacrifices for their fellow-men... When we think that the love of God was so great as to send His Son to bring about this happier state, we begin to appreciate the value which God himself places on humanity, and perhaps to have an inkling that we ourselves ought to set a higher value on the lives of our fellow-men.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Dean to Kimberley, 20 April 1913, ANG 143/3.35, Box 8, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>49</sup> 'Annie Hancock', 6.13, CVM (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives.

Thus it was that the various extrinsic factors made their impact in the ways postulated by the model in Figure 7.1. The words spoken by a friend or a known person over the meal table, or by visiting speakers recruiting both sentiments and bodies for the missionary cause, or penned in a published advertisement - all made perfect sense to the applicants. The specific images, geographic contexts and organisations may have been new to many hearers or readers, but the underlying appeal was not. An activist spirituality mixed with colonial settler pragmatism meant that individuals perceived the developmental and religious discrepancies of their world with surprising clarity. For individuals whose life's journey had been arrested by this perception, there was a logical inevitability about their response. John Olley (Brethren missionary) captured this best in a letter to a close friend when he wrote that 'there is no other way possible for me. I am a bond-servant. I must go'.<sup>50</sup> Any interpretation of missionary motivation, then, must take seriously the personalised and overtly spiritual or religious content of these narratives, and the theological construction of the world to which they led. At the same time the data displayed in Tables 7.2 and 7.3 indicate that there were obviously other factors in the motivational mix. Their significance may be assessed by a closer examination of two important motivational categories - 'life stage transition' and 'a sense of usefulness'.

Mona Dean's propulsion towards missionary service apparently came at a significant transition point in her life. This was a common experience for many of the missionary applicants and enquirers (see Table 7.2). Numerically it was clearly the most important catalytic factor for men and, for women, was grouped equally with personal contact and visiting speakers. Further analysis reveals the following patterns (Table 7.4). A key transition point was the change from study to a career, particularly for men but also important for women. For men this experience was further differentiated by age. Many student applicants were older men (in their late twenties and thirties) who were moving from prior occupations to ordination and ministry. Missionary application or enquiry came in the midst of their theological training. The death of a spouse was also more likely to be a motivating factor for men. Conversely for women life stage transition was

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<sup>50</sup> John Olley to James Clapham, November 1917, quoted in J. W. Clapham, *John Olley, Pioneer Missionary to the Chad*, revised ed., London: Pickering & Inglis, 1966, p. 32. John Olley was a Brethren missionary in Chad between 1919 and 1956. He initially enquired to the NZCMA in 1917, writing that he was 'especially interested in the Mission fields of Syria, Armenia, Egypt, Algeria, West Indies, Polynesia and South America, notably the first two'. 'John Olley', ANG 143/3.95, Box 13, NZCMS Archives.

most often linked with two factors – the cessation of family support roles (caring for parents or siblings) or a combination of older age and single marital status.

**Table 7.4 – Breakdown of Life Stage Transition, 1890-1930 (Ranked)<sup>51</sup>**

Life Stage Transition Point	Male	Female	Overall	
			No.	Rank
End of Study	1	3	26	<b>1</b>
Older and Single	2=	1	19	<b>2</b>
End of Family Commitments	5=	2	17	<b>3</b>
Career Transition	5=	4	6	<b>4</b>
Job Dissatisfaction	2=	5	6	<b>4=</b>
Death of Spouse/Fiancée	2=	6=	5	<b>6</b>
Seeking New Opportunities	7	8	3	<b>7</b>
Divorce/Broken Engagement	-	6=	2	<b>8</b>
Family Problems	-	9=	1	<b>9=</b>
Illness	-	9=	1	<b>9=</b>

Mona Dean also expressed a desire to put her personal abilities to beneficial use. Again this was a commonly cited motivational category for many applicants (see Table 7.3), and was often linked with a heightened perception of global needs. Both men and women readily emphasised notions of service, and stressed their desire to put experience, aptitude, qualifications and privileged lifestyles to good use. It was also linked with a perceived aptitude for a particular vocation – especially education or medicine. Annie Astbury (CVM) encapsulated much of this in her application:

I feel it is my duty, not only as a Christian, but also as a citizen of a nation that has enjoyed all the benefits, advantages and privileges of Christianity, to teach and tell other people of heathen religions, of my religion, and what it has meant for myself and my people.... [At the Hawera Bible Class Conference c. 1920] I was faced with the question as to whether or not I was making the most use of my life... [The speakers] asked us very direct, very personal and very searching questions. Were we in the place God intended us to be in? Were we quite sure that God did not want us for some special service?... The result was that I came home absolutely dissatisfied with my daily occupation. As a matter of fact I have never really been satisfied with my work [as a stenographer].<sup>52</sup>

Annie Astbury's theological language was intertwined with factors of socio-geographic context and a sense of vocational dissatisfaction and opportunity. Motivation was inextricably linked to significant moments of personal development and change. Such circumstances were highly variable. Leaving school and still full of adolescent optimism Patrick Lane (NZCMS applicant) asserted that 'it has been my one desire ...

<sup>51</sup> This table combines the two categories of 'Life Stage Transition' (Tables 7.2 and 7.3) and 'Life Stage Dissatisfaction' (Table 7.2). It is based primarily upon Presbyterian and NZCMA/S data, and therefore upon the same sources and figures as Tables 7.2 and 7.3.

<sup>52</sup> 'Annie Astbury', 6.02, CVM (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives.

to carry out the Gospel in to foreign parts and something tells me that India needs the help of my poor services'.<sup>53</sup> For many men the call to foreign missionary work seamlessly emerged out of their training for ministry.<sup>54</sup> Other situations were more traumatic and difficult. Irene Kelling (NZCMS applicant) poignantly stated that 'a broken engagement has made that [missionary] desire doubly strong especially as it was broken by a returned soldier because I have German blood in me'. A Miss L. Johnson (NZCMA applicant) sought relief both from her job as a dressmaker and costumier, and from an alcoholic father.<sup>55</sup> A Dr Lapraik (PCNZ applicant) applied for medical missionary work in the New Hebrides at the age of fifty, after the death of his wife.<sup>56</sup> Many applicants, faced with the prospects of or the need for change, employed both spiritual experience and theological concepts to re-imagine the future. If some of these individuals simply sought to escape present circumstances, then even 'escape' was still clearly conceived of in theological terms and linked with consecrated useful service.

Notions of 'escape', and the prominence of 'life stage transition' and 'a sense of usefulness', indicate that motivation was also gendered. Women made up a large proportion of the missionary workforce. Whilst married women had always been present, from the late nineteenth century single women became an increasingly important factor in missionary recruitment and numbers. The first single women missionaries from New Zealand were probably a Miss Thorn (who went to India with the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission in 1875) and Elizabeth Colenso (who went to Norfolk Island with the Melanesian Mission also in 1875).<sup>57</sup> Contemporaries noted this trend but there was little critical evaluation.<sup>58</sup> Most interpretative progress has been

<sup>53</sup> 'Patrick Lane', ANG 143/3.80, Box 11, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>54</sup> T. E. Riddle, *The Light of Other Days*, Christchurch and Dunedin: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1949, p. 46; D. N. MacDiarmid, *Ship Ahoy and Hallelujah!*, 1968, pp. 52-55.

<sup>55</sup> Kelling to C. H. Grant, 18 January 1919, in 'Irene Kelling', ANG 143/3.75, Box 11; 'Miss L. Johnson', ANG 143/3.73, Box 10, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>56</sup> 'Dr Lapraik', PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>57</sup> J. C. Pollock, *Shadows Fall Apart: The Story of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958, p. 47; Allan K. Davidson, 'Elizabeth Colenso (Fairburn)' in Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, pp. 143-144. Note that Elizabeth had previously been married to CMS missionary William Colenso, but was legally separated from him by 1875.

<sup>58</sup> One session of the 1888 London Missionary Conference was devoted to a survey of women's mission to women. Discussion at the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in New York, in 1900, was integrated within a wider range of topics. Arthur T. Pierson devoted a chapter of an early history to 'the new apostolate of woman', which essentially amounted to a collection of biographical sketches. The 1910 Edinburgh Conference included discussion on women's contribution, and evaluative articles appeared in the *International Review of Missions*. Perhaps the first in-depth critique of women's work for women, in the Asian context, was that carried out by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry of 1931. Rev. James Johnston (ed.), *Report of the Centenary Conference on the Protestant Missions of the World*, London

made since Beaver's seminal work of 1968.<sup>59</sup> Recent international and New Zealand literature on motivation has largely been framed within wider feminist or gendered discourses. We now have a more nuanced understanding of women's motivation in general, and particularly for New Zealand Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist women.<sup>60</sup> Much of this literature stresses the relationship between late nineteenth-century first wave feminism and the growth of women's missionary participation. Shirley Garrett argues that from the late nineteenth century the goals of American women missionaries were 'defined in the language of feminism.... Most missionary tracts about women abroad were not theological, they were litanies of social problems.... Women missionaries were supposed to attack these problems in one way or another. They were sent as agents of social change, church feminism on the march'.<sup>61</sup> Social and moral reform was a key motivational factor for women.<sup>62</sup> Sarah Coleman links motivation for New Zealand women in India with prevailing notions of women as 'protectors of the home' (and thus 'reformers and protectors of society in general') and 'evangelical ideas of the feminisation of Christ' (which served to legitimise single women as missionaries in their own right).<sup>63</sup> There was a clearly identifiable connection between domesticity, feminist social reform, and the missionary movement.<sup>64</sup> The

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1888, Volume 1, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1888, pp. 397-417; Ecumenical Missionary Conference New York 1900, *Report of the Ecumenical Conference on Foreign Missions, Held in Carnegie Hall and Neighboring Churches, April 21 to May 1*, 2 volumes, First Edition, New York: American Tract Society, 1900; Arthur T. Pierson, *The New Acts of the Apostles, or the Marvels of Modern Missions*, London: James Nisbet & Co. Limited, 1908, pp. 133-140; 'The Share of Women in the Administration of Missions', *The International Review of Missions*, 1:4 (1912), pp. 674-687; William Ernest Hocking (ed.), *Re-Thinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry After One Hundred Years*, New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1932, pp. 255-286.

<sup>59</sup> R. Pierce Beaver, *All Loves Excelling*, Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1968.

<sup>60</sup> See footnotes 9 and 10, and also Daphne Beniston, 'New Zealand Women of the Methodist Solomons Mission 1922-1992', MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1992; Rachel Gillett, 'Helpmeets and Handmaidens: The Role of Women in Mission Discourse', BA (Hons) Research Essay in History, University of Otago, 1998; and Diane Rixon, 'New Zealand Mission and Nationalism in the Punjab: the Missionaries of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand in the Punjab and Their Encounter With Indian Nationalism Between 1910 and 1932', BA (Hons) Dissertation in History, University of Otago, 1997.

<sup>61</sup> Shirley S. Garrett, 'Sisters All: Feminism and the American Women's Missionary Movement', in T. Christensen and W. R. Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era*, pp. 221, 224.

<sup>62</sup> For example: Jean Allman, 'Making Mothers: Missionaries, Medical Officers and Women's Work in Colonial Asante, 1924-1945', *History Workshop*, 38 (1994), pp. 23-47; Delia Davin, 'British Women Missionaries in Nineteenth Century China', *Women's History Review*, 1:2 (1992), pp. 257-271; Leslie A. Flemming, 'A New Humanity: American Missionaries' Ideals for Women in North India, 1870-1930', in N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel (eds), *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992, pp. 191-206; Margaret Jolly, '"To Save the Girls for Brighter and Better Lives": Presbyterian Missions and Women in the South of Vanuatu, 1848-1870', *Journal of Pacific History*, 26:1 (1991), pp. 27-48; and Ann White, 'Counting the Cost of Faith: America's Early Female Missionaries', *Church History*, 57:1 (1988), pp. 19-30. See also footnote 9.

<sup>63</sup> Coleman, 'White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876-1920', pp. 197-198.

<sup>64</sup> Recent research also reveals that this relationship was not necessarily straightforward. Women were 'caught in a complex and contradictory web of agency and discourse which 'remade' not only convert

problem arises when this connection is cast as the primary factor. Was this really the case or is it a function of more recent academic assumptions?

The New Zealand evidence is ambiguous. Reforming sentiments were acutely absent from women's narratives, with only a few overt references to women's work or to issues of overseas reform. Theological imagery largely predominated. Yet such ideas were not entirely absent. There were ambiguous phrases like 'a desire to uplift those in darkness', and it is possible that such language was understood in both its theological and social dimensions.<sup>65</sup> Later NZCMS applicants had to furnish a sample Sunday school missionary lesson, for which a number of women chose a social reforming theme. Violet Bargrove linked the advances of western civilisation with Christianity, to highlight perceived global disparities and to accentuate the need for evangelistic and medical intervention. Ruby Lindsay drew attention to the 'six out of every ten babies' in Eastern Africa 'lost through ignorance and neglect'.<sup>66</sup> For Baptists the social reforming aspects of missionary work had always been highly regarded. In 1886 the Rev. Alfred North graphically depicted the '100,000,000 [girls and women] sitting in darkness and the shadow of death.... Our hearts are touched by the misery of these women; we long to see them uplifted, in the social scale'.<sup>67</sup> Obituaries for Hopestill Pillow in 1895 drew attention to the social uplift dimensions of her work.<sup>68</sup> Later evaluations of NZBMS work, by Baptist women commentators, were also dominated by references to social uplift work amongst women and children.<sup>69</sup>

Single and married women missionaries expected to work almost exclusively with women or children, and missionary literature led them to expect that they would be involved in aspects of reforming work. The absence of any reference to social uplift, as

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women but missionary women as well' – converts as 'wife, mother and worker', missionary wives as 'amateur appendage' and single women as 'professional woman'. See Jane Haggis, 'Ironies of Emancipation: Changing Configurations of 'Women's Work' in the 'Mission of Sisterhood' to Indian Women, *Feminist Review*, No. 65, (Summer 2000), pp. 108-126.

<sup>65</sup> 'Christina Anderson', PCNZ FMC, Series 3, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>66</sup> 'Violet Bargrove', ANG 143/3.7, Box 4; 'Ruby Lindsay', ANG 143/3.85, Box 11, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>67</sup> Valedictory Address for Rosalie Macgeorge, *NZB*, November 1886, p. 174.

<sup>68</sup> *NZB*, August 1895, pp. 113-116; *ibid*, September 1895, p. 135. The reported death of Hopestill Pillow, and the nagging internalised question 'who will go in her place', set Presbyterian missionary Alice Henderson on the road to life-long missionary work in India. Alice Henderson, *My Yesterdays in Sunshine and Shadow*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1947, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> *Our Bond*, 24:1 (1918), pp. 4-5; 12 October 1925, Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the BMWU, 1905-1928; and 'Presidential Address by Emma Beckingsale, 1935', in BMWU Records, Folder 1, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives.



a motivational factor, may have been simply because it was taken for granted by many women. More importantly this apparent elision may have reflected the gap between the idealisation and the realities of missionary work. This is certainly a question raised by Mona Dean's narrative. Missionary training placed greatest emphasis upon biblical and doctrinal knowledge and on practical skills. Other religions, cultures and societies were sometimes covered by curricula, but this knowledge was more often gleaned from popular missionary literature, mission study or visiting speakers. Most applicants departed New Zealand equipped with a general education or the skills of their particular profession, and full of confidence as to their part in the grand and idealised *oeuvre* of 'saving the heathen'. The every day realities of women's work – zenana visiting, medical care, school teaching and administration, teacher and nurse training, and child welfare – served over time to emphasise the social uplift aspects of missionary work. Perhaps social uplift then became a more enduring motivational theme. If so, then it may be more accurate to distinguish between idealised and actual motivation. This further supports the argument that theological and spiritual motivational categories need to be treated seriously in context because it was by these that most women (and indeed men) initially and ideally understood their identity and calling. Historical discourses that locate women's motivation within the intersecting contexts of domesticity, emancipation, reform and European colonialism are legitimate, so long as they also acknowledge the theological and spiritual categories of thought that underlay and informed these other categories. Coleman's conclusions point in this direction. Yvonne Robertson advances this perspective by arguing that motivation was partly a function of a 'religious discourse' (emphasising the feminisation and empowerment of Christ's incarnation) linked with romanticist revivalism, international sisterhood and, ultimately, more traditional domestic notions of women's social and moral reforming role.<sup>70</sup>

Women's narratives do indicate that motivation sometimes emerged from experiences or assumptions unique to women. Firstly, some form of family dislocation was more often a motivational factor, wherein women faced significant life transition choices once free of family obligations. Domestic responsibilities (caring for siblings or parents) sometimes delayed an earlier desire to be a missionary. For others circumstantial change

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<sup>70</sup> Yvonne Robertson, *Girdle Round the Earth*, pp. 12-21. Elements of this argument are echoed in Jane Haggis, "'A heart that has felt the love of God and longs for others to know it': conventions of gender, tensions of self and constructions of difference in offering to be a lady missionary", *Women's History Review*, 7:2 (1998), pp. 171-192.

created either a dilemma or more often an opportunity. Miss McKinney told the PCNZ FMC that she had ‘heard God’s voice calling me to work for Him many years ago, but have had many disappointments being the eldest of a large family, home duties, sickness in the family, etc, have detained me’. Following the death of her father in 1897 Isabella McCallum (NZCMA) felt ‘free from home ties’ and ‘the great need of the heathen world was specially laid upon me’.<sup>71</sup> Jane Hunter notes that the ‘push of home circumstance’ and the ‘dramatic freedom and disorientation caused by family death’ was a prominent catalyst for American women going to China.<sup>72</sup> Some of Hunter’s observations (for example making a missionary pledge as a form of penance and applying after the death of a spouse) could also be made for New Zealand men. Yet both the American and New Zealand narratives emphasised the distinctive domestic and ‘occupational’ niches that many single women still filled. Moreover single daughters were still expected to bear the burden of family responsibilities, even when working in a career or occupation. When this familial role came to an end, especially for older women or for those who had not found a career of their own, then the future was thrown wide open in a way not so common for men.

Secondly, the notion of ‘usefulness’ became increasingly more significant in women’s narratives. Coleman is perhaps guilty of imputing this motivational category solely to women. The data indicates that it was also important for men. Following Abraham Maslow’s notion of a hierarchy of needs it might be argued that ‘being useful’ met a fundamental need for self-esteem and for self-actualization quite regardless of gender.<sup>73</sup> Yet the narratives do indicate that there was a degree of gender differentiation. Men and women both stressed the service aspect of being useful. Women also emphasised: that they had been divinely entrusted with talents and aptitudes that they dare not waste; that their age and singleness meant that they were free to render useful service; and notions of ‘helping’ and ‘doing good’. Beatrice Brunt (NZCMS) reflected this when she wrote that ‘I believe that God has given me health and ability for the purpose of going forth to spread the great tidings of a loving Saviour’.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> ‘Miss McKinney’, PCNZ FMC, Series 3, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCANZ Archives; ‘Isabella McCallum’, ANG 143/3.86, Box 12, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>72</sup> Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, pp. 40-42.

<sup>73</sup> Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1970, pp. 45-47.

<sup>74</sup> ‘Beatrice Brunt’, ANG 143/3.17, Box 6, NZCMS Archives.

Coleman argues that becoming a missionary was both an emancipatory act and a re-statement of traditional role definitions. Single women took up a ‘career of usefulness’ to seek legitimacy outside marriage and motherhood, in a way that ‘continued to utilise the traditional feminine qualities of self-sacrifice, domestic protection and moral guardianship’.<sup>75</sup> Lydia Hoyle helpfully casts the interpretative net a little wider. She agrees that, in the American context, women’s desire for usefulness did partially reflect this perspective. At the same time it also reflected both the potentially liberating rhetoric of mid to late nineteenth-century evangelicalism (following the Second Awakening and the emerging holiness movement), and growing protest over the strictures placed on women within prevailing patriarchal models of church administration and ministry.<sup>76</sup> Women wanted to be both personally and professionally useful in the light of greater educational and work opportunities, and in response to popular spiritual streams that emphasised gender equality through the agency of the Holy Spirit. These conclusions make sense for the New Zealand context, as they allow for the complex interplay of personal narrative with similar theological and sociological factors. Intriguingly CIM women did not so readily reciprocate the self-confident tone in Presbyterian and NZCMA/S narratives. ‘Usefulness’ was more often construed to be a result of personal surrender to God’s will, bolstered by biblical texts emphasising God’s all-sufficiency. This rhetorical focus accentuated the notion of God enabling an otherwise weak, sinful, wilful and undeserving human agent to obey the missionary call.<sup>77</sup> Indeed the example of the emerging faith mission movement is a reminder of the limitations of gendered explanations. The notion of useful service emanating from a surrendered life and dependence upon God, expressed so often by CIM and BIM missionaries, was equally attractive to women and to men. This may have meant that feminised religious sentiments had greater appeal for some male applicants, or had an abiding impact in wider church life. Alternatively, less ecclesiologically dominated missiological frameworks may have appealed to certain groups and, therefore, transcended gender boundaries. Either way, as Peter William’s observes, ‘to suggest that it had a greater

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<sup>75</sup> Coleman, ‘White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876-1920’, pp. 56-57. Janet Lee advances a similar argument in ‘Between Subordination and She-tiger: Social Constructions of White Femininity in the Lives of Single, Protestant Missionaries in China, 1905-1930’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 19:6 (1996), pp. 621-632.

<sup>76</sup> Lydia Hoyle, ‘Nineteenth Century Single Women and Motivation for Mission’, *IBMR*, 20:2 (1996), pp. 58-59.

<sup>77</sup> Based on candidates’ testimonies published in *China’s Millions* between 1912 and 1930.

appeal for women is to impose a psychological theory on evidence which will yield no more than the reality of its influence on both men and women.’<sup>78</sup>

Thirdly, it may be speculated that age and marital status played a part in catalysing or motivating women missionaries. These factors were neither directly cited in the narratives nor consciously linked to motivation, yet their frequency deserves some comment. Thirty-eight per cent of Presbyterian and NZCMA/S women were single and aged thirty or over at the time of application, compared with twenty-two per cent of men. These were often women of some considerable educational background or professional expertise.<sup>79</sup> Having reached a certain age many older single women may have perceived a missionary vocation to be either a valid alternative to marriage or to be an alternative avenue for finding a like-minded marriage partner. Overseas narrative evidence does point in this direction.<sup>80</sup> Myrtle Hill notes that the higher ratio of single to married Irish women may have moved them towards ‘an alternative fulfilling lifestyle’ in the face of receding marriage opportunities in Ireland. Different contexts may have bred different dynamics. For New Zealand this was a period of demographic maturation. Single women immigrants had initially entered a ‘male atmosphere’, in which men outnumbered women, yet urban and rural sex ratios were moving towards equilibrium by the 1920s and 1930s. The age and sex structure was maturing, with the middle age groupings becoming a larger proportion of the total population. Whilst the percentage of married men increased, the pool of unmarried women remained small.<sup>81</sup> So it would appear that reduced marriage opportunities were not a significant factor. Yet some intriguing patterns were hidden within these overall statistics for marital status in this period. Whilst there were always proportionally more single adult males than females, the percentage of women who were single grew markedly – from thirteen to twenty-

<sup>78</sup> Peter Williams, ‘The Missing Link’, pp. 62-63.

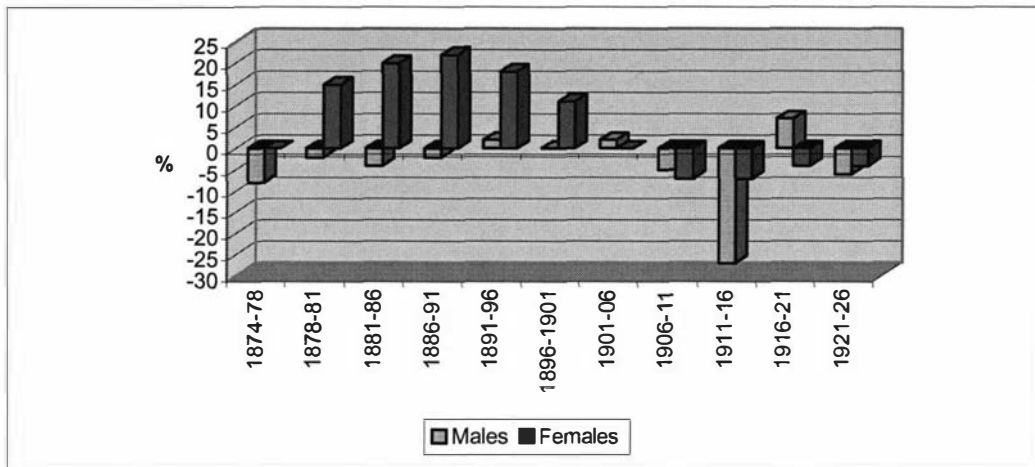
<sup>79</sup> Women, in this period, increasingly participated in education and medicine (as doctors as well as nurses). See further: Michael Belgrave, ‘A Subtle Containment: Women in New Zealand Medicine, 1893-1941’, *NZJH*, 22:1 (1988), pp. 44-55; Antoinette Burton, ‘Contesting the Zenana: The Mission to Make “Lady Doctors for India”, 1874-1885’, *Journal of British Studies*, 35 (1996), pp. 368-397; Dorothy Page, ‘The First Lady Graduates: Women with Degrees from Otago University, 1885-1900’, pp. 98-128.

<sup>80</sup> Hunter, *The Gospel of Gentility*, p. 38; Myrtle Hill, ‘Women in the Irish Protestant Foreign Missions c. 1873-1914’, in Pieter N. Holtrop and Hugh McLeod (eds), *Missions and Missionaries*, Studies in Church History, Subsidia 13, Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2000, p. 177.

<sup>81</sup> Andrée Lévesque, ‘Prescribers and Rebels: Attitudes to European Women’s Sexuality in New Zealand, 1860-1916’, in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald and Margaret Tennant (eds), *Women in History: Essays on European Women in New Zealand*, Wellington: Allen & Unwin New Zealand Ltd, 1986, p. 1; Erik Olssen, ‘Towards a New Society’, pp. 250-253; R. J. Warwick Neville and C. James O’Neill (eds), *The Population of New Zealand: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, pp. 150-184.

nine percent of women between 1874 and 1906. By the 1930s there was a surplus of single urban women aged over forty-five.<sup>82</sup> There were also marked gender differences in the percentage change of single adults between the 1870s and the 1920s (Figure 7.2).

**Figure 7.2 – Percentage Change in Single Status, 1874-1926<sup>83</sup>**



Growth in single status was greatest for women in the twenty-five to thirty-four age group through the 1880s and 1890s. Broken down even further, percentage growth increased for single women aged over thirty-five, particularly between the censuses of 1896 and 1906. Most specifically of all, Otago and Canterbury were the only two regions to return a noted excess of single women over single men.<sup>84</sup> It would appear, then, that the marked growth in missionary departures and interest from the 1890s coincided with a period of growth in the numbers and proportions of single women, particularly those aged twenty-five and over. Coincidentally, too, the two regions that initially contributed the greatest number of missionaries were also those with an excess of single females. Thus we might speculate that there was some form of connection between this demographic transition, increased missionary rhetoric, an initial dearth of service opportunities in the home churches, and the perception by some older single women that marriage or vocation might therefore be more gainfully found in missionary employment.

<sup>82</sup> Olssen, 'Towards a New Society', p. 252.

<sup>83</sup> Figures for this graph and discussion are from *Census of New Zealand*, 1916, Part VII, 'Conjugal Condition', p. 2; *ibid*, 1926, Volume IV, 'Conjugal Condition', Tables 4 and 5, p. 7.

<sup>84</sup> In 1896 Canterbury had seventy-eight bachelors to every one hundred spinsters and Otago had ninety-one. By 1906 Canterbury had ninety-one and Otago ninety-six. *Census of New Zealand*, 1896, part V. 'Conjugal Condition', Table IV, p. 195; *ibid*, 1906, 'Part V, 'Conjugal Condition', Table IV, p. 243.

Most single women missionaries remained single for the duration of their service. Seventy-one per cent remained single, as opposed to thirty-one per cent of single male missionaries. Of those women who married, many married another missionary and remained living and working in a missionary context. If marriage was a motivational factor, it was not necessarily a primary consideration. There was perhaps a more profound dynamic at work. Donovan Mitchell, in a short posthumous biography of the Australian Baptist missionary Ellen Arnold, suggested that she was the closest thing there was to a 'Baptist Nun'. He referred to her self-discipline, asceticism and devotion to both Christ and others. In his opinion, writing in 1932, the time was ripe 'for the Protestant Churches to remind themselves that without taking vows of celibacy, and without cutting themselves off from the world, hosts of Protestant women are living lives of extreme devotion to Christ and the Church'.<sup>85</sup> This is a relatively unexplored but intriguing avenue of thought.<sup>86</sup> If valid then it combined demographic trends, marital status, age, vocation, usefulness, spiritual devotion and the notion of divinely entrusted ability into a powerfully sustaining motivational mix for single women.

Theological and gendered perspectives are a salutary reminder that missionary motivation should be evaluated in the terms of specific historical contexts. Discussion for New Zealand has usefully focussed on the interplay of personal narratives with a combination of theological, gendered and sociological perspectives located in the period 1868-1926 (Figure 7.1). Previous sociological analyses of motivation, with their focus on the earlier nineteenth century 'middling classes' and social improvement, are of lesser relevance.<sup>87</sup> A contextual approach raises one further interpretative issue – to

<sup>85</sup> Mitchell, *Ellen Arnold: Pioneer and Pathfinder*, pp. 17-21.

<sup>86</sup> An initial exploration of this is found in Diane Langmore's comparison of Protestant and Catholic women working in Papua, and Margaret Tennant's preliminary analysis of the early deaconess movement in New Zealand. Diane Langmore, 'A Neglected Force: White Women Missionaries in Papua, 1874-1914', *Journal of Pacific History*, 17:3 (1982), pp. 138-150; and 'Exchanging Earth for Heaven', pp. 383-392; Margaret Tennant, 'Sisterly Ministrations'. The notion of Protestant orders for women (established in the 1890s) is also helpfully outlined in two local Anglican histories. Ruth Fry, *The Community of the Sacred Name: A Centennial History*, Christchurch: Community of the Sacred Name, 1993; and Margaret McClure, *Saving the City: The History of the Order of the Good Shepherd and the Community of the Holy Name in Auckland, 1894-2000*, Auckland: David Ling Publishing Limited, 2002. See also: J. D. Salmond, *By Love Serve: The Story of the Order of Deaconesses of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1962; and Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920*, London: Virago Press, 1985, pp. 46-84.

<sup>87</sup> This emphasis stemmed from a wider excavation of British class origins and construction and from a new contextual approach to mission history. See for example: John Hitchen, 'Training "Tamate"', W. N. Gunson, 'Victorian Christianity in the South Seas: A Survey', *JRH*, 8:2 (1974), pp. 183-197; Sarah Potter, 'The Social Origins and Recruitment of English Protestant Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century', PhD Thesis, University of London, 1974; P. T. Rooke, 'The "New Mechanic" in Slave Society: Socio-

what extent was the age of high imperialism a motivational factor for New Zealand missionary aspirants and candidates? This takes us beyond the narratives into the territory of broader motives and prevailing contemporary modes of thought.

The connection between European imperialistic expansion, the creation of colonial space and the missionary movement has been extensively documented and interpreted since Stephen Neill's exploratory overview in 1966.<sup>88</sup> This connection has become 'one of the unquestioned orthodoxies of general historical knowledge', and it has been almost axiomatic to pejoratively depict missionaries as 'the vanguards of empire' who 'sowed the state of colonialism on which the colonial state ... was founded'.<sup>89</sup> Subsequent research bears out Neill's more impressionistic conclusion that the interrelationship was 'highly complex' and variable.<sup>90</sup> Andrew Porter's work on British nineteenth-century imperialism is particularly important in this regard, demonstrating that the missionary-imperialism/colonialism nexus is best understood within particular contexts. This research highlights the need to understand the theologically nuanced nature of the missionary movement and how those nuances affected the relationship with imperial or colonial hegemonies; clarifies the way in which the relationship varied over time, space and in response to indigenous agency; and casts doubt not so much on the relationship, but rather on the value of monolithic interpretative constructs like 'cultural imperialism'.<sup>91</sup> Studies explicating the ideological 'manifest destiny' content of American foreign missions, and the impact of this on motives and motivation, highlight the value of distinguishing between various national expressions of the relationship.<sup>92</sup> Other studies have usefully dissected the complexities to be found in

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psychological Motivations and Evangelical Missionaries in the British West Indies', *JRH*, 11:1 (1980), pp. 77-94; Peter Williams, 'The Missing Link', pp. 43-69; Max Warren, *The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History*, and *Social History and Christian Mission*; and the references to Derek Dow and C. P. Williams cited in footnote 9.

<sup>88</sup> Stephen Neill, *Colonialism and Christian Missions*, London: Lutterworth Press, 1966.

<sup>89</sup> Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Leicester: Apollos, 1990, p. 12; Jean and John Comaroff, 'Through the Looking-glass: Colonial Encounters of the First Kind', p. 6.

<sup>90</sup> Neill, *Colonialism and Christianity*, p. 14.

<sup>91</sup> Andrew Porter, '"Commerce and Christianity": The Rise and Fall of a Nineteenth Century Missionary Slogan', *The Historical Journal*, 28:3 (1985), pp. 597-621; 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century 1780-1914', *JICH*, 20:3 (1992), pp. 370-390; 'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914', *JICH*, 25:3 (1997), pp. 367-391; 'Church History, History of Christianity, Religious History: Some Reflections on British Missionary Enterprise Since the Late Eighteenth Century', *Church History*, 71:14 (2002), pp. 555-584.

<sup>92</sup> N. A. Etherington, 'American Errand into the South African Wilderness', *Church History*, 39:1 (1970), pp. 62-71; William R. Hutchison, 'A Moral Equivalent for Imperialism: Americans and the Promotion of "Christian Civilization", 1880-1910', in T. Christensen and W. R. Hutchison (eds), *Missionary Ideologies*

different temporal, spatial and cultural contexts, or have sought to highlight how the roots of the relationship differed geographically even within the boundaries of a small nation like England.<sup>93</sup> This bears out anthropologist Johannes Fabian's argument that research must

go beneath the surface of colonial ideology and practice.... [and] get to the roots of this enterprise, the famed *oeuvre civilisatrice* that once fired the imagination and enthusiasm of honest and intelligent people.... The role which religion – via the missions – played in formulating and sustaining colonialism cannot be reduced to mere ideological justification or pragmatic collaboration'.

He argues instead for a synthesised approach that acknowledges 'the complexity of relations between missionary and secular colonialism'.<sup>94</sup>

It might be argued that this debate has less relevance for New Zealand, which was itself a British colony and therefore hardly a colonising power.<sup>95</sup> With respect to the churches there did not appear to be the same type of commercial collusion that existed between Australian Presbyterians and the Australasian New Hebrides Company.<sup>96</sup> The relative absence of empire related comments from the motivational narratives, then, could be interpreted as supporting this overall argument. Margaret Allen's exploratory study of early Australian Baptist women missionaries in India, however, draws attention to a paradox. These women departed one colonial space, as colonials, to participate in the colonisation of another space. Their self-identity was contestable, being variously identified as 'British, English, South Australian, colonial, Australian, white, Christian and Baptist'. As such:

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*in the Imperialist Era*, pp. 167-177; William R. Hutchison, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Missionary Thought and Foreign Missions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987; Jerry Israel, "For God, for China and for Yale" – The Open Door in Action', *American Historical Review*, 75:3 (1970), pp. 796-807; James Reed, 'American Foreign Policy, The Politics of Missions and Josiah Strong, 1890-1900', *Church History*, 41:2 (1972), pp. 230-245.

<sup>93</sup> For example: Peggy Brock, 'Mission Encounters in the Colonial World: British Columbia and South-West Australia', *JRH*, 24:2 (2000), pp. 159-179; Catherine Hall, "From Greenland's Icy Mountains ... to Afric's Golden Sand": Ethnicity, Race and Nation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England', *Gender and History*, 5:2 (1993), pp. 212-230; and Nicholas Thomas, see footnote 9.

<sup>94</sup> Johannes Fabian, 'Religious and Secular Colonization: Common Ground', *History and Anthropology*, 4 (1990), pp. 339, 352.

<sup>95</sup> Angus Ross concludes, however, that New Zealand had long-held ideological aspirations towards creating imperial space in the South Pacific, that were intricately bound up with allegiance to the British Empire. New Zealand's disastrous involvement in post-World War One Samoa provides a further caveat. Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations in the Pacific in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 288-304; Mary Boyd, 'Racial Attitudes Of New Zealand Officials in Western Samoa', *NZJH*, 21:1 (1987), 139-155.

<sup>96</sup> Roger C. Thompson, 'Commerce, Christianity and Colonialism: The Australasian New Hebrides Company, 1883-1897', *Journal of Pacific History*, 6 (1971), pp. 25-38. Yet Anglican and Presbyterian Church officials, along with public opinion, were influential in forcing government representation to England over the labour trade and French aspirations in the South Pacific. J. A. Salmond, 'New Zealand and the New Hebrides'; Ross, *New Zealand Aspirations*, pp. 70-88, 131-148, 206-229.



There is no evidence that the Australian and Indian women drew together as colonials, rather that the Australian women missionaries' desire to bring Australian women as 'big sisters' and 'mothers', like the English missionaries to Indian women, constituted as 'little sisters' or young children. By missionary work, the Australian women were affirming the gender and race hierarchies of the British Empire that they were white and Christian.<sup>97</sup>

Therefore any absence of comments on the imperial impulse may simply reflect a set of inherent and prevailing cultural assumptions.<sup>98</sup> Allen's observations suggest three apposite points of discussion: the relationship with the British Empire; the relationship between Christianity and culture; and the notion of personal allegiance and identity.

William Blair stated in 1906 that 'India is part of the British Empire; is peopled by a virile race, and is one of the strongholds of the great religion, destined ... to be the most powerful opponents [sic] of Christianity. Hence, as a British student, I feel a responsibility to the people of India'.<sup>99</sup> Blair was New Zealand-born and had recently worked as a missionary trader in the New Hebrides, yet he clearly located himself within a wider set of imperial definitions and responsibilities. Imperial motivation needs to be specifically understood in terms of New Zealand's relationship with the British Empire. This relationship was clearly evolving, although running parallel with internationalist sentiments after 1918,<sup>100</sup> and was largely perceived in a positive light. In missionary circles its clearest expression was to be found in times of change and uncertainty – the turn of the nineteenth century and the South African War,<sup>101</sup> the transition from colony to dominion, and during World War One. The Empire was seen as a means of international unity, symbolised by the monarchy, and as a guarantor of freedom and security for all 'races, religions and degrees of civilisation'.<sup>102</sup> Christianity

<sup>97</sup> Margaret Allen, 'White Already to Harvest', pp. 98, 104.

<sup>98</sup> This absence may also add wider credence to Piggin's suggestion, for British missionaries in India (1789-1858), that we need to differentiate between the 'intention' and the 'cultural effects' of the missionary movement. Stuart Piggin, *Making Evangelical Missionaries, 1789-1858*, pp. 137-139.

<sup>99</sup> 'William Blair', PCNZ FMC, Series 3, Missionary Candidates 1905-1935, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>100</sup> Renate Howe suggests that post-1918 Australian women student volunteers 'saw themselves as a new type of missionary who aimed to build up Indigenous resources in church and society'. Renate Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', p. 317.

<sup>101</sup> New Zealand's involvement in the South African War reflected a heightened sense of connection with the British Empire that emerged in the late nineteenth century. Ian McGibbon, 'The Origins of New Zealand's South African War Contribution', in John Crawford and Ian McGibbon (eds), *One Flag, One Queen, One Tongue*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p. 2.

<sup>102</sup> Bishop Octavius Hadfield, *PGS*, 1898, pp. 3-4; 'A Hymn of Praise for Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee', *NZB*, July 1897, p. 99; H. H. Driver to John Takle, 11 March 1901, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Folder 1, Box 0211, NZBMS Archives. Alison Clarke notes that in Otago 'Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists were as much loyal monarchists as their Anglican and Presbyterian brethren'. Alison Clarke, 'With one accord rejoice on this glad day': Celebrating the Monarchy in Nineteenth-Century Otago', *NZJH*, 36:2 (2002), pp. 155-156.

was integral to this conception. Many understood the Empire's expansion to be providential, and that with this expansion there came spiritual responsibilities. The Empire was more than the 'selling of calico and opening doors of commerce'.<sup>103</sup> The moral qualities of empire citizenship were also extolled more widely. School children were told that they could help the British Empire by learning 'self-reliance', 'self-respect', and 'self-sacrifice', and through honesty, helpfulness, obedience, politeness, hard work, play, and pride.<sup>104</sup> Vivienne Opie (NZCMA/S) captured these sentiments in a Sunday school lesson on the British flag in 1915. The flag stood for 'Freedom, Peace ... the pervading spirit of love and trust between man and man ... wealth and possessions', and was contrasted with the bondage of fear that marked places like Africa. Christianity was the differentiating factor and, therefore, the key to the British Empire's apparent success. The moral was that 'God has opened the way for us and given us all means. We must obey or expect to have our privileges taken from us'.<sup>105</sup>

Lisa Early helpfully suggests that a combination of 'patriotism, nationalist sentiment, and imperialistic beliefs intertwined with evangelical Christianity' provided a 'supportive context for the idea of mission' amongst New Zealand Methodist missionary women.<sup>106</sup> The British Empire provided both the physical and ideological framework for this process within the wider New Zealand movement. Its execution was most pronounced in reference to India, which was often referred to by New Zealand Christians as 'our responsibility' – both denominationally and imperially. Trusteeship was also the platform upon which the Empire might be criticised. If the Empire was founded upon God's providence and Britain was entrusted with a set of moral responsibilities, then any deviation from this was considered retrograde. Jessie MacKay exhorted New Zealand WCTU members as 'Britons, as citizens' to protest the policy

<sup>103</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1899, pp. 1, 13; *ibid*, 1900, pp. 1-3, 11-12; *ibid*, 1915, pp. 38-39.

<sup>104</sup> 'How Boys and Girls of New Zealand Can Help the Empire', *The School Journal*, Part III, June 1911, pp. 154-156; 'Helping the Empire', *The NZ School Journal*, Part I, June 1922, pp. 66-70. See also: E. P. Malone, 'The School Journal and the Imperial Ideology', *NZJH*, 7:1 (1973), pp. 12-27; J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Making Imperial Mentalities: Socialisation and British Imperialism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990, pp. 1-22; and H. D. Morrison, 'Frank Milner, Empire and Education: A Case Study in Empire Education in New Zealand, 1906-1944', Unpublished Essay for HIST 310, New Zealand Social and Political Development, 1876-1951, University of Otago, 1979.

<sup>105</sup> 'Vivienne Opie', ANG 143/3.97, Box 13, NZCMS Archives. These sentiments were not restricted to Anglican Sunday school pedagogy. David Keen argues that Presbyterian Sunday school children in Otago and Southland were taught along similar lines. David Keen, '"Feeding the Lambs": The Influence of Sunday Schools on the Socialization of Children in Otago and Southland, 1848-1901', PhD Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1999, pp. 192-195.

<sup>106</sup> Early, '"If we win the Women"', p. 129.

that ‘has kept Armenia a bleeding tortured sacrifice for the peace and aggrandisement of the British Empire’.<sup>107</sup> Similar comments were periodically made over Britain’s role in China’s opium trade or activities in Africa.<sup>108</sup> Other New Zealanders understood that Western civilisation could be detrimental to indigenous populations. They appealed to Christian mission as the ameliorative solution to such evils.<sup>109</sup> Missionary participation was essential to the ongoing welfare of the Empire, both at ‘home’ and ‘abroad’.

Brian Stanley notes the growing influence of Western cultural assumptions and attitudes from the 1890s. Christianity and civilisation were increasingly linked together by four assumptions: the non-neutrality of other cultures; Britain as a model Christian culture; an implicit faith in human progress; and the belief in the efficacy of civilising projects. The resulting error ‘was to mistake the contingent values of one particular philosophical tradition – the Enlightenment’ for Christianity itself.<sup>110</sup> This coincided with the noted growth of missionary participation in New Zealand from the late nineteenth century, and was reflected in local missionary literature. New Zealand missionaries were not so much initiators of empire as they were confident participants in empire by virtue of origin, destination and their cultural assumptions. Secular and religious literature was replete with stereotypically pejorative images and stories that cast non-Western peoples as degraded, superstitious, ignorant and pitiable.<sup>111</sup> Christianity, often garbed in Western cultural accoutrements, was commonly viewed as the solution.

That these kinds of images and concepts struck a chord with individual Christians was readily apparent from the many narratives that referred to some degree of pity for heathen peoples (Table 7.3). William Searle (BIM) wanted to ‘have the joy of leading the poor sin stricken Indians of Bolivia to our Lord and Master and incidentally to a better and purer life’.<sup>112</sup> There was a common concern for those in the ‘dark’,

<sup>107</sup> Letter to Editor, *The White Ribbon*, September 1896, p. 5.

<sup>108</sup> *Outlook*, 15 December 1900, pp. 17-18; *PCNZ PGA*, 1909, p. 107; *ibid*, 1917, p. 90; Kevin Grant, ‘Christian Critics of Empire’, *JICH*, 29:2 (2001), pp. 27-58.

<sup>109</sup> Bishop John Selwyn, quoted in the *New Zealand Church News*, April 1877, pp. 77-78; John Takle, ‘Hindrances in the Mission Field’, *NZB*, October 1903, p. 149. By the 1920s some were brave enough to suggest that Western imperialism *per se* constituted a hindrance to the progress of indigenised Christianity. For example, Pastor So (New Zealand Baptist Chinese Missioner) addressing St Alban’s Baptist Church Christchurch, *St Alban’s Baptist Church Messenger*, May 1927, Folder 1, Box 0160, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>110</sup> Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag*, pp. 133-155, 160-162, 173.

<sup>111</sup> See sections on theological contours in Chapters Two to Five, and women’s literature in Chapter Six.

<sup>112</sup> ‘Searle, William and Margaret’, Miscellaneous Personnel Files, Box 25, BIM Archives.

‘suffering’ or in ‘need’, who had ‘never heard’ about Christ, or who needed to be raised to a ‘higher plane’. As a result of being Christian (and by implication Western or British), aspiring missionaries thought that they could effect change in the lives of those perceived to be worse off. There were, of course, certain ambiguities within this construction. Some had a dim view of all non-Christian peoples and cultures. The Rev. Harry Driver referred to non-Christian geographic space as ‘some of the dreariest moral deserts of the world’.<sup>113</sup> Other people at least conceded that some cultures had intrinsic merit, with Japan most often favoured.<sup>114</sup> There may also have been a perceptual time lag evident by the 1920s, wherein some of the faith missions continued to view non-Western religions and cultures negatively whilst other groups began to grapple with issues of enculturation and of Christ in culture.<sup>115</sup> Most, however, reflected what George Allan (BIM) wrote about the Bolivian Indians – that they were at once ignorant, to be pitied, politically and socially oppressed, in need of external help and a people of great potential.<sup>116</sup> In these terms motivation was a paradoxical product of the theological and spiritual streams already identified, and of an individual’s temporal, cultural and hegemonic location within a uniquely Western (British) colonial society becoming aware of its own self-identity.

Finally the ‘imperial impulse’ as a motivational factor becomes problematic when the issue of allegiance is considered. As Allen’s study indicates, colonial missionaries in this period could be defined in a number of ways and it is difficult to gauge where their own emphases would lie. As we have noted there was certainly a sense of identification and connection with Britain and the British Empire in both the narratives and the literature. The Bolivian Indian Mission’s magazine, for example, continued to list its New Zealand missionaries as ‘British’ until the late 1920s.<sup>117</sup> At the same time this was obviously a transitional period in New Zealand’s emerging sense of national identity. In some church circles there was some ambivalence over the connections between New

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<sup>113</sup> ‘Between the Centuries’, Presidential Address, *NZB*, December 1899, p. 179. A Presbyterian writer opined that ‘heathen lands are like insanitary areas, and the evil influences proceeding from them enfeeble the moral and spiritual life of even Christianised people’. *Outlook*, 19 August 1899, p. 21.

<sup>114</sup> ‘The Great Alliance’, *NZB*, March 1902. Rotem Kowner relates how the Western relationship with Japan went through noticeable periods of acceptance and rejection following contact with the West from the mid-nineteenth century. Rotem Kowner, “‘Lighter than Yellow, but not Enough’: Western Discourse on the Japanese “Race”, 1854-1904”, *Historical Journal*, 43:1 (2000), pp. 103-131.

<sup>115</sup> A description of Solomon Islands funeral rites by a SSEM missionary in 1930, for example, reads more like a piece from the early to mid- nineteenth-century. [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 8:10 (1930), pp. 238-239.

<sup>116</sup> ‘The Indians of Bolivia’, undated, BIM Miscellaneous Documents, Box 9, BIM Archives.

<sup>117</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, 1922-1928. This changed to ‘New Zealand’ in January-February 1928, back cover.

Zealand and England in particular.<sup>118</sup> The relative lack of references in the narratives to ‘being New Zealanders’ is intriguing, although not surprising given this context. Some applicants had a sense of place, and the privileges and responsibilities that went with living in a new land (see Chapter 4.7). The lack of such references might also suggest that primary allegiances lay elsewhere or were multiform in character. Peter Lineham has raised the interesting notion of an emerging New Zealand psyche, marked by a pioneering spirit and an acceptance of a transient or peripatetic lifestyle, which was conducive to a ‘missionary type’.<sup>119</sup> John Mulgan’s later observation, that New Zealanders were ‘often wanderers and restless and unhappy men’ who ‘all the time were wanting to set out across the wide seas that surround them in order to find the rest of the world’, further indicates that allegiance and identity were very fluid concepts.<sup>120</sup>

In effect allegiance in this period was multi-dimensional. Furthermore the state of being ‘British’ or ‘New Zealander’, ‘male’ or ‘female’ was framed within a wider allegiance that was theological and spiritual by definition. Bishop Sadlier told the NZCMA annual meeting in 1915 that the ‘Church existed for the building up of the Empire of Christ and the Kingdom of God’.<sup>121</sup> Imperial imagery was often employed to accentuate that this was the primary allegiance, above and beyond the call for service to country or Empire. In times of war the lament was often sounded that the great surge of imperial patriotism was not equalled by fervour for the greater Empire.<sup>122</sup> At the height of the horrors of World War One the Rev. John Takle used this notion of the ‘greater imperium’ to remind Baptists of this greater allegiance, and of its infinitely greater inspirational qualities.<sup>123</sup> The lack of references to national or imperial allegiance in non-denominational narratives also partially reflected this sense of a greater allegiance. Some organisations, like the Sudan United Mission, participated more formally in such colonial projects as primary and secondary education. Most, however, distanced themselves from colonial authorities in order to proceed with the primary aim of pioneer

<sup>118</sup> Anglicans in 1906, for example, debated the benefits and demerits of the notion of the Empire, and of the New Zealand Church’s connection with its English counterpart. *Church Gazette*, February 1906, pp. 36-37; *ibid*, March, p. 58; *ibid*, April, pp. 73-75; *ibid*, May, pp. 99-100; *ibid*, June, pp. 121-122.

<sup>119</sup> Peter Lineham, ‘Missionary Motivation in New Zealand’, *The Proceedings of the Aotearoa New Zealand Association of Mission Studies Conference*, November 2000.

<sup>120</sup> John Mulgan, *Report on Experience*, London: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. 3-4. I am indebted to the Rev. Rob Yule for alerting me to this reference.

<sup>121</sup> *NZCMA Report*, 1915, pp. 38-39.

<sup>122</sup> For example: *NZCMA Report*, 1900, pp. 5-6; *NZCMA Report*, 1915, pp. 38-39.

<sup>123</sup> ‘The Inspiration of the Imperium in India’, *NZB*, November 1916, pp. 210-214.

evangelism and church planting. Their narratives made repeated reference to surrender, submission, service and sacrifice in obedience to God and for the sake of the heathen. That they did so as New Zealanders or Empire citizens was secondary to, or at least framed within, a wider set of theological and spiritual imperatives and assumptions.

When applying in 1911 Annie Hancock (CVM) feelingly wrote that ‘I shall leave so many advantages and privileges behind me, that possibly no other inducement would be sufficient to make me wish to spend my life in a foreign country, than the foreign mission purpose’.<sup>124</sup> On a more mundane level Annie Cresswell (BIM) noted that:

To the worker at home, especially to one whose lot is cast among what might be termed “common tasks”, the labour of her sister in a foreign land seems all important.... We ... know that the difference is not so great as some imagine.... Circumstances and conditions certainly are different, but ... there is little romance about the life of a missionary.<sup>125</sup>

Ultimately missionary motivation emanated from a complex mix of idealism and pragmatism; of gender differences, opportunities and constraints; of personal circumstances and historical context; of the spiritual, the theological and the mundane. Myrtle Hill is surely right when she comments that it is ‘virtually impossible to disentangle the religious and secular motivations’ involved.<sup>126</sup> This chapter has highlighted the ‘religious’ dimensions simply in an attempt to argue that these were fundamentally important in the minds of the participants. The use of a contextual narrative approach also indicates that these underlying religious categories interacted with and were influenced by a range of contextual factors specific to the period 1868-1926. This approach also synthesises what were, in effect, some 700 individual stories. Whilst not intending to diminish the uniquely different circumstances of these individual lives, the approach argues that individual motivation must ultimately be set within its equally unique geographical, ideological, theological, socio-economic and historical contexts.

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<sup>124</sup> ‘Annie Hancock’, 6.13, CVM (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>125</sup> *Tahuantín Suyu*, March 1914, pp. 28-30.

<sup>126</sup> Hill, ‘Women in the Irish Protestant Foreign Missions c. 1873-1914’, p. 181.

## Chapter Eight

### Understanding Missionary Support, 1868-1926

#### 8.1 Introduction

Throughout 1884 Presbyterian children in Otago and Southland followed the serialised story of a young boy living in southwest Queensland.<sup>1</sup> It was a somewhat disjointed morality tale with a clear missionary focus. Herbert Kingsley was a nine year-old boy whose recovery from a long illness was aided by the care and prayers of his mother and the gift of a pony from his father. One afternoon he was thrown by his pony miles from home and spent the night in an Aboriginal encampment. A visiting bush missionary, a heroic and practical man, led the search that eventually found Herbert. His credibility enhanced, the bush missionary later organised a Sunday service in the family homestead that attracted a wide group of people. Central to his sermon was the text from Mark 16:15 and examples drawn from Australian Presbyterian work in the New Hebrides and the LMS in New Guinea. Herbert's interest was aroused. He asked his father if he could have a missionary collection box made for him, and one of the station hands was set to the task. This man, a crusty old Scot, was moved to tears as the project resurrected childhood memories of his mother's influence and the long forgotten practice of supporting Scottish missionaries. Upon completion he canvassed other employees for contributions to the box, and the box itself became a symbolic focus for arousing missionary interest. Herbert regularly added coins to his box and, over successive months, devoured the missionary literature that his mother had subscribed to on his behalf. As a climax to the story Herbert and his father travelled five days to Brisbane where he proudly presented the local LMS office with the total sum of £5-18s-6d.

This was a very ordinary story, penned by the Rev. C. Stuart Ross, which aimed to raise interest in both the LMS and Presbyterian missionary work. It also hinted at a range of factors pertinent to a wider understanding of missionary support in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There was a clear catalytic and sustaining role played by women (especially the 'mother') and by individual missionary enthusiasts. There was also an appeal to earlier traditions of support established in Britain. The child was certainly held up as an exemplar of missionary support, and childhood identified as the

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<sup>1</sup> 'Herbert Kingsley; or, How a Boy Helped the Mission Cause', *New Zealand Missionary Record*, April 1884, pp. 73-75; *ibid*, May, pp. 97-98; *ibid*, June, pp. 102-105; *ibid*, July, pp. 117-119; *ibid*, August, pp. 132-134.

key developmental stage in which to foster a life-long missionary interest. Moreover the story indicated that missionary support should be constructed on a firm foundation of convinced and committed individuals. Finally the story also suggests that the notion of missionary enthusiasm needs to be understood as both active and latent, as not everywhere and with everyone the same, and that it may be more accurate to think in terms of ‘degrees’ or ‘reservoirs’ of enthusiasm rather than enthusiasm *per se*.

This chapter argues that financial statistics indicate that the missionary movement had attained a central place in the life and objectives of the Church by the 1920s. It also argues that missionary support was complexly nuanced. Support patterns also need to be understood with respect to gender, particular age groups, geographical locality, denominations, local churches, individual enthusiasm, familial linkages, and resistance to foreign missions. The chapter does not aim to provide an exhaustive description of the various support mechanisms. This was provided, in representative form, in Chapters Two to Five. Rather it seeks to delineate the extent of the movement’s support; and to probe the significance of the obvious support base that existed amongst women, children and young people. Because of a relative dearth of secondary literature this chapter remains exploratory both in terms of its content and its methodology.

## 8.2 Indicators of Missionary Support

### Missionary Finances

The assumption has been made in preceding chapters that missionary finances are a useful measure of domestic support.<sup>2</sup> Commentators of the period certainly thought so, although they varied in the degree of emphasis. J. Campbell White, of the American Laymen’s Missionary Movement, opined in 1910 that ‘money is not the only condition of evangelizing the world, but it is an essential condition’.<sup>3</sup> Closer to home a Baptist writer suggested that there was a link between financial giving and spiritual devotion.

There is nothing necessarily mean and sordid about money. It may indeed be invested with a celestial glory. If given with purity of motive and worthiness of aim, it acquires a value which cannot be stated in commercial terms. Love to Jesus Christ, zeal for the spread of His kingdom, pity for the perishing heathen, may all be expressed in the gifts,

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<sup>2</sup> This assumption has its precedent in the international literature, including: Dow, ‘Domestic Response and Reaction’; Andrew Ross, ‘Scottish Missionary Concern 1874-1914: A Golden Era?’, *Scottish Historical Review*, 51 (1972), pp.52-72; and Brian Stanley, ‘Home Support for Foreign Missions in Early Victorian England, c. 1838-1873’, PhD, Cambridge University, 1979.

<sup>3</sup> ‘General Missionary Intelligence’, *The Missionary Review of the World*, 33:1 (1910), p. 63.



large or small, which our contributors devote to our funds.... Pray and Pay! Let the love of the heart go with the gift of the hand.<sup>4</sup>

Even those faith missions that tended to downplay the profile of money, like the BIM, CIM and PIVM, accentuated its importance more subtly through the publication of annual financial summaries and occasional magazine articles.<sup>5</sup> In a post-Edinburgh Conference survey of British missionary finances Kenneth MacLennan offered a more considered opinion on the usefulness of financial statistics. He argued that:

The missionary society balance sheet is an unerring thermometer of the vitality of the home base. Variation shows growth or decline of the missionary spirit, or a rise or fall of confidence in the work of the societies. It tests also the quality of vitality. It shows whether any expansion of liberality is the expression of temporary strong emotion ... or whether there is such a real conviction that the new interest is permanent.<sup>6</sup>

New Zealand financial statistics exist in reasonable detail, mainly in the form of annual denominational and organisational summaries. NZBMS, NZCMA/S and Presbyterian summaries are particularly useful because they were regionally and congregationally delineated. Annual reports provide a useful contextual framework for these statistics. There are also miscellaneous financial records amongst the unpublished sources, which provide windows through which to view missionary support. These sources are by no means foolproof, with respect to historical analysis, and need to be viewed with some caution. Gaps in published material mean that complete series of figures only exist for the NZBMS and for the Presbyterian Church. Series figures were also complicated by the introduction of denominational budgeted giving<sup>7</sup> or by changes in categorisation. Direct comparison between denominations, groups or periods is not always possible.

Total annual income for all five representative groups exhibited continued growth up to the end of the period (1930) – the Presbyterian Church from £575 (1870) to £11,540; the NZBMS from £428 (1886) to £5, 201; the NZCMA/S from £548 (1893) to £8,424; the CIM from £138 (1894) to at least £2,192; and the BIM from £112 (1899) to at least £728.<sup>8</sup> The nature of this growth, measured at five yearly intervals, can be seen more clearly in semi-logarithmic form in Figure 8.1.

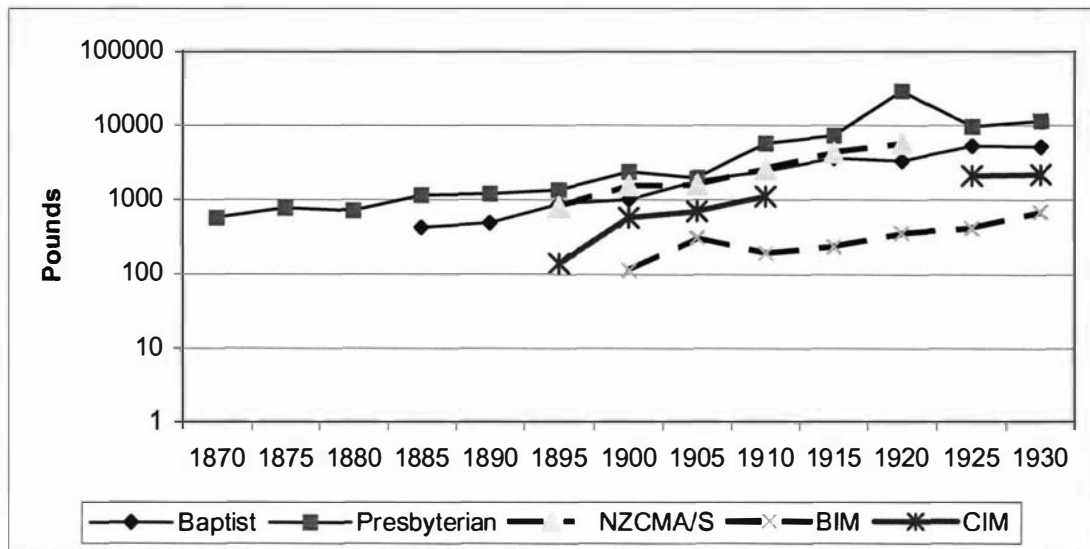
<sup>4</sup> NZB, February 1902, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> For example: 'Financial Policy and Practice of the BIM', *Bolivian Indian*, July-August 1929, pp. 53-55.

<sup>6</sup> 'Missionary Finance', *International Review of Missions*, 1:3 (1912), p. 488.

<sup>7</sup> In J. S. Murray's opinion, for example, growth in Presbyterian missionary giving was greatest prior to the establishment of a denominational budget in 1920-1921. Murray, *A Century of Growth*, p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> Income statistics are based on the following sources: Anglican – *NZCMA/S Annual Reports*, 1893-1930, *PGS*, 1877-1928, and *NZABM Annual Reports*, 1920-1930; Baptist – *NZBMS Annual Reports*, 1886-

**Figure 8.1 – Growth in Annual Income for Representative Groups, 1870-1930<sup>9</sup>**

Two broad patterns were apparent. On the one hand the BIM and CIM experienced a much higher initial rate of growth (177 and 318 per cent respectively), before settling down to more modest annual growth. This may have been typical of the non-denominational groups more generally where an initial interest and enthusiasm was ignited, which then had to be sustained by a much smaller constituency. This also appears to have been the case for the PIVM. Although longer-term figures are missing, the PIVM initially received at least £1,323 from New Zealand supporters between April 1898 and September 1899.<sup>10</sup> Yet two lines of evidence suggest that the BIM's and CIM's donor base did experience longer-term growth. In the initial years, between 1899 and 1906, median monthly giving to the BIM grew from £11 to £24. Annual income continued to grow by a mean growth rate of twelve per cent between 1910 and 1928. The number of CIM receipts issued annually for individual donations grew from 135 in 1899 to 197 by 1905. Incomplete records suggest that this figure had increased to around 300 by 1930. This may, however, have also reflected the same individuals giving more than once in any given year. On the other hand the rates of growth for the

1930, and the *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1903-1930; BIM – Correspondence of the Dunedin and New Zealand Committee of the SAEM, the ASAM, and the BIM, 1900-1913, and from *Tahuantín Suyu*, 1911-1914 and the *Bolivian Indian*, 1914-1930; CIM – *China's Millions*, 1894, 1899-1912, 1918-1928; Presbyterian – *PCSO PS*, 1866-1901, *PCNZ PGA*, 1861-1930, and *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1905-1930.

<sup>9</sup> The figures are graphed semi-logarithmically (with the vertical y-axis scaled logarithmically and the horizontal x-axis scaled normally) so that the differential lines of income (for example the much higher Presbyterian figures compared with those for the BIM) could be more usefully compared in the same graph. A similar approach was adopted by Stanley, 'Home Support for Foreign Missions in Early Victorian England', p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> *White Already to Harvest*, July, October 1898; January, April, August, November 1899, Back Cover.

NZBMS, NZCMA/S and Presbyterian Church were less pronounced but more consistent, with distinctive increases from 1900 to the late 1910s. The sudden increase in 1920 for the Presbyterian Church was anomalous, because a campaign to redress a major deficit netted £28,847. Total income for these three denominational groupings grew between 1,115 and 1,907 per cent up to 1930 – a much higher rate of growth than for ordinary church giving, and for the growth in both churches and membership.

The trends in both Figure 8.1 and for percentage growth indicate that the period after 1900 was one of financial consolidation.<sup>11</sup> The base of missionary giving broadened both in terms of donors and in the variety of ways in which money came to the organisations. This, in turn, reflected the ongoing growth of missionary personnel and projects, and greater organisational sophistication (Chapters Four and Five). Baptist and Presbyterian figures further indicate this consolidation of financial support (Table 8.1).

**Table 8.1 – Financial Indicators of NZBMS and Presbyterian Missionary Support, 1900 and 1930<sup>12</sup>**

Indicators	NZBMS		Presbyterian	
	1900	1930	1900	1930
Percentage of Congregations Giving	86	100	70	86
Mean Congregational Giving (£)	24	20	12	29
Median Congregational Giving (£)	10	11	8	13
Mean Per Capita Giving (shillings)	3	3	2	3
Median Per Capita Giving (shillings)	2	2	1	2
Proportion Given by Largest Congregations <sup>13</sup>	37 (4)	40 (6)	19 (5)	17 (8)

Whilst Anglican figures are less easily compared,<sup>14</sup> similar trends were occurring. By 1915 missionary giving, as a proportion of total giving, had increased for all dioceses. By the mid-1920s NZABM church income reached £19,000, growing by sixteen per cent between 1922 and 1926. Total mean parish giving reached £30 by 1930. For the NZCMS the five parishes giving the most money by 1918 accounted for forty-nine per

<sup>11</sup> Whilst there was some evidence of rapid financial growth before 1900 (the BIM and CIM for example), it was probably more the case that initial moderate growth in missionary finances coincided with belated economic development in the North Island, economic depression more generally, and the struggle for denominations to cope with constant debt due to building programmes. See Troughton, 'Christianity and Community Aspects of Religious Life and Attitudes in The Wanganui-Manawatu Region', pp. 34-35.

<sup>12</sup> Based on figures for ordinary and regular congregational missionary offerings or collections. Mean and median congregational giving is in pounds, and mean and median per capita giving is in shillings.

<sup>13</sup> For the 'largest congregations' category the figure in brackets is the number of Baptist congregations with over 200 members and of Presbyterian congregations with over 500 members.

<sup>14</sup> There are a number of problems: the series of published NZCMA/S annual reports is incomplete after 1918; Anglicans were giving to a wide range of missionary causes, but these were not always delineated; reporting categories changed over time; and whilst all missionary giving was channelled through the New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions after 1921, this was only recorded by diocese and not by parish.

cent of annual income, compared with seventy per cent in the 1890s. Median parish giving to the NZCMA/S rose from £3 in 1900 to £18 by 1918.

Baptist giving to the NZBMS provides a closer perspective on the progressive consolidation of financial support (Table 8.2).<sup>15</sup> A broadly based sense of financial obligation and ownership underpinned Baptist giving by 1910. With the exception of congregations in Otago and Southland, this was not the case for the Presbyterian Church until at least 1920. This pattern persisted even amongst the smaller Baptist congregations that were increasingly established in towns and rural areas after 1900. A Baptist home mission station at Ohakune, in the central North Island, was a case in point. A year after its establishment in 1909, the Rev. Guy Thornton reported that their first NZBMS missionary box contained children's money and gifts (including a tin of jam sacrificed by a young boy) and money given by several low-earning families.<sup>16</sup>

**Table 8.2 – Features of Baptist Giving to the NZBMS, 1890-1930<sup>17</sup>**

Indicators	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930
Percentage of Congregations Giving	71	86	96	100	100
Ratio of Regular Donors to Members	1:11	1:14	1:10	-	-
Mean Congregational Giving (£)	19	24	21	38	20
Median Congregational Giving (£)	5	10	7	17	11
Mean Per Capita Giving (shillings)	3	3	3	5	3
Median Per Capita Giving (shillings)	2	2	2	3	2
Proportion Given by Largest Congregations	67 (4)	37 (4)	51 (4)	56 (5)	40 (6)

As a function of their comparative size the larger urban Baptist congregations (Auckland Tabernacle, Vivian Street in Wellington, Oxford Terrace in Christchurch, and Hanover Street in Dunedin) were consistently the largest gross contributors. Yet two further features indicate that Baptist financial support was firmly established amongst all congregations, irrespective of size or locality. Firstly, per capita giving by members was consistently as high or higher amongst smaller rural and urban congregations. The larger congregations dominated these figures up to 1900, but from then on smaller congregations like Oamaru (North Otago), Greendale and Kirwee (Canterbury), Gisborne, and Waihi (Auckland) were more prominent. By 1930 per

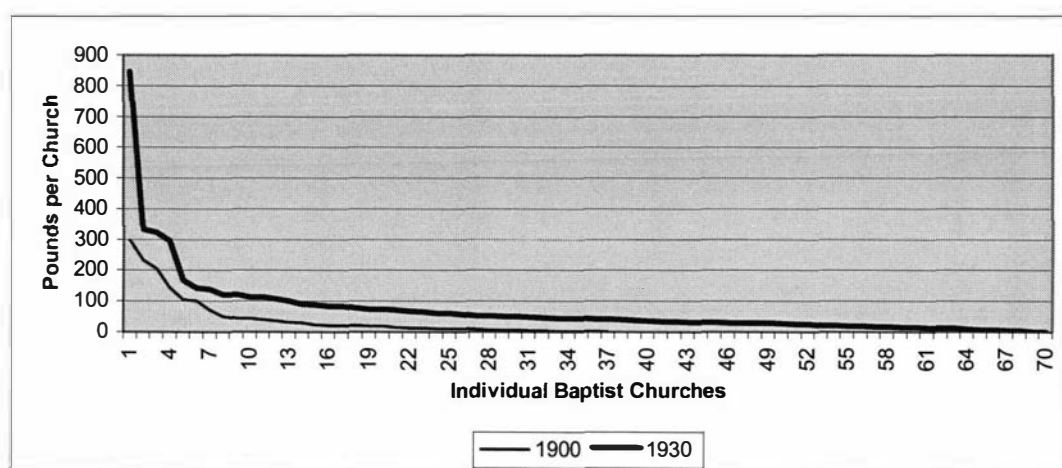
<sup>15</sup> The categories used for financial reporting throughout the period were relatively consistent, as was the even geographical distribution of churches. There were also increasingly larger numbers of Baptist missionaries participating outside the NZBMS, and the Baptist denomination had the highest ratio of missionaries to members by 1930. If NZBMS support was increasing, there must also have been an increasingly significant amount of Baptist money going to the support of these other missionaries.

<sup>16</sup> *NZB*, October 1910, p. 198.

<sup>17</sup> Based on the Baptist figures in Table 8.1, and extracted from the sources listed in footnote 8.

capita giving in the larger congregations had increased again, but still lagged behind those that were smaller. Secondly, there was a substantial raft of congregations, large and small in membership, each giving less than £100 annually (Figure 8.2). Between 1900 and 1930 the percentage annually giving more than £100 only increased from sixteen to nineteen per cent of the total. In other words between eighty-one and eighty-four per cent of congregations comprised the financial mainstay of the NZBMS. Analysis of contributions to both the NZCMA/S and the Presbyterian Church suggests the same general pattern, with a larger percentage giving less than £100 – between ninety-two and ninety-four per cent. One Baptist commentator, as early as 1895, called this the ‘union of littles’ that represented ‘much love and self-sacrifice to Him who estimates our gifts by the motive that prompts them and the self-denial they involve’.<sup>18</sup>

**Figure 8.2 – Ranked Contributions to the NZBMS by Church, 1900 and 1930<sup>19</sup>**



Financial consolidation after 1900 can also be witnessed in the increasingly diverse ways in which denominations and organisations received their income. For example between 1905 and 1915 individual and household collection box money decreased from thirty to fourteen per cent of NZCMA/S annual income. Conversely a growing percentage of income was derived from free and special donations, subscriptions, literature sales, and through the ‘Own Missionary’ scheme. In 1910 people and parishes were funding twenty-five specific projects – including three Maori Mission projects.<sup>20</sup> Whilst regular Baptist Church collections and offerings also made up around a third of NZBMS income, this proportion was decreasing by 1930. Later discussion will show

<sup>18</sup> *NZB*, February 1895, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Based on the same Baptist sources listed in footnote 8.

<sup>20</sup> *NZCMA Annual Report*, 1910, p. 12.

that BMWU, Sunday school and young people's money became increasingly important, making up fifty-five per cent of annual income by 1930. Significant NZBMS funds were also derived from special collections for projects (such as the £1,273 collected for the Chandpur Hospital in 1900),<sup>21</sup> deficits and particular exigencies. The response to a large deficit in 1915 again occasioned the observation that financial survival was in the hands of the smaller churches.<sup>22</sup> Just as significant was the apparent swiftness with which all regions responded to an appeal in 1920, for an extra £1,000 to redress a budget deficit caused by exchange rate problems. Baptist men, in particular, more than rose to this challenge.<sup>23</sup> Baptists were also innovative in the range of financial schemes implemented (see Chapter 4.6 for the full range of these). A series of debentures, issued in 1915 to the amount of £1,500, was almost fully subscribed to by supporters.<sup>24</sup> A more enduring innovation was the annual Self Denial week adopted in 1915. Ninety-five per cent of churches participated in the first year<sup>25</sup> and, by the mid-1920s, this scheme was netting the NZBMS up to a quarter of its annual income.

Congregational offerings and donations were also the mainstay of Presbyterian giving, averaging seventy-one per cent of annual income between 1901 and 1910, seventy-six per cent between 1911 and 1920, and diminishing to sixty-five per cent after 1925. Other sources, such as the PWMU, were also important, although a breakdown of proportional giving is more difficult to gauge. Of particular significance in the Presbyterian context was the increasing number of congregations and groups supporting individual missionaries either completely or in part. An 'own missionary' scheme was proposed as early as 1903 but did not really take off until at least 1913,<sup>26</sup> when there were seven churches supporting ten missionaries as well as two supported by each of the Young Men's and Young Women's Bible Class Unions. A further seven churches were added by 1920 and another six by 1925. In addition two missionaries were wholly supported by a married couple and the PWMU Girls' Auxiliary respectively, and one church took on the support of a second missionary as did the Men's Bible Class Union.

<sup>21</sup> 'NZBMS Receipts for the Year 1899-1900', *MM*, December 1900, p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1915-1916', in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1915-1916, p. 78.

<sup>23</sup> 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1920-1921', in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1920-1921, pp. 64-65.

<sup>24</sup> 'NZBMS Debentures', Box 0642, NZBMS Archives; NZB, January 1916, p. 4; 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1915-1917', in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1915-1916, p. 78.

<sup>25</sup> 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1916-1917', in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1916-1917, p. 76.

<sup>26</sup> St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Oamaru, proposed to raise £100 annually for such a scheme. The FMC deferred any immediate decision on this at the time. 11 November 1903, Minutes of the PCNZ FMC, 1901-1913, Series 1, GA0001; 'Missions Report, 1913', *PCNZ PGA*, pp. 81-82.

Whilst the early core of these congregations was in Otago and Southland, there was a broad geographical distribution by 1920. Adoption of this scheme represented a substantial annual commitment, averaging £232 per church or group by 1926. Within the FMC there was periodic concern that this would dissipate wider congregational missionary giving. Yet St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Dunedin, which pioneered the scheme in 1905 and wholly supported three missionaries by 1913, was convinced that the scheme had effectively boosted its general and missionary giving.<sup>27</sup> Whether or not this was representative, it was obvious that targeted giving by a wide range of groups became a well-entrenched mode of financial support amongst all denominations.

Legacies or bequests are a further indicator of the diversity and depth of financial support. The PCNZ FMC began to note these as early as 1903.<sup>28</sup> Similar donations were noted for the NZBMS from 1908, the NZCMA/S from 1910, the BIM from 1914 and the CIM from 1924.<sup>29</sup> These were never a large percentage of annual income, nor consistent in frequency or amount. Presbyterian legacies averaged seven per cent of annual income, with the largest gifts (in 1904 and 1927) respectively comprising twenty-five and thirty-two per cent of annual income.<sup>30</sup> Yet such sporadic gifts may have had deeper significance. The direction in which money is disbursed after death is a reasonable indicator of what people value. Therefore the endowment of estates to missionary organisations denoted that the missionary project was gaining respectability. Tragic circumstances surrounding the establishment of a NZCMS administered trust adds weight to this argument. Noel and Selwyn Williams, of Hawke's Bay, died in Gallipoli and France in 1915 and in 1917. The family wanted their sons' life insurance (£2,000) to go to both the NZCMA and Melanesian Mission, as a way of devoting the money (and their sons' memory) 'to sacred work'.<sup>31</sup> That the missionary cause should come readily to mind, in the midst of such traumatic circumstances, strongly suggests that it was becoming a more deeply ingrained priority.

<sup>27</sup> Total giving rose from £10,604 between 1895 and 1905, to £20,376 between 1905 and 1915 – a growth rate of ninety-two per cent. Growth in membership in the same period reached no higher than ten per cent. 'Missions Report, 1916', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 86.

<sup>28</sup> The Southland-Otago Synod, however, had received legacies as early as 1878 when £500 from the life insurance of a Mr Borrie was donated. 'Missions Report, 1878', *PCSO PS*, pp. 12-13.

<sup>29</sup> Other organisations also received legacies. In 1915 the PIVM received the sizeable sum of £2,100 from the will of a Miss Hawley of Canterbury. *White Already to Harvest*, July 1915, p. 104.

<sup>30</sup> 'Missions Report, 1904', *PCNZ PGA*, pp. 149-150; 'Missions Report, 1927', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> G. Coldham Williams to Kimberley, 9 August 1915 and 5 February 1917, in 'Williams', ANG 143/3.126, Box 17, NZCMS Archives.

Financial consolidation up to 1930 was indicative of a broadening consolidation of the missionary *mentalité*. At the same time, despite its growth, a sense of financial vulnerability underlay the movement. As early as 1881 the Rev. William Bannerman, convenor of the Southland-Otago Synod's FMC, warned that 'if we are to maintain the work undertaken, to say nothing of extending our operations, a much larger annual income than hitherto received must be placed in the hands of the committee'.<sup>32</sup> This was a repeated refrain throughout the period, even though reports were also quick to acknowledge the liberality of supporters and the growth of income. Increasingly the problem was one of expenditure exceeding income, exacerbated by contextual factors like World War One, exchange rate problems and the onset of economic depression (all in the 1920s). In this sense Kenneth MacLennan's observation, that the rise and fall in missionary finances directly reflected missionary enthusiasm, is less easily sustained. More realistically this rise and fall reflected fluctuating missionary enthusiasm and a range of contextual influences, both of which rendered the movement vulnerable. The struggle to raise the profile, and therefore the funding, of missionary ventures was reflected in the repeated call for systematic and more widespread giving, and experimentation with appropriate or new support structures. A practical exhortation by the Rev. F. Buckingham, in 1908, was representative of sentiments movement-wide.

Now, how are we going to show our love to these devoted workers upon our Mission Field?... The income has been as irregular as the expenditure has been regular. Brethren, this must be altered.... It is not want of love to our Missions, or lack of interest in the movement, but the absence of systematic method in the gathering of the funds.... How can it be done? By ministers recognising that they are members of the Baptist Union, and impressing the people to the same effect ... by appointing a good local Secretary, with a staff of collectors all filled with the missionary spirit and a mind to work.<sup>33</sup>

The movement was widely supported, but it was obvious that this support was uneven and that its historical growth was inconsistent. Ultimately it may be more accurate to assess these overall financial trends in association with a number of other indicators.

### **Other Indicators**

When financial statistics are compared with missionary and applicant data, missionary support and enthusiasm appeared to be less evenly distributed. Both sets of indicators, taken together, suggest that there were two parallel processes whereby support was focussed around particular nodes or reservoirs of enthusiasm, whilst at the same time it became more widely and nationally consolidated. Thus it may be more constructive to

<sup>32</sup> Letter to the Editor, *New Zealand Presbyterian*, April 1881, p. 200

<sup>33</sup> 'Presidential Address', NZBU Conference, 1908, *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1909, pp. 20-21.



assess enthusiasm and support at a range of micro levels – denominations, regions, local churches, families, and individuals – as well as at the national level.

**Table 8.3 – Main Sending Churches, Regions and Cities/Towns, 1869-1930<sup>34</sup>**

Indicators	Details
<b>Anglicans</b>	
Major Parishes	St Sepulchre's Auckland (4), All Saints Nelson (3), All Saints Palmerston North (3), St Matthew's Dunedin (3), Napier Cathedral (2), Christchurch Cathedral (2), New Brighton (2), St Luke's Oamaru (2), St Peter's Wellington (2), Waiheke (2)
Major Regions	Canterbury, Auckland, Hawkes Bay, Nelson/Marlborough, Wanganui/Manawatu
Major Cities/Towns	Auckland, Christchurch, Napier, Nelson, Wellington
<b>Baptists</b>	
Major Congregations	Auckland Tabernacle (21), South Dunedin (14), Hanover Street Dunedin (12), Vivian Street Wellington (7), Oxford Terrace Christchurch (7), Nelson (6), Ashburton (4), Owaka (4), Grange Road Auckland (4), Hamilton (4)
Major Regions	Auckland, Otago, Canterbury, Wellington, Wanganui/Manawatu
Major Cities/Towns	Auckland, Dunedin, Wellington, Christchurch, Nelson
<b>Presbyterians</b>	
Major Congregations	Knox Dunedin (9), St Andrew's Dunedin (5), Columba Oamaru (4), Anderson's Bay Dunedin (3), Gore (3), Mosgiel (2), North East Valley Dunedin (2), St Luke's Remuera (2), Feilding (2), Hawera (2)
Major Regions	Otago, Canterbury, Auckland, Southland, Wanganui/Manawatu
Major Cities/Towns	<u>Dunedin, Auckland, Christchurch, Wellington, Oamaru and Invercargill</u>

An initial analysis, using missionary and applicant data, highlights patterns of support that were uniquely intra-denominational (Table 8.3). Each denomination had particular congregations which acted as foci for missionary interest and support. The most pronounced of these were within the Baptist denomination. The four largest urban congregations dominated both the financial and missionary/applicant statistics, although the Auckland Tabernacle's profile rose more latterly in the 1920s. With twenty-eight per cent of Baptist members in 1930, these four provided twenty-seven per cent of all Baptist missionaries and twenty-nine per cent of NZBMS total annual income by 1930.<sup>35</sup> Furthermore they were centres of wider missionary organisation. Hanover Street provided much of the early impetus for the BWMU from 1903, and the Auckland Tabernacle was central to the formation and activities of various regional NZBMS auxiliaries. Yet there were also a number of smaller Baptist congregations that, relative

<sup>34</sup> Based on missionary and applicant data used in Chapters Two to Five. In each line the top ten congregations and the top five regions and cities/towns are given in order of most (missionaries and applicants) to least. Bracketed numbers are the known missionaries only for each congregation or parish.

<sup>35</sup> 'Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 1930'; and 'NZBMS Annual Report, 1930-1931, both in *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1930-1931, Appendix.

to their size, also made a significant contribution. South Dunedin Baptist stood out in this regard, with fourteen missionaries in eight different organisations between 1896 and 1918. This church was born out of evangelistic work in South Dunedin's working class communities, and bore the marks of the influential pioneer Baptist layman William Ings (three of whose children were amongst the church's missionaries).<sup>36</sup> The early emphasis was on people reaching people with the Gospel, rather than on building projects. It might be surmised that this expansive ethos endured, fostered by later ministers who themselves had a keen missionary interest,<sup>37</sup> and was translated into a wider congregational commitment to foreign missionary support.<sup>38</sup> The other denominations also had influential and high profile churches. As well as those listed in Table 8.3 notable examples included Kent Terrace Congregational Wellington, Trinity Congregational Christchurch, Moray Place Congregational Dunedin, and Brethren assemblies in Invercargill, Nelson, and Rongotea in the Manawatu. Perhaps as a function of larger denominational size, and a focus on national or regional structures and programmes, there were fewer individual Anglican and Presbyterian congregations that stood out. Participation and support was more evenly spread, with Anglican and Presbyterian sending churches on average each supporting two missionaries.

Of greater note were some distinctive intra-denominational regional patterns. Otago and Southland, and Dunedin in particular, remained an important heartland of Presbyterian support. By 1930 at least eighty-eight per cent of Otago and Southland churches were contributing financially, with three churches and two presbyteries amongst the highest per capita national contributors. Moreover a third of Otago and Southland churches had provided missionaries and applicants by 1930. Apart from Canterbury and Northland,

<sup>36</sup> See further: Tonson, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 1, pp. 102-104, and Clifford, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 2, pp. 36-38; Natalie Fraser-Wood, *A Biography – William Ings: Early Settler and Baptist Layman*, Dunedin: Natalie Fraser-Wood, 1989; and Martin Sutherland (ed.), *Baptists in Colonial New Zealand: Documents Illustrating Baptist Life and Development*, Auckland: New Zealand Baptist Research and Historical Society, 2002, pp. 48-50, 215.

<sup>37</sup> For example: in 1906 the Rev. William Perry was minister (previously a missionary with the PIVM, 1899-1900, and later a BIM Council member); in 1925 the Rev. Guy Thornton was minister; and in 1930 the Rev. S. Jenkins was minister whilst also editor of the *Young Folks' Missionary Messenger*. NZB, July 1899, p. 107; Clifford, *A Handful of Grain*, vol. 2, pp. 63, 64, 78, 82; 'Statistics of the Baptist Churches in New Zealand, 1925 and 1930', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1925-1926, 1930-1931, Appendix.

<sup>38</sup> Note that this case fits into a broader pattern. South Dunedin was a distinctively evangelical Protestant area, with around half the population fitting this label. 'They went more regularly to church, and showed greater zeal over a range of moral and social issues, public as well as private, than most non-evangelical Christians.' John Stenhouse, 'God, the Devil and Gender', in Barbara Brookes, Annabel Cooper and Robin Law (eds), *Sites of Gender: Women, Men and Modernity in Southern Dunedin, 1890-1939*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2003, p. 328.

this figure was in excess of any other region's contribution by an average of ten per cent. The national figure was twenty-six per cent of Presbyterian churches.<sup>39</sup> Amongst Anglicans four particular diocesan regions predominated – Auckland, Christchurch, Waiapu and Nelson. Auckland tended to be a focus for Melanesian Mission support, and Christchurch a focus for both the Melanesian Mission and the NZCMA/S.<sup>40</sup> Waiapu and Nelson stood out in terms of their larger contribution to NZCMA funds relative to their membership size (Table 8.4). By 1915 a greater percentage of their parishes was giving to the NZCMA than for the other dioceses. This was especially the case in Nelson, with up to a third of both city and rural churches active in support. Mean parish and per capita giving may also have been higher. Together these two dioceses contributed twenty-eight per cent of all known Anglican missionaries, thirty-eight per cent of other applicants or enquirers and, during the 1920s, also continued to give proportionally more than their membership to the joint funds of the NZABM.

**Table 8.4 – NZCMA Giving Compared with Membership, 1895-1915 (%s)<sup>41</sup>**

Diocese	Membership			NZCMA Giving		
	1895	1905	1915	1895	1905	1915
Auckland	27	24	24	9	7	14
Waiapu	14	12	9	45	34	40
Wellington	19	21	26	9	10	13
Nelson	11	9	7	31	31	20
Christchurch	19	20	22	3	13	12
Dunedin	10	15	12	4	4	2

Further analysis also highlights a wider group of indicators. In the first place there were distinctive regions, quite apart from centres like Dunedin and Auckland, marked by strong missionary support. Often these regions were reasonably small and tightly drawn. Southland is a useful example, although discussion could also focus on Nelson, Wanganui/Manawatu, and Hawke's Bay/East Coast. Between 1875 and 1930 thirty-nine missionaries and twenty-eight other applicants came from Southland. Half of these departed from New Zealand after 1919. Although around forty per cent came from Invercargill, and a large percentage were Presbyterian, this grouping was widespread in

<sup>39</sup> National Baptist and Anglican figures were sixty and nine per cent respectively.

<sup>40</sup> Wendy Clark correctly argues that early Christchurch support for the Melanesian Mission was sporadic and low. Her wider contention that 'interest in missionary activity then and now, is confined to the few' is less easily sustained, and perhaps reflected trends and sentiments of the 1960s rather than the late nineteenth century. Wendy Clark, 'A Truly Christian Spirit? Christchurch and the Melanesian Mission, 1868-1875', MA Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1966, pp. 10-19, 28-35.

<sup>41</sup> *NZCMA Annual Report*, 1895, p. 12; *ibid*, 1905, pp. 20-30; *ibid*, 1915, pp. 35-53; *PGS*, 1898, 'Diocesan Returns', 1907, pp. 92-93; *ibid*, 1916, 'Diocesan Returns'.

terms of origin and denomination. Many came from smaller, more circumscribed localities within the Southland region. The most notable were the fourteen missionaries and twenty-one applicants who came from the farming valleys radiating out from Gore in southern Central Southland – all within a radius of fifteen to twenty kilometres of this relatively small agricultural service centre. This area rated highly for national Presbyterian congregational and per capita missionary giving. Per capita giving for individual churches like Waikaka, Waikaka Valley and Crookston was also amongst the highest for the Southland region. Periods of religious revivalism and evangelistic activity had marked this area since the early 1880s.<sup>42</sup> Whilst this was largely a Presbyterian phenomenon, it was not exclusively so. Jack Nicholson (SIM) was converted at the Waikaka Valley Church by the preaching of a visiting Brethren evangelist in 1918.<sup>43</sup> Revivalist activity also had an influence amongst Baptist and Brethren churches in the nearby Catlins area on the South Otago coast. Amongst other things an enduring climate of missionary enthusiasm was created and nurtured by such influences as Christian Endeavour (strong in Wyndham and Knapdale), Christian conventions at nearby Pounawea, and by connections with the NZBTI. The area, as did Southland as a whole, became an important reservoir of support for the BIM, CIM, SIM, the SSEM, and for the missionary activity of the Presbyterian, Baptist and Brethren churches. This case study highlights the need to better understand the relationship between revivalism, evangelism, popular religion, and missionary enthusiasm at the local level. Southland, South Otago, Nelson, Wanganui/Manawatu and Hawke's Bay/East Coast were all regions that experienced revivalism (or were significantly influenced by evangelistic activity), that tended to be more theologically conservative, and that also demonstrated a sustained interest in foreign missions.

In 1906 Herbert Dunn of Otamita (near Gore) applied to the Australasian South American Mission. Advised to matriculate and complete a Bible study course before re-applying, he later took up farming. In 1935 his daughter, Violet Dunn, left New Zealand to work with the BIM.<sup>44</sup> This reflected a further pattern wherein missionary support and

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<sup>42</sup> Evans and McKenzie, *Evangelical Revivals in New Zealand*, pp. 58-62, 168; Georgina McDonald, *The Flame Unquenched: Being the History of the Presbyterian Church of Southland, 1856-1956*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1956, pp. 58-59, 116-125; see also Hitchen, 'Training "Tamate"'.  
<sup>43</sup> Wendy Capill and Julie Belding, *No Turning Back: The Story of Jack and Vera Nicholson*, New Zealand: SIM, 1998, pp. 20-21.

<sup>44</sup> 26 June 1906, Correspondence of the ASAM/BIM, 1905-1913, Box 5; 'Violet Dunn', Miscellaneous Personnel Files of the BIM, Boxes 22-26, BIM Archives; Conversations with the Rev. Andrew Dunn.

enthusiasm was expressed through intra- and inter-generational family linkages. At least 108 (around fifteen per cent) of New Zealand's missionaries up to 1930 were in some way related. The majority were siblings or cousins. Whilst many of these families contributed two siblings the notable exceptions were the three Opie sisters (NZCMA/S) from Christchurch, four children of the pioneer Presbyterian missionaries Peter and Mary Milne, and the five Shirtliff sisters (Brethren) from Nelson. Further connections existed between uncles/aunts and nieces/nephews and between missionaries whose siblings were unsuccessful missionary applicants. A number of missionary children also joined the ranks. Similar patterns existed amongst Australian missionaries of this period. A notable example was the Trudinger family of Adelaide. The parents were Moravian missionary enthusiasts who originally immigrated to Australia to seek religious freedom. Of their twelve children, six went to China (CIM) and two went to the Sudan (SUM).<sup>45</sup> This family was also linked to New Zealand through marriages between Anna Trudinger and the Rev. William Malcolm, and between Lily Trudinger and J. Huston Edgar (all CIM). The Deck family's involvement in Brethren and SSEM ventures was another such trans-Tasman family linkage.<sup>46</sup>

George Carter argues that early New Zealand Methodist missionary endeavour was very much a 'family affair'.<sup>47</sup> There is some truth in this notion for the wider New Zealand movement. Close familial ties linked CMS missionary families in mid-nineteenth-century New Zealand with early Melanesian Mission workers.<sup>48</sup> On a broader front family ties often linked together particular denominations, churches, localities and organisations. Missionary parents sometimes acted as organisers of support on behalf of both their children and the organisations. Ernest Heycock's father was both chair and member of various SAEM, ASAM and BIM New Zealand committees, and Della Hunter-Brown's mother was a key Gleaners' Union secretary and NZCMA Ladies' Committee member. In a country of less than a million people up until 1908, it was not surprising that such linkages could have both a financial and emotional impact. This period witnessed the beginning of a number of missionary lineages that have endured until the present. For example one current ex-NZBMS family, who are at least third

<sup>45</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, pp. 17, 154-155. MacDiarmid reminisces that Mrs Trudinger was disappointed that only eight of her children became missionaries, in *Ship Ahoy and Hallelujah!* p. 55.

<sup>46</sup> See Florence Young, *Pearls from the Pacific*, London and Edinburgh: Marshall Brothers Ltd, c. 1925.

<sup>47</sup> Carter, *A Family Affair*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>48</sup> See particularly Janet Crawford, "Christian Wives for Christian Lads", pp. 58-63.

generation missionaries, owe their origins to the marriages of Joseph Thompson and Sarah Hardisty (CIM) and of Dr Charles and Emily North (NZBMS).<sup>49</sup>

Given the country's size it was not surprising that strategic support also came from individual enthusiasts, without whom many missionary initiatives would not have taken off. Amongst these there was a first generation of people whose missionary consciousness was deeply rooted in early to mid-nineteenth-century British evangelicalism (Chapter 2.8). As an example Jane Bannerman's enthusiasm and long involvement had its genesis in her early childhood in Scotland. She was the daughter of the Free Church minister the Rev. Thomas Burns, the founding minister of the Otago Settlement, and was raised within an atmosphere of vibrant personal religion. Furthermore her childhood memories vividly included stories of missionary activity (in the 1840s), and a school friend who returned to South America with missionary parents.<sup>50</sup> A later account remembers her as a woman with a 'gentle voice, "the whispering saint", some one called her, yet with a firmness and determination which caused her to do great things'.<sup>51</sup> She combined this historically rooted passion with an ability to organise and enthuse others. Over her lifetime 'raising money for missions became a single-minded passion'.<sup>52</sup> Other leading individuals became inheritors of this kind of first-generation enthusiasm, boosted by the pietistic evangelical climate that emerged from the 1880s and nurtured by the influences already considered.

There were also individuals whose enthusiasm crossed many boundaries. The case of Guy Thornton was earlier cited as indicative of a 'missionary type'. For the range of motivational reasons already explored there was a core of people who were intent on a missionary vocation, and whose support endured regardless of whether or not that desire was activated. There were forty-four applicants who applied to or worked with two organisations in this quest, and five who applied to or worked with three or more organisations. For many, an earlier less than ideal experience (as speculated for early PIVM missionaries) was not a deterrent to further missionary service or voluntary support. There was also a significant group of multi-organisational supporters, of whom

<sup>49</sup> Based on personal communication with Paul Thompson, Wellington.

<sup>50</sup> 'Memoirs of Jane Bannerman', Undated, Series 3/5, DA1/2, pp. 28, 49-50, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>51</sup> 'Reminiscences', Mrs Stewart, Undated, Box AF3/1, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>52</sup> Dorothy Page, 'Bannerman, Jane 1835?-1923; Bannerman, William 1822-1902', *DNZB*, updated 31 July 2003, URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

John Wilkinson may serve as an example. Wilkinson was a well-known Dunedin lawyer who was prominent in a range of southern circles.<sup>53</sup> As a member of the Brethren assembly in Farley Street,<sup>54</sup> he took an interest in Dunedin's Chinese and collected public money for famine relief in China.<sup>55</sup> He was the CIM southern council's long-standing honorary secretary and treasurer,<sup>56</sup> and was further involved as a committee member for at least four other missions – the PIVM, the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, the London Missionary Society and the Ramabai Mukti Mission.<sup>57</sup> Wilkinson was one of John R. Mott's early contacts, chairing the large public meeting in Dunedin in 1896, and in 1926 he was a delegate at the New Zealand Missionary Conference.<sup>58</sup> Wilkinson was also a regular attendee and speaker at the influential conventions at Owaka, Pounawea and Queenstown.<sup>59</sup> Individual enthusiasts like Wilkinson were attracted to the missionary cause and, increasingly, to the nondenominational missions. They were broadly ecumenical and international in outlook and astonishingly generous with their time, abilities, energy and money. These were all qualities that were sought from the wider church going public. It is probable, however, that such qualities were not always widely found, and that such individuals were the exception rather than the rule.

Financial records also suggest that the contributions of particular individuals were crucial, at times, for the early survival of the BIM and CIM.<sup>60</sup> Individual donations of £100, £200 and £400 constituted between thirty-eight and seventy-one per cent of SAEM and ASAM annual income between 1902 and 1904.<sup>61</sup> Similarly two gifts of £600 made up seventy-nine per cent of southern CIM income in 1903.<sup>62</sup> CIM records

<sup>53</sup> He was born in Glasgow but came to New Zealand when three years old. Reference # 15016, *Northern Cemetery Dunedin, Burial Register Transcript*, vol. 5, 1918-1936, Dunedin Public Library.

<sup>54</sup> Paterson, *The Church in York Place Hall*, photograph facing p. 16.

<sup>55</sup> James Ng, *Windows on a Chinese Past*, vol. 2, Dunedin: Heritage Books, 1995, pp. 188, 217.

<sup>56</sup> Loane, *China Inland Mission*, p. 88. He filled this role from 1894 to just before his death in 1935.

<sup>57</sup> *White Already to Harvest*, 3:1 1898, p. 13; *OW*, 13 April 1899, p. 61; *Otago Daily Times*, 27 April 1901, p. 3; Mukti Mission letterhead in 'Salmond', 6.36, Folder 1, Series 6, Staff Files, Punjab Mission (GA0149), PCANZ Archive.

<sup>58</sup> 'Travel Notes, Itineraries 1890-1899', 2110/130, John R. Mott Papers, Record Group 45, Special Collections, Yale; *Otago Daily Times*, 22 April 1896, p. 1; 'Roll of Delegates', in *Report of the New Zealand Missionary Conference*, p. 107.

<sup>59</sup> *Christian Outlook*, 3:50 (1897), p. 599; *Outlook*, 10:52 (1904), p. 15; *ibid*, 18:2 (1911), p. 15.

<sup>60</sup> There is no evidence, however, for the New Zealand equivalent of the English eccentric millionaire Robert Arthington, who financially supported the BMS and bequeathed his estate of £1,000,000 to both the BMS and the LMS. Brian Stanley, 'The Miser of Headingley': Robert Arthington and the Baptist Missionary Society, 1877-1900', in W. J. Sheils and Diana Wood (eds), *The Church and Wealth*, Studies in Church History, vol. 24, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987, pp. 371-382.

<sup>61</sup> Noted in the Correspondence of the ASAM, 1902-1904, BIM Archives.

<sup>62</sup> 'Dunedin Treasurer's Balance Sheet for 1903', *China's Millions*, April 1904, inside cover.

for 1905 to 1928 also indicate that between twelve and sixteen per cent of donors were providing between fifty-three and eighty-two per cent of donations to the southern council. The specific donors are unknown. It is curious to note, however, that all of these gifts originated in the same period and came from Canterbury, Otago, or Southland. They were extremely sizeable gifts, with anything over £100 roughly equivalent to or greater than a working person's annual wage.<sup>63</sup> Unfortunately the sources provide few clues as to the socio-economic background and wealth of these donors. Therefore it is difficult, at this stage, to engage in any detail with Jim McAloon's conclusion that the wealthy of Canterbury and Otago did not put a priority on philanthropic activity, even though many must have been committed churchgoers.<sup>64</sup>

Many people assumed that missionary support and acceptance was much stronger by the 1890s.<sup>65</sup> Yet there was still ongoing resistance to foreign missions, judging by the polemical newspaper articles that sporadically appeared. Objections revolved around three main arguments: that foreign missions were neglectful of home missions and domestic priorities; wasteful of limited money and resources; and ultimately a failure.<sup>66</sup> Even organisations like the BIM found it necessary to publish articles like 'Our Work – Is It Necessary? Is It Worthwhile?'<sup>67</sup> By the 1920s missionary apologists were also rebutting arguments that all religions had equal merit, or that all religions would evolve into Christianity without the need for missionary intervention.<sup>68</sup> It is difficult to assess the extent or substance of these objections. A sense of financial vulnerability certainly underlay concerns expressed around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The perception persisted that home missions were the poor relation in terms of the investment of resources. Missionary enthusiasts were quick to call such thinking

<sup>63</sup> Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago, 1840-1914*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, pp. 16, 184 (note 13); and private communication with Ian Hunter, Department of Management and Employment Relations, School of Business and Economics, Auckland University.

<sup>64</sup> Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, pp. 150-169. Valentin Rabe notes the importance of particular individuals and families for American missionary support. 'Rarely wealthy by modern standards, their families had usually been associated with a particular locality and church for generations. Denominational loyalty and a sense of duty and propriety combined in them to create a tradition of regular contributions and generous bequests. Their gifts were not a reaction to new promotional techniques or the theology of stewardship as much as they were an inherited habit.' Rabe, *Home Base of American China Missions*, p. 112.

<sup>65</sup> Rev W. Watt, 'A Plea for Foreign Missions', *Christian Outlook*, 15 February 1896, pp. 32-33.

<sup>66</sup> Examples: *ibid*; *New Zealand Presbyterian*, September 1879, p. 45; *NZB*, June 1889, p. 81; *ibid*, August 1896, pp. 126-128; *ibid*, January 1901, p. 10; *Outlook*, 19 August 1899, p. 21; *ibid*, 1 December 1900, pp. 19-21; *Church Gazette*, July 1904, p. 124; *Columba Monthly Record*, May 1921, no page, North Otago Museum, Oamaru.

<sup>67</sup> *Bolivian Indian*, April 1915, pp. 7-8.

<sup>68</sup> 'Of Missions', *New Zealand Churchman*, January 1920, p. 2.



shortsighted, arguing instead that foreign enterprise should have a positive reflex impact upon local congregational life. Others considered such objections to be ‘minor criticisms’ that obscured ‘the fact that the poverty of our own spiritual life is the real cause of our belittling of [missionary] work’.<sup>69</sup> The anonymity of the objectors meant either that they were small in number, or that they were unwilling to admit their identity in the face of prevailing popular support. An observation by a Presbyterian student missionary deputation in the North Island in 1906 may be more apposite. Whilst the students commented positively on missionary support, they also found that:

a large proportion of the members and certainly the majority of adherents, know little of, and care less for, our church’s missionary activity. We met on our tour many, and among them even members of the church, who were unaware that our church was responsible for any missionary work apart from the Maori work.<sup>70</sup>

Apathy and ignorance were thought to be more of a problem than outright opposition. Student deputies put their energies into forming new PWMU branches and fostering the interest of young people, perceiving that the movement’s ongoing vitality lay there.

### 8.3 Women, Children, Young People and Missionary Support

In 1907, another student deputation noted that:

One unfortunate feature of the concentration of missionary work in the ladies’ societies is the tendency to consider that the women alone in the congregation should take any real interest in missions. In one place the small attendance of men at an evening gathering was explained on the ground that a missionary meeting was supposed to be purely and simply a women’s meeting.<sup>71</sup>

This sentiment had not gone unnoticed by women,<sup>72</sup> nor was it restricted to New Zealand. A speaker at the 1888 London Missionary Conference suggested that ‘the women, more than the men of America, are alive to the importance of the great opportunity that is before the Church of Christ today’, and related that it was often women’s influence that awakened local missionary interest.<sup>73</sup> In somewhat more negative terms the Edinburgh Commission on the ‘Home Base of Missions’ reported:

The women of the Church have rendered most conspicuous service in the past in contributing and collecting missionary funds, and in increasing missionary intelligence and interest. The children in the Sunday Schools and the young people may, by missionary instruction, be trained to do large things in the years to come; but.... the great

<sup>69</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> ‘1905-1906 Student Deputation Report’, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>71</sup> ‘1906-1907 Student Deputation Report’, Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>72</sup> *Harvest Field*, December 1909, p. x; *ibid.*, October 1926, p. x.

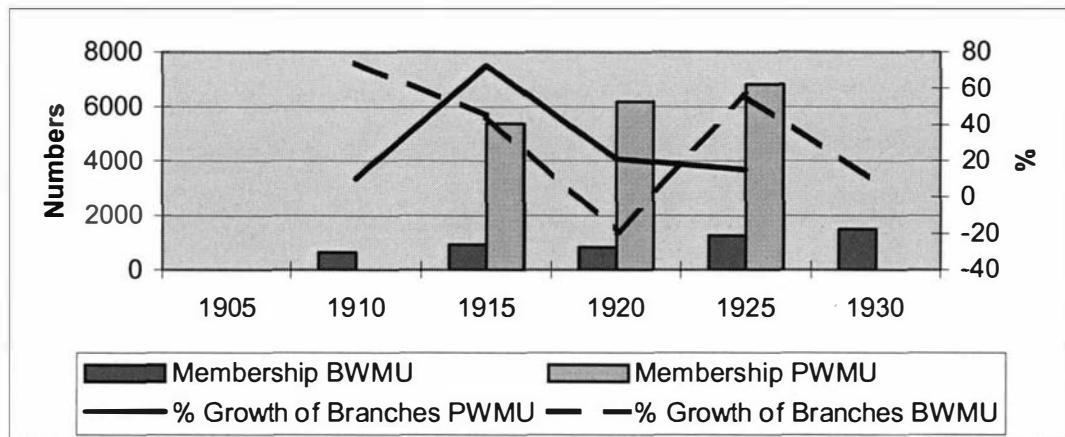
<sup>73</sup> Rev. W. S. Langford (Foreign Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church, USA), in James Johnston (ed.), *Report of the Centenary Conference*, pp. 405, 406-407.

majority of the men of the Churches have not heretofore recognised their responsibility, or contributed in proportion to their ability to this supreme work of the Church.<sup>74</sup>

The high profile of women in support and participation, along with the enduring failure of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, raises a pertinent question – to what extent was the New Zealand missionary movement predominantly a women's movement?

In the first instance an answer to this question might be sought in the statistics of the movement. A conservative estimate is that at least 10,000 New Zealand women were involved in some form of missionary support or interest by 1930.<sup>75</sup> Incomplete BMWU and PWMU figures indicate that growth in membership was steady whilst the growth in branch numbers was more erratic (Figure 8.4). The pattern parallels the consolidation and overall growth of missionary applicants, departures and finances already noted for the period after 1900. These figures are inherently weak, however, because they cannot be compared with the numbers of overall Baptist and Presbyterian females. It is difficult to gauge what percentage of women were active members and supporters.

**Figure 8.3 – Growth of the BMWU and PWMU, 1905-1930<sup>76</sup>**



Financial statistics are more helpful. BMWU money grew from thirteen to thirty-three per cent of NZBMS annual income between 1910 and 1930.<sup>77</sup> PWMU contributions grew from seven to twenty-nine per cent of PCNZ FMC income between 1909 and

<sup>74</sup> World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission VI*, 'The Home Base of Missions', Edinburgh and London: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910, p. 281.

<sup>75</sup> See Chapter 6.4 and footnote 76 of the same chapter.

<sup>76</sup> The lines of percentage growth are plotted against the vertical y-axis on the right hand side of the graph. *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1905-1920, Box AF2/1, PCANZ Archive; Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the BMWU, 1905-1920, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>77</sup> Extracted from the annual summary of NZBMS receipts for 1910, 1915, 1920, 1925 and 1930.

1919. Whilst this fluctuated, the PWMU was still contributing up to twenty-two per cent of income in the 1920s.<sup>78</sup> Fragmentary details also suggest that more Presbyterian women than men left legacies and bequests, at least until 1919. Baptist women made up between sixty-six and seventy per cent of known NZBMS donors (through the collection box scheme) between 1890 and 1910. Similarly Anglican women made up between sixty-two and seventy-five per cent of NZCMA box holders between 1900 and 1915, thereby providing up to twenty per cent of the Association's income. Moreover they comprised between forty-seven and sixty-seven per cent of identifiable NZCMA subscription holders in the same period.<sup>79</sup>

Together these figures indicate that women were increasingly important in the overall profile of missionary giving. Francis Prochaska's analysis of nineteenth-century British women's philanthropy shows that this was an extension of older, established patterns. British women similarly made up between a quarter and half of those supporting foreign missions (and other philanthropic causes) through subscriptions, donations and legacies.<sup>80</sup> Prochaska further argues that it was the organising ability of women that proved to be a more enduring influence, subsequently raising their profile in terms of church and philanthropic involvement.<sup>81</sup> This had become increasingly so during the nineteenth century, on both sides of the Atlantic. In the American context this resulted in the emergence of autonomous women's missionary organisations that recruited, sent and supported women missionaries, and that significantly enlarged denominational missionary involvement as a result.<sup>82</sup> English women's missionary committees were an established feature of the religious landscape by the late nineteenth century but, from the beginning, were 'absorbed' into existing denominational boards.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Extracted from *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1910-1925, and cross-linked to PCNZ FMC annual reports.

<sup>79</sup> 'Receipts from Parishes', printed in NZCMA Annual Reports for 1900, 1905, 1910, and 1915.

<sup>80</sup> Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, pp. 29, 236-252.

<sup>81</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 44-46.

<sup>82</sup> Rosemary Ruether and Rosemary Keller (eds), *Women and Religion in America, Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981, pp. 242-243. Note however that the autonomy of American Presbyterian women's missionary societies was severely curtailed in the period following World War One, when they were progressively subsumed under the control of existing (male dominated) denominational mission boards. Judith Godden outlines a similar experience for the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Association of New South Wales, Australia, between the late 1890s and 1914. Bendroth, 'Women and Missions', pp. 55-58; Godden, 'Containment and Control', pp. 84-89.

<sup>83</sup> Steven Maughan, "'Mighty England do good': the major English denominations and organisation for the support of foreign missions in the nineteenth century", in Robert A. Bickers and Rosemary Seton (eds), *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues*, pp. 32-34.

New Zealand and Australian groups tended to follow the latter model.<sup>84</sup> Pre-existing local support structures were progressively reshaped into unified national bodies between 1903 and 1915. Their organising potential was quickly realised by clerically dominated assemblies, conferences and synods. Whilst clergy (such as the Rev. William Hewitson) were sometimes the initiators, the concept of women's missionary unions would not have taken root without the involvement and enthusiasm of key women (such as Margaret Hewitson or Mrs Kaye of Christchurch).<sup>85</sup> Structures of varying sophistication emerged that were unique in terms of their programmes and scale of operations, and which were gradually given a voice in the respective decision making structures of the denominations (Chapter 6.4). The growing profile of these groups, their air of success in raising missionary awareness, and their incorporation into the life and structures of both denominations and local churches tended to create the perception that missionary support was primarily women's business.

Women must have been both the personal and public face of foreign missions for many church-going men, due to the increasingly high visibility of their organising activity. Anglican women constituted a large proportion of Gleaners' Union and Sowers' Band secretaries, and were also prominent in the support of the Melanesian Mission in Auckland.<sup>86</sup> Baptist women consistently made up between eighty-seven and ninety-five per cent of NZBMS collectors between 1890 and 1910. Baptist male collectors were few and far between but, where they existed, the majority of their subscribers were male. Perhaps just as significant was the increasing frequency with which women and missionary support activity were linked together in the printed media. Letters and articles by women missionaries had always been widely published. From the late 1890s Presbyterians encountered the newly formed PWMU through church newsletters, annual reports, and in both denominational and local newspapers.<sup>87</sup> Regular reporting

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<sup>84</sup> One exception to this was the English based Missionary Settlement for University Women (MSUW), which was an independent and non-denominational organisation working in India. At least one New Zealand woman, Winnifred Griffiths of Wellington, served with the MSUW in this period. 'VUCCU, 1899-1924', Miscellaneous Records, Folder 4, MS Papers 1617, NZSCM Collection, WTU; 'Victoria Christian Union Report, 1908', Ruth Rouse Correspondence, WSCF G(b)810, 2090/249, Archives of the WSCF, Record Group 46/8, Other Countries, Yale.

<sup>85</sup> For example: correspondence of 7 March 1902, 3 May 1902, 5 May 1902, 20 May 1902, 15 July 1902, Foreign Missions Convenor's Outward Letters, 1901-1905, Series 11, GA0001, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>86</sup> Based on evidence in NZCMA Annual Reports for 1900 and 1905.

<sup>87</sup> Examples include: *Otago Daily Times*, 4 May 1903, p. 4; *Annual Report of Columba Presbyterian Church*, 1898, and the *Monthly Record*, March 1922, pp. 2-3, NOM 2462/26d, North Otago Museum.

became a feature of all denominational newspapers. From about 1906 the BWMU also had a designated column in the *Missionary Messenger* and the *New Zealand Baptist*.<sup>88</sup>

The role of women as door knocking missionary ambassadors and their profile in the printed media fuelled the perception that missionary support was the preserve of women. They were seen as exemplars of the missionary spirit and the main organisers for the cause. The Rev. James Chisholm laid this out in decisively domestic terms when he commented that Presbyterian women ‘realise how much the Gospel has done for the women of Christendom, and how greatly the heathen world needs the “expulsive power of a new affection” to cleanse its homes and fit women for their high vocation there’.<sup>89</sup> This perception was further reinforced by the content of the reported activities. Sales of hand-made crafts and home-baked foods, galas, garden parties and special events such as doll exhibitions became commonplace.<sup>90</sup> Advertised meeting topics often included titles that had a decidedly feminine ring about them.<sup>91</sup> By the 1920s support may have been further perceived to be the preserve of married or older women in particular.<sup>92</sup> An intriguing piece of Baptist journalism suggests that the net effect was to create a sense of mystique and otherness in the minds of men.

The Rambler tapped timidly at the door which held the mystic initials of the ladies’ missionary organisation, and begged to be allowed to take notes of the business transacted and the bold schemes initiated. But he was waved away with a glance of haughty disdain that cowed his courage and froze the genial currents of his soul. He was told that no male foot might desecrate the hall in which the ladies met in solemn conference. I cannot, therefore, give you ... a first hand account of these secret conclaves. But I managed to bribe one of the fair delegates to let me have a report.... You will see that the business was carried through in proper style ... that a prosperous year was reported; and that new work was undertaken ... on behalf of our dusky sisters in India.<sup>93</sup>

The language signified that the missionary cause might have felt like foreign territory to some men, not unlike how male lodges and societies must have appeared to women.

<sup>88</sup> 15 October 1906, Minutes of the BWMU AGM, 1905-1928, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives.

<sup>89</sup> ‘Annual Missions Report, 1905’, *PCNZ PGA*, 1905, p. 143.

<sup>90</sup> Examples include: Doll exhibition for the support of Amy and Beatrice Harband, *Press*, 12 November 1897, p. 3; BWMU Garden Party in Auckland, *NZB*, January 1909, p. 253.

<sup>91</sup> PWMU women at Columba Presbyterian Church, Oamaru, heard presentations on ‘three noble women’ (Mary Milne, Helen Macgregor and Alice Henderson) in March 1922. See *Monthly Record*, footnote 84.

<sup>92</sup> As an example, single women barely made up a third of BWMU membership in the Oamaru Baptist Church between 1926 and 1957. BWMU Roll Book 1926-1957, NOM 422/25b, North Otago Museum. This, however, may have been anomalous. Caroline Daley contends, for the Taradale context, that single women were the largest group attending church (1886-1930), followed in decreasing order by married women, married men and single men. John Stenhouse notes similar patterns for South Dunedin in the same period. Caroline Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, p. 96; Stenhouse, ‘God, the Devil and Gender’, pp. 326-327.

<sup>93</sup> ‘Conference Notes’, *NZB*, November 1907, pp. 275-276.

This either reflected or accentuated the late-nineteenth century notion of separate spheres for men and women, and cemented the perception that missionary support was women's work. This was not necessarily the intent of those laymen and clerics who were also missionary leaders and enthusiasts. The FMC reminded the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1905 that missionary support was the responsibility of 'the whole Church', and Archbishop Julius was still reminding Anglicans of this in 1925.<sup>94</sup> This was certainly also the view of the leading women, who conceived of missionary support and endeavour as a partnership between church people (male and female) and God. Women felt a heightened sense of privilege in being 'co-workers with God'<sup>95</sup> (Chapter 6.4), and it was a matter of some concern that men were not participating fully in this partnership. This may explain the warm accolades with which the PWMU greeted the advent and early work of the Laymen's Missionary Movement.

Some women, using the notion of separate spheres as an explanatory paradigm, accepted this state of affairs as the status quo. One writer concluded that 'men, apart from ministers, are much in the world, and business, with its worries, fills a large part of their lives'.<sup>96</sup> McAloon's observation, that many of Otago and Canterbury's most wealthy men gave their discretionary time and resources to local government and businesses, rather than to 'church and other associations', may have been a reflection of this.<sup>97</sup> As a consequence many women found in this a rationale for a more 'personal influence' in fostering missionary awareness, suggesting that 'women, in the home and in the social circle, have many opportunities for this personal touch'.<sup>98</sup> Nowhere was this more keenly expressed than in the context of the home. Many of the spiritual narratives of missionary applicants explicitly stated that their early faith was nurtured in the childhood home, as much as in Sunday school or church. More specifically Annie Newcombe's narrative (Chapter 7.1) and the story of Herbert Kingsley reflected a number of narratives in which the mother was central. Douglas Martin recalled that 'my mother taught me my first prayers, and it was from her that I first heard of God and Jesus'.<sup>99</sup> At 'their mother's knee' many children were taught the content of Christian faith, told stories about Jesus in particular, were prayed for and even experienced

<sup>94</sup> 'Annual Missions Report, 1905', *PCNZ PGA*, 1905, p. 143; *NZCMS Report*, 1924-1925, p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> 'Devotional Address' [1911 PWMU Conference], *Harvest Field*, March 1912, p. vii.

<sup>96</sup> *ibid.*

<sup>97</sup> McAloon, *No Idle Rich*, p. 168.

<sup>98</sup> *Harvest Field*, March 1912, p. vii; *ibid.*, October 1926, p. x.

<sup>99</sup> 'Douglas Martin', PCNZ FMC (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates, PCANZ Archives.

conversion.<sup>100</sup> Through this personalised Christian pedagogy some mothers cast faith in warm, familiar terms. Esther Elliott fondly remembered that ‘she taught me to love and trust Him just as I did my parents’.<sup>101</sup> Others recalled their mothers being much more direct in encouraging their children to be missionaries, or in consecrating their children at birth for missionary service.<sup>102</sup> This influence extended to both boys and girls.

Ongoing discussion and research over the question of the ‘feminisation of the missionary movement’<sup>103</sup> may ultimately be better located within the wider notion of the feminisation of early modern and modern religion. This trend has been variously referred to as the Church becoming ‘feminized’, philanthropy becoming ‘womanized’ and, most recently, as both the ‘feminisation of piety’ and the ‘pietising’ of femininity.<sup>104</sup> In the British context both church attendance and the socio-cultural construction of Christian identity became progressively feminised - a process that Callum Brown argues endured until the 1950s. Religious virtues were gendered so that in the popular mind ‘paens of praise were heaped on women’s innate piety whilst brickbats were hurled at men’s susceptibility to temptation’. Both masculinity and male religiosity were cast in negative terms, and exemplars of pious men were few and far between. Brown concludes that in this schema ‘women were the key, for it was their religiosity that mattered. It was their influence on children and men, their profession of purity and virtue, their attachment to domesticity and all the virtues located with that, which sustained discursive Christianity in the age of modernity’.<sup>105</sup>

In the New Zealand context this is a relatively undeveloped field of research. Whilst there has been wider reflection on the social and cultural construction of gender roles, religion has only recently been considered.<sup>106</sup> Women’s high profile involvement in the

<sup>100</sup> Examples: ‘John Brown’, ‘Robert Keenan’, ‘Douglas Martin’ (all as above); ‘Dr Harold Turbott’ (6.46), ‘Rev. Frank Wilkinson’ (6.47), CVM (GA0148), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>101</sup> ‘Esther Elliott’, (6.04), Punjab Mission (GA0149), Series 6, Staff Files, PCANZ Archives.

<sup>102</sup> ‘Violet Latham’, ANG 143/3.81, Box 11, NZCMS Archives; ‘Testimony of John Muir’, *China’s Millions*, November 1930, p. 167. Both John and his sister Molly (SSEM) served as missionaries.

<sup>103</sup> Sarah Coleman uses this concept in examining New Zealand women missionaries in India, correctly locating it within the wider international missionary movement of the period. Coleman, ‘White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India’, pp. 1, 26-27, 76-93.

<sup>104</sup> Brian Heeney, *The Women’s Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930*, Oxford: Clarendon, Press, 1988, pp. 1-2; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, p. 223; Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 58-59.

<sup>105</sup> Brown, *The Death of Christian Britain*, pp. 88-105, 195.

<sup>106</sup> For example: Jock Phillips, *A Man’s Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male – A History*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987; Daley, *Girls and Women, Men and Boys*; Caroline Daley and Deborah

missionary movement, however, is indicative that this process also had relevance for New Zealand. Missionary support and participation was partially motivated by women's concern for social and moral reform, both domestic and overseas. Changing theological constructions of the personhood of Christ, especially the concept of the incarnation, struck a chord with women and was fed by prevailing holiness spirituality and Romanticist sentiments. As a result women often drew upon metaphors from nature. WCTU women were exhorted to 'get the steam first in the engines of your hearts and wills' (referring to spiritual power) and were pointed to the 'great world river' of which they were a part.<sup>107</sup> NZBMS women missionaries invoked horticultural imagery in describing Indian women as 'human flowers' that might be laid at the feet of Christ as 'a perfect garland', and India as a 'garden of human souls'.<sup>108</sup> It might be surmised that such sentiments further fed a male perception that religion was intrinsically feminine.<sup>109</sup> We may conclude, then, that the missionary movement could legitimately be described as a women's movement – in terms of its ethos, elements of its theological construction, the financial, social and spiritual influence exerted by women, and the high profile of their sophisticated and efficient organisation. The summation of women as 'contributors' and 'collectors', at the Edinburgh Conference, was far too truncated and unrepresentative. Women were foundationally influential and significant in the New Zealand context, and not merely the handmaidens of male-dominated committees.

Yet there are two apposite qualifiers to this conclusion. The first, in brief, is that men were not entirely absent as supporters and participants. Men, by virtue of their hegemonic location within church structures, filled positions of responsibility on the various committees and regional auxiliaries. Regardless of its longer-term demise, the

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Montgomerie (eds), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999; Jane Simpson, 'Women, Religion and Society in New Zealand: A Literature Review', *JRH*, 18:2 (1994), pp. 213-215. Daley's local study of Taradale contains detailed discussion of the gendered nature of church attendance and activities, as does John Stenhouse's analysis of South Dunedin in 'God, the Devil and Gender'. A recent example from Australian historiography is Anne O'Brien, 'A Church Full of Men': Masculinism and the Church in Australian History', *Australian Historical Studies*, 29:3 (1993), pp. 437-457.

<sup>107</sup> President's Addresses of 1889 and 1890, *Reports and Minutes of the New Zealand Women's Christian Temperance Union*, 1886-1894, Microfiche 178.1 NEW, Massey University Library.

<sup>108</sup> Gladys Peters and Eileen Arnold, quoted on 12 October 1925, Minutes of the Annual Meetings of the BWMU, 1905-1928, Box 0036, NZBHS Archives. Brian Stanley notes that Hudson Taylor and the CIM exemplified this cross-fertilisation of evangelicalism, holiness spirituality and Romanticism for the wider international missionary movement. Stanley, 'Home Support for Foreign Missions', pp. 335-336.

<sup>109</sup> On the basis of more recent studies of religion in New Zealand, Simpson has suggested that 'the tendency in the colony to associate religion with the feminine, exemplified by the temperance movement, remained entrenched in New Zealand society a century later'. Simpson, 'Women, Religion and Society in New Zealand: A Literature Review', p. 214.



Laymen's Missionary Movement indicated that men could be innovative, practical and enthusiastic supporters. It was also probable, although by no means verifiable, that men (as the main wage or salary earners in the household) gave vicariously to the missionary cause, through their wives or children. More visibly, however, men made up a substantial forty-six per cent of all known unsuccessful applicants and forty per cent of missionaries. They also made up half of all students attending the NZBTI in the 1920s, and many went on to missionary service. Men were also, by and large, the prime movers in the initiation and leadership of the non-denominational groups. These groups may have appealed to men from the more conservative end of the theological spectrum, or presented an opportunity to serve in structures less dominated by the ordained clergy.

The second qualifier is provided by the high profile involvement of children and young people as missionary supporters. J. H. Lang reported to the PCNZ FMC in 1905 that:

Interest in missions is specially noticeable among young people. Many spoke in private conversations of their desire and willingness to go personally to the field should the way open.... The willingness of many young people to thus personally labour on the field is surely a sign of general and spreading interest. Some young people we met were living in self denial to help on the missionary work of the church.<sup>110</sup>

It could be argued that children's and young people's support was a subset of women's support, due to women's significant maternal, domestic and educative roles. Prochaska certainly takes this approach, writing children as 'little vessels' into his overall text on British women's philanthropy.<sup>111</sup> In the New Zealand context women were inextricably involved as Sunday school teachers and as leaders of children's missionary groups (such as the NZCMA/S Sowers' Bands), or as initiators of missionary groups for girls or children (such as the PWMU Girls' Auxiliary and the Baptist Ropeholders' League). Therefore this argument has a measure of truth when applied to the involvement of primary aged children. It is less sustainable for adolescent support. Both Christian Endeavour and the various Bible Class movements, which became increasingly important for missionary support and recruitment, were initiated and led by a combination of male and female adolescent or adult leaders. Missionary support and enthusiasm amongst the younger age groups is a surprisingly neglected area of research, and deserves to be treated in greater depth. At this point, however, it is enough to consider its significance for the wider movement.

<sup>110</sup> '1905-1906 Student Deputation Report', Subject Files, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archive.

<sup>111</sup> Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, pp. 73-94.

Historically children and young people were incorporated into active support from the earliest years of the modern missionary movement. By the end of the nineteenth century, financial missionary support (and other charities) by thousands of British children amounted to several million pounds, and missionary societies had invested considerable time and resources into maximising the potential of children's groups.<sup>112</sup> The same was true in the New Zealand context, with children's interest and support being sought early on in the movement's history. Presbyterian children were early supporters of native teachers and the mission ship the *Dayspring*.<sup>113</sup> In 1877 Anglican children in Wellington took a day cruise on the *Southern Cross* with Bishop John Selwyn, replete with 'an unlimited supply of buns, ginger beer, etc.'. Some of these were already supporting Solomon Islands school children on Norfolk Island.<sup>114</sup> Children readily responded to the needs of the newly formed NZBMS.<sup>115</sup> Children were also quickly catered for in denominational literature (Chapter 2.5) and in publications like *China's Millions*, *White Already To Harvest*, and both the NZABM *Reaper* and the NZBTI *Reaper*. Specific children's publications like the Presbyterian *Break of Day* and Baptist *Young Folk's Missionary Messenger* did not appear until after 1900 (although the short-lived *New Zealand Missionary Record* was an exception to this). Together these were a local extension of a well-established literary institution amongst British children, exemplified by the *Church Missionary Juvenile Instructor* and the *Wesleyan Juvenile Offering*. Over the longer term children's and young peoples' support was sought with ever increasing sophistication and innovation (Table 8.5). These developments indicated that fostering the financial support of children and young people was high on the adult agenda. Yet just as high was the concern to develop a sense of missionary awareness and responsibility that would last for a lifetime. In this respect the technologies of support were as much about the nurturing of a *mentalité* as they were about raising the necessary finances. As late as 1920 the Rev. Alfred North captured the sentiments that underlay this concern:

<sup>112</sup> F. K. Prochaska, 'Little Vessels: Children in the late Nineteenth Century Missionary Movement', *JICH*, 6:2 (1978), pp. 104-106. This appears to be one of only two pieces of research specifically devoted to children's missionary support. The other is Alison Twells, "'Happy English Children": Class, Ethnicity, and the Making of Missionary Women in the Early Nineteenth Century', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21:3 (1998), pp. 235-245.

<sup>113</sup> *Evangelist*, March 1869, p. 13.

<sup>114</sup> Extracted from the *Evening Post* and printed in the *New Zealand Church News*, May 1877, p. 91.

<sup>115</sup> *NZB*, April 1885, p. 60; *ibid*, January 1886, p. 9; *ibid*, April 1886, p. 49; H. H. Driver to Auckland Tabernacle Sunday School Superintendent, January 1888, Auckland Baptist Missionary Committee Correspondence, 1887-1892, Book 1, Box 0027, NZBMS Archives.

If we indoctrinate our children with the claims of missions, home and foreign, and instruct them in relation to the need for them, the high service they render, and the Lord Christ's commands concerning them, we may hope to develop a generation who will intelligently and conscientiously cultivate missionary enthusiasm and generosity towards this, the greatest enterprise of all.<sup>116</sup>

**Table 8.5 – Developments in Children's Missionary Support, 1869-1926**

Date	Details
<b>Anglican</b>	
1896	Formation of the first Sowers' Bands for children and young people
1910	Formation of the Young People's Union
1915	Sowers' Bands merged with Young People's Union
<b>Baptist</b>	
1891	First Christian Endeavour established at Ponsonby Baptist, Auckland
1897-98	Missionary Pence Association, Missionary Houseboat Share Certificate
1903	Formation of Birthday Bands and the Missionary Brick scheme
1904	First issue of the <i>Young Folk's Missionary Messenger</i>
1920	Missionary section added to the annual Scriptural Examination
1926	Formation of the Ropeholders' League
1926	Young Men's Bible Class Union adopted 'Scheme 200' and 'Scheme Twice 52' to support Baptist male home and foreign missionaries
<b>Presbyterian</b>	
1860s	Sunday schools began supporting native teachers and the <i>Dayspring</i>
1882	First issue of the <i>New Zealand Missionary Record</i>
Early 1890s	First Christian Endeavour groups reported
1909	Young Men's Bible Class Union began supporting Rev. H. Davies in China
1909	First issue of the <i>Break of Day</i>
1909	Formation of the first Busy Bees group in Bluff, Southland
1911	Regular column for young people added to the <i>Harvest Field</i>
1913	Young Women's Bible Class Union began supporting Isobel Milne in India
1914	Formation of the PWMU Girls' Auxiliary
<b>Other</b>	
1910	LMS Young People's Auxiliary formed
1926	Five active CIM Children's Bands reported

The Christian home, Sunday schools, Christian Endeavour and Bible classes, sustained by missionary literature, were the main sites and influences in this process. Long-term 'intelligent' and 'conscientious' enthusiasm was the prime goal. The Rev. Rutherford Waddell mapped out this agenda as early as 1883. Juveniles were foundational because they were 'the future church' (the reality and implications of which have been helpfully outlined for Methodist Sunday schools),<sup>117</sup> and childhood was the key developmental phase in which to inculcate missionary enthusiasm. Foreign missions deserved a

<sup>116</sup> 'Financial Secretary's Report, 1918-1919', *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1919-1920, p. 29.

<sup>117</sup> Frank Hanson, *The Sunday School in New Zealand Methodism*, Proceedings Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, Number 66, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society (NZ), 1998.

‘prominent place in Sabbath-school teaching’. In turn this required teachers ‘possessed’ with the ‘missionary spirit’, who would concentrate their efforts ‘not upon filling the missionary-box, but upon filling the child’s soul with the Spirit of Christ’. Consequently pedagogy should be focussed upon teaching children to ‘have wide sympathies ... outside their family, their friends, or even their country and race’, and also teaching them the ‘joy and heroism of doing good.... the nobility of doing good, the nobility of helping and serving others, and especially the nobility of a missionary life’.<sup>118</sup>

This basic philosophy endured throughout the period, although it was evident that it was a sentiment that needed constant re-emphasis and re-working.<sup>119</sup> From the 1910s the inclusion of missionary subjects within formal syllabi were commonplace in Sunday schools and Bible classes, as was the use of missionary catechisms. Methodist Bible classes later adopted a structured Bible class course on missionary theology, history and strategy.<sup>120</sup> Pedagogy and literature combined to produce several generations of children and young people who were personally, spiritually and culturally self-confident.<sup>121</sup> This led to a sustained and widely based interest in foreign missions amongst the young.

It was not always clear whether juvenile missionary money derived from parents’ giving or from child/youth sponsored activities and collections.<sup>122</sup> Children and young people were still significant conduits and sources of financial support. Sowers’ Bands supported individual missionaries, as did other Bible class movements.<sup>123</sup> Baptist

<sup>118</sup> ‘The Sabbath-school and Missions’, *New Zealand Missionary Record*, February 1884, pp. 44-49.

<sup>119</sup> *Press*, 24 October 1892, p. 6; ‘The Education of the Young in Regard to Missions’, *Harvest Field*, December 1907, pp. iv-vii; ‘An Open Letter to the FMC on Mission Lessons in Sunday School’, *Outlook*, 3 November 1914, in ‘Sunday Schools’, Subject Files, 1905-1935, Series 4, GA0001, PCANZ Archives; ‘Busy Bee Report, 1920’, *PWMU Annual Report*, 1920-1921, pp. 13-14, Box AF2/1, PCANZ.

<sup>120</sup> Rev. A. B. Chappell, *A Manual of Missions: Principles, Methods, Achievements, Organisations, Fields*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Auckland: Percy Salmon & Co., 1933.

<sup>121</sup> David Keen has noted that Sunday schools in late nineteenth-century Otago and Southland served to inculcate a sense of self-worth and self-identity, and to reinforce prevailing notions of Anglo-European cultural superiority. Keen, ‘Feeding the Lambs’, pp. i, 192-195. A similar process has been identified for children in the British movement, and for children generally as consumers of Empire related literature in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See for example: Kathryn Castle, *Britannia’s Children: Reading Colonialism through Children’s Books and Magazines*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; Patrick A. Dunae, ‘Boys’ Literature and the Idea of Empire, 1870-1914’, *Victorian Studies*, 24:1 (1980), pp. 105-121; Louis James, ‘Tom Brown’s Imperialist Sons’, *Victorian Studies*, September (1973), pp. 89-99; John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986; John M. MacKenzie (ed.), *Propaganda and Empire: the Manipulation of Public Opinion, 1880-1960*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986; Jeffrey Richards (ed.), *Imperialism and Juvenile Literature*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989.

<sup>122</sup> Prochaska makes this same observation for the British movement, in ‘Little Vessels’, p. 106.

<sup>123</sup> ‘Statement of Receipts and Expenditure, 1910’, *NZCMA Annual Report*, 1910, p. 12.

Sunday schools and Christian Endeavour societies responded generously to specific. Sunday school giving was important in the early decades of the NZBMS (contributing between thirteen and twenty-seven per cent of annual income), and Bible class contributions grew to fourteen per cent of annual income by 1930. It is not so easy to discern what percentage of PCNZ FMC income came from juvenile sources, nor is it possible to make direct comparisons between the southern and northern churches before 1901. Evidence does suggest that southern Sunday schools were giving more than their northern counterparts.<sup>124</sup> Prior to 1901 northern Sunday school missionary giving grew by 208 per cent, and certainly displayed greater growth in the 1890s than in previous decades. The picture for the united church was clearer by the 1920s. Missionary giving was consistently around one third of all Sunday school giving in this decade, and between fifty-four and sixty-three per cent of Bible class giving.<sup>125</sup> Group and per capita giving had grown marginally by 1930. If we factor in the amounts that were given outside of these formal structures (individually and through one-off fund raising) then juvenile money was a significant bloc of missionary income.

Just as significant was the array of ways in which money and missionary awareness was raised. Baptist young people did dramatic presentations, ran competitions (photography and cooking) and missionary evenings (complete with curios, vernacular songs and exotic food), and participated in missionary rallies.<sup>126</sup> Baptist children also enrolled in a diverse range of well-subscribed support schemes, as exemplified in Figure 8.4. Anglicans were catechised, held sales and concerts, combined for mission festivals, and dedicated gifts on the annual church Christmas tree for overseas children.<sup>127</sup> Presbyterian 'Busy Bees' were organised into 'hives' to make 'pots of honey' (money) through making crafts, sales, collections (of bottles, rags, pinecones and wood), and selling vegetables. They also visited the sick and lonely ('sunshine work'), and received instruction by catechism and literature.<sup>128</sup> Special children's services and young

<sup>124</sup> Figures for 1886 and 1890 suggest that southern schools were giving between £600 and £700 annually (compared with between £182 and £240 from the north). 'Missions Report, 1886', *PCSO PS*, p. 69; and 'Missions Report, 1890', *PCSO PS*, 1890, pp. 62-62.

<sup>125</sup> *PCNZ PGA*, 1920, pp. 120-122; *ibid*, 1925, pp. 202-203; *ibid*, 1930, pp. 120-121.

<sup>126</sup> *NZB*, October 1901, p. 158; *ibid*, September 1903, p. 142; *ibid*, April 1909, pp. 318-319; *ibid*, September 1925, p. 230; *NZBU Baptist Handbook*, 1925-1926, pp. 108-110.

<sup>127</sup> *Church Gazette*, September 1895, p. 171; *ibid*, August 1904, p. 154; Smythe to Heron, 7 November 1921, and Lockyer to Heron, 18 December 1921, Correspondence of the Young People's Union, 1920-1940, ANG 143/4.11 (1), Box 21, NZCMS Archives.

<sup>128</sup> 1920 and 1925 Reports, in *PWMU Annual Reports*, 1920-1921 and 1925-1926, Box AF2/1, PCANZ.

peoples' days were also a Presbyterian feature. Across the denominations these sorts of activities became regular rituals that kept missionary support and interest alive. They also had a ring of great fun about them, which may have resulted in the missionary cause being later regarded with some warmth in the collective memory of churchgoers.

**Figure 8.4 – Sample Children's NZBMS Houseboat Share Certificate, 1898<sup>129</sup>**



Finally it seems fair to conclude that all of this activity bore most cumulative fruit amongst adolescents, as exemplified in the experience and priorities of the emerging Bible class movements. Independent Bible classes were progressively forged into national unions of motivated and involved young women and men. These were particularly prominent amongst Presbyterians (from 1902), Baptists and Methodists (from 1905), and Anglicans (from 1921).<sup>130</sup> They provided an environment in which a well-rounded, robust and somewhat muscular brand of Christianity developed, and in which young people could contribute as leaders and organisers. Missionary interest had a high profile, and financial support became one of the key ways of forging identity and purpose. Baptist men's Bible classes existed partly to 'increase interest in, and to assist home and foreign missionary work', and 'to consider [Christ's] claims as affecting their vocation'.<sup>131</sup> Likewise the Presbyterian Men's Bible Class Union was fully supporting

<sup>129</sup> 'NZBMS Share Certificates, 1898', Folder 1, Box 0026, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>130</sup> Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church*, p. 378; Angus MacLeod, 'The Rise and Fall of the Baptist Bible Class Movement', *Baptist Research*, 4, (October 1999), pp. 45-46; E. W. Hames, *Out of the Common Way: The European Church in the Colonial Era, 1840-1913*, Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, Volume 27, Numbers 3 and 4, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society (NZ), 1972, p. 122; Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, p. 171.

<sup>131</sup> 'Report, 1927', *NZBU Baptist Handbook, 1927-1928*, p. 124.

the Rev. Herbert Davies within seven years of its formation.<sup>132</sup> As well as weekly missionary news and systematic missionary study, Bible class members came into contact with missionaries and missionary subjects at local rallies or at the annual Easter camps and summer conferences. Presbyterian girls appreciated the input of Ellen Wright at a 1917 Easter Camp. Similarly the various Baptist Easter camps in 1923 saw four missionaries speaking and mingling with campers.<sup>133</sup> Foreign missions and missionary support became normative and, for many young people, missionaries became exemplary figures to be adulated and emulated.<sup>134</sup> A large number of post-war missionary applicants cited such events and personalities as being significant in their motivation towards application and service. It would seem, then, that missionary enthusiasm was more than a 'temporary strong emotion' for many younger people by the 1920s and that, in these terms, the missionary movement's support was not solely women's business.

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<sup>132</sup> 'Youth of the Church Report, 1908', *PCNZ PGA*, p. 123.

<sup>133</sup> Seymour to Don, 10 July 1917, 'Seymour', *PCNZ FMC* (GA0001), Series 3, Missionary Candidates, *PCANZ Archives*; *NZB*, May 1923, pp. 86-88.

<sup>134</sup> Informal comment based on childhood memories (1930s) of Mrs Patricia Morrison, Oamaru.

## Chapter Nine Conclusion

Saturday November 14 [1896]

I have been agreeably surprised with India thus far. The Sahara of my dream is more like a paradise in reality. The climate is agreeable. The foliage is very fine. The skies are pretty and the natives are far superior and more civilised than I had imagined....

Coolies and bullock 'garis' were in great demand, particularly the latter, and the one I had to do with was a miserable affair. The luggage would not stay on. The bullocks would jib and when moved, would go dreadfully slow – terrible business. However, we are all arrived safely at the station, where we are to remain until the new house is built at Chandpur. And now we trust and pray that God will give us strength temporal and spiritual to learn the language successfully and in all our dealings with the people receive wisdom from on high – thus, "under His shadow, we shall live among the heathen". (Lam. 4v20).... 'Pray ye the Lord of the Harvest to thrust forth more labourers'.<sup>1</sup>

John Takle left New Zealand in 1896 amidst the accolades of many wellwishers, and with an elaborate certificate from the Wellington Baptist Church extending 'all good wishes on his departure to India as Missionary'.<sup>2</sup> In 1898 he married Maude Beavis and, together, they 'laboured' in India until retiring for health reasons in 1924. By this stage he was a well-respected missionary leader overseas and a figure of some standing within the New Zealand Baptist Union.<sup>3</sup> Maude and John were amongst forty-seven NZBMS missionaries who worked in India up to 1930 and were supported by a plethora of Baptist groups, congregations and individuals. In turn they were amongst at least 736 New Zealand Protestant missionaries who worked worldwide in this period, as respected ambassadors for most national denominations and many local congregations.

Methodists and Anglicans were the first to be involved in missionary activity from the 1820s onwards, although the definitions of this activity were blurred by familial, organisational and ecclesiastical connections between the Australasian colonies and Britain. The earliest focus was on activity in both the Polynesian and Melanesian spheres of the South West Pacific. This pattern continued when both branches of the Presbyterian Church initiated their own missionary programmes in the New Hebrides from 1868. This geographic focus shifted to South Asia after 1886, when the NZBMS began work in East Bengal. India remained the great love affair of the New Zealand movement, although the South Pacific again became a major focus by the 1920s.

<sup>1</sup> Transcript of John Takle's Diary, 1896, John Takle Papers, Folder 1, Box 0210, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>2</sup> John Takle Certificate, John Takle Papers, Folder 1, Box 0210, NZBMS Archives.

<sup>3</sup> Graeme A. Murray, 'John Takle', in Anderson (ed.), *BDCM*, p. 656.



Early missionary consciousness amongst settler Christians was more an imported mental commodity than a product of earlier missionary activity amongst Maori. The two were often structurally linked together in the late nineteenth century, but one appeared to have little impact upon the other (except perhaps for the Anglican Church). Settler churches acknowledged that missionary work was a priority, in principle at least, simply because the missionary movement had been such an entrenched feature of the church life they had experienced prior to emigration. A range of influences that were almost exclusively British in origin (clerical and lay enthusiasts, literature and a few visiting speakers) further shaped this early missionary awareness and the support patterns that began to emerge. In turn awareness was periodically magnified by events in the South West Pacific – including the murder of Bishop Patteson, the labour trade, and debates over French interests in Melanesia. Early missionary involvement largely dovetailed with existing work in the Pacific and India, further reinforcing the fact that New Zealand's embryonic movement was intimately related to its British origins. Yet this enthusiasm was often more latent than real so that it would be more accurate to conceive of pockets of enthusiasm up to 1890, rather than enthusiasm *per se*.

The 1890s signalled a marked broadening of missionary interest, indicating that this would become progressively more important in national church life. There was a significant increase both in the number of departing missionaries and of organisations engaging New Zealand missionaries. Amongst these was the new faith mission model exemplified by the CIM and the PIVM. This increase was matched by the emergence of disparate women's support groups, local committees, and a certain degree of financial largesse. Growth and support was noticeably, but not exclusively, entrenched in southern New Zealand (especially Dunedin, Christchurch, and the Otago-Southland regions). It was further anchored in a relatively wide range of urban and rural communities. This rise in involvement and enthusiasm reflected the growth of the wider international missionary movement in the so-called age of high imperialism, climaxing with the 1910 World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh. Growth in missionary enthusiasm also intersected with a range of other late nineteenth-century factors - local reservoirs of religious enthusiasm, the influence of American and Australian evangelicalism, overseas events, professionalisation, new economic growth, the electoral enfranchisement of women, and the increasingly public roles of women in moral reform and the maternal professions of education and medicine.

At the same time the troubles and debates surrounding such groups as the NZBMS and the PIVM in the late 1890s indicated that early growth could not be sustained by enthusiasm alone. Therefore a more systematic and sophisticated organisation of the technologies of missionary support (committees, women's unions, Sunday schools and Bible classes, financial schemes, educative methods and literature more generally) became a major feature of the first three decades after 1900. The base of financial support grew, as did the variety of ways in which money was raised or collected. Young people and children were targeted as much for their future potential as supporters and participants, as for short-term pecuniary gain. Missionary departures and applicants continued at similar rates as for the 1890s. The base of employing agencies broadened, as did the destinations for New Zealand missionaries. Missionary thinking and sentiments were increasingly shaped as much by domestic influences as by international factors. By 1918 the experience of pioneering and war, plus a growing sense of 'privileged citizenship', had given an antipodean slant to the popular construction of missionary sentiments amongst church going New Zealanders. It was also in this period that the Bolivian Indian Mission emerged as perhaps the most indigenous of the missionary groups to originate from within New Zealand by 1930.

By the 1920s the social shape of missionary involvement had become clear. A 'typical' New Zealand missionary was a single woman aged twenty-eight, who was Presbyterian, Brethren or Baptist. She was more likely to have been born in New Zealand and to have come from Otago, Canterbury or Auckland. By now Auckland was the new pole around which the movement revolved. Having attained at least a high school education she was probably a trained and qualified nurse or teacher, although university educated and professional businesswomen were also entering the missionary ranks. Missionary service was seen mostly as a life-long vocation (with a median of fourteen years missionary work) and was most commonly terminated by retirement, ill health or death. These patterns were actually not too dissimilar for male missionaries, except that slightly more men were married (either before or after departure) or were university educated (reflecting the numbers of ordained men in denominational societies).

Despite the trauma and horrors of World War One the 1920s developed into a second pivotal decade of missionary growth and consolidation. Whilst many of the old certainties had gone, and denominational groups invariably struggled to increase annual

income over expenditure, the numbers of departing missionaries were twice as high as for any previous decade. This was partly a function of a range of independent developments that, when added together, made for significant growth. Yet there were more profound dynamics at work in this era. The war curtailed the hitherto prevailing sense of optimism about human progress, and began to unleash forces of liberation in non-European societies that would culminate in post-1945 independence. For varying reasons Christian people perceived, in starker relief than previously, a world in need of something fundamentally salvific. In this sense, the aftermath of war provided a further incentive for missionary involvement. This explains the 'brave surge'<sup>4</sup> in missionary numbers in the years following 1918, both from New Zealand and other Western nations. Missionary growth from the mid-1920s was partially a function of the growing conservative evangelical sense of discomfort with the liberalising tendencies in both society and orthodox Protestantism. In the New Zealand context this growth came from the non-denominational organisations and was significantly influenced both by individual leaders and evangelical 'institutions' like the New Zealand Bible Training Institute. This disaffection was never as serious as the liberal-fundamentalist divide in North America. Missionary organisations did become increasingly differentiated along doctrinal lines by 1930, but this was not the final statement. There was also a large body of leaders and participants who perceived that understanding and co-operation were at least ideals to be worked towards in this new era. The Missionary Conference of 1926, and the Missionary Council that evolved from it, indicated that in a country as small as New Zealand there was little room for separatism. Although the Council may not have ultimately achieved much in practice, it marked a significant step along the way towards the Protestant ecumenism of the post-1945 era.

This thesis has used the concept of *mentalité* in an attempt to excavate the internal or underlying rationale of the New Zealand missionary movement. The contours of this *mentalité* were demonstrably theological by nature, primarily because New Zealand Christians perceived or constructed their world and identity in these terms. Its historical roots doubly lay in the conversionist emphases of evangelicalism, and Enlightenment derived optimism about human progress and the socially transformative power of Christianity. Most groups or denominations accepted a number of core components in

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<sup>4</sup> Latourette, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, vol. 7, p. 16.

their theological construction of mission. These included such things as: God in Christ as Creator and Redeemer (of both individuals and societies); the comprehensive sinfulness of humanity (regardless of geographical location, race or ethnicity); the overarching, grace-filled love of a Trinitarian God; the responsibilities and duty of God's redeemed people (the Church) to be agents of global salvation, liberation, and enlightenment; and the eventual eschatological consummation of the Kingdom of God. At the same time, however, these did not restrict missionaries and organisations to any one philosophy or approach. In fact missionary theology was noticeably variegated in how it was defined and conceived. It lay within the boundaries of a broadly evangelical conception of both task and context, and was encapsulated in the contemporary and sometimes ambiguous use of the term 'evangelisation'. Theological constructions of mission were expressed through clusters of motifs, which were variously emphasised by the different organisations and shaped by a variety of domestic and international contributory streams. The underlying theological motive for mission became progressively more anthropocentric in the process. This way of perceiving the world also resulted in a common bifurcation of the world into Christendom and heathen non-Christendom. Whilst the basic distinction was between those 'saved' and 'unsaved', the popular construction of potentially racist and demonstrably euro-centric anthropological hierarchies was not an unexpected outcome.

As the debates and conservative defensiveness of the post-war era emerged, the underlying theological rationale and discourse of the missionary movement became increasingly divergent. Differences in opinion over the content and direction of foreign missions served to demarcate those willing to embrace new modes of thought from those seeking to defend old and hitherto non-negotiable orthodoxies. Whilst, in New Zealand, a more irenic and pietistic religious conservatism meant that this had a minimal impact, conservative groups saw themselves as the sole defenders of biblical and evangelical faith, and the rightful dispensers of the Christian gospel overseas.

For individuals this theologically shaped missionary *mentalité* was also expressed through increasingly privatised spiritual lenses. A pervasive spirituality emerged that emphasised a Higher Calling, personal consecration and surrender, useful and empowered service, and sacrificial commitment. Many of these sentiments found their most emphatic expression in the years following World War One, wherein the

unquestioned sacrifices of wartime were contrasted with the call to sacrifice for an even loftier cause. The 'great commission' was interpreted as a call to individual believers so that, theoretically, no one person was exempt. Motivation for missionary service partially issued out of this complex mix of internalised theological and spiritual imperatives, and its apprehension was often differentiated along lines of gender and doctrine. The emphasis on individual calling and responsibility, however, did not necessarily imply that the missionary was better than those who stayed at home. Missionaries were often idolised and idealised, and missionary martyrs depicted as heroes and exemplars of genuine Christian faith. A missionary calling could be perceived as the pinnacle or logical outcome of enlivened religious faith. Yet there was also a keen understanding that those who remained in New Zealand were vitally important through the agencies of prayer and financial support. Perhaps this sense of connectedness was fostered more amongst women and women's groups, although the evidence for conservative groups suggests that this was not necessarily always the case.

The variegated nature of the contributory streams indicated that the missionary *mentalité* was not a monolithic, impersonal or unchanging entity. The movement did become theologically nuanced over time, it was in many respects a gendered movement, and its participants came from a broad cross-section of ecclesiastical traditions. Human agency was a key factor, to which the *mentalité* approach has traditionally paid less attention. Perhaps, in the New Zealand context, the importance of individual agency issued from a combination of a colonial lack of confidence, small population size, internal denominational and geographical isolation, and a measure of theological diversity. It certainly seems that many developments would never have taken place without individual enthusiasm, initiative or intervention. External influences came particularly from Britain, Australia and America in the form of people like the Rev. Silas Mead, Ellen Arnold, Eugene Stock, Charles Reeve, John R. Mott, Ruth Rouse and the Rev. Rowland Bingham. New Zealand benefited from the local and national energies of people like Jane Bannerman, Margaret Hewitson, the Rev. Alfred North, Annie and the Rev. Harry Driver, John Wilkinson, Samuel Barry, the Rev. Joseph Kemp and, as in the case of Canada, by a handful of committed missionary secretaries and convenors.<sup>5</sup> Missionary speakers further contributed to this mix, especially at the

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<sup>5</sup> Hamish Ion, *The Cross and the Rising Sun: The Canadian Missionary Movement in the Japanese Empire, 1872-1931*, Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990, pp. 24-27.

congregational level. The agency of individual lives intersected influentially with an underlying consciousness and activism in the construction of a missionary *mentalité*.

By the 1920s missionary awareness, support, and participation was a central, organised, and well-entrenched feature of church life throughout New Zealand, giving concrete expression to the contours of thought and perception outlined in the previous discussion. It remains to tease out the extent to which this was an important marker of Christian identity amongst the settler churches of late colonial New Zealand. From the outset denominational leaders were convinced that foreign missionary work was an indivisible and non-negotiable element of ecclesiology. Yet the practical realities of establishing congregations and denominational structures amongst settler communities meant that this often remained more of a principle than a priority. Local factors such as the mid-nineteenth-century land wars, consequent slow economic development in the North Island, and the long depression of the 1880s were further mitigating reasons for this being so. Opponents to foreign missions certainly played on these, as well as on late nineteenth-century concerns over public morality and the large proportion of New Zealand's population still beyond the civilising influence of organised religion. Increasingly common, however, was the view that both home and foreign missions were 'alike requisite to the fulfilment of the Divine plan for the redemption of the world, and therefore united by an indissoluble bond'.<sup>6</sup> The growing base of financial support, and the involvement of a large number of active and committed supporters, was practical testimony that commonly held concerns for both 'the heathen' overseas and the 'unsaved' at home gave the Church a secure sense of self-identity in increasingly uncertain times. Nowhere was this more obvious than amongst those groups identifying with the socially reactive and theologically conservative evangelicalism of the 1920s.

It seems more meaningful, however, to consider the issue of identity in relation to particular contexts or groups. As well as being spiritually motivated, missionary involvement was an important way by which women were able to negotiate their way between culturally prescribed private and public spheres of influence. Missionary support groups combined maternal concerns, reforming sensibilities, public activism, a skill for organisation, and an educated Christian spirituality that found its legitimacy in

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<sup>6</sup> 'The Relations of Home with Foreign Missionary Work', *NZB*, August 1896, pp. 126-127.

the incarnational love of Christ and the agency of the Holy Spirit. Missionary service allowed single women enlivened by personal faith to follow a vocation and to live a life that was personally meaningful and fulfilling. Although probably not intended, it was hardly surprising that a perception developed that foreign missions were women's business. Missionary support gave children and young people a ready identity within church and community life, and missionary sentiments were easily co-opted in their Christian socialisation. Missionary pedagogy was a vehicle by which the denominations could maintain their missionary priorities in the longer term. Missionary support and interest was also an important vehicle by which national denominational identity could be forged. One of the few common links for Brethren assemblies was the nationally published *Treasury* newspaper. Its original *raison d'être* was to keep isolated assemblies in touch with their missionaries, yet it progressively helped to forge a greater sense of Brethren solidarity and cohesiveness. The NZBMS was an essential early element in helping the fledgling Baptist Union to create national unity and identity. Missionary involvement did the same for the newly united Presbyterian Church after 1901. In congregation after congregation missionary support groups, events and rituals provided ways by which members could meaningfully contribute to church life and socialise together. Missionary enthusiasm also helped to forge regional distinctions in denominational identity, or created local links between churches that might not otherwise have developed. Missionary involvement therefore helped to create a variegated, localised and organic ecumenism amongst a selection of New Zealand churches and churchgoers of this period, whilst at the same time serving to demarcate or accentuate blocs of churches defined by doctrinal differences.

The growing interest in foreign missions, and the sending out and support of increasing numbers of missionaries, indicates that this notion of identity also needs to be understood in a wider context. National identity, in the sense that we now understand it, was highly contestable in this period, as was the notion of personal allegiance. Whilst many settler Christians probably thought of themselves in more parochial terms (particular denominations, local expressions of these denominations, or along doctrinal lines), many others accepted a much wider definitional framework. Women's groups like the PWMU provided the clearest example of this, with their focus on and commitment to the concept of international sisterhood. In this construction New Zealand women were spiritually and emotionally part of a global circle of women,

irrespective of social and denominational divisions or of New Zealand's apparent geographic isolation.<sup>7</sup> It was also commonly expressed amongst Anglicans, with their wider conception of the Church and of membership within the global Anglican Communion. It was also a feature of the emerging conservative groups, which often identified with their Anglo-American counterparts, as much as with other churches in New Zealand, or which were an integral part of a range of international organisations.

Many New Zealand Christians saw themselves as world citizens whose primary allegiance was to the all-embracing Kingdom of God. Theologically they had a deeply ingrained sense of connectedness with and obligation to the rest of the world. In this respect there was an important spatial dimension to the late colonial missionary *mentalité*. Many missionary supporters and participants had an uncommonly well-informed and nuanced understanding of the wider world. Furthermore this contributed to the world becoming spatially differentiated, in the popular mind, along lines of race, culture and religion. The world was broken up into 'the great beckoning fields', and these fields were invariably a synonym for the non-European and non-Christian regions of the world. The frequently used phrase 'regions beyond' accentuated this sense of spatial, cultural, and religious dissonance. New Zealand, Australia and the West were perceived to be at the global centre, whilst the other regions were on the periphery.

Identity was thus inextricably, and sometimes confusedly, mixed in with prevailing imperialist views of the world. New Zealanders may not all have seen themselves as colonisers or imperialists. Yet at heart they identified with the Christianised West (particularly with the British Empire) and were therefore firmly and comfortably enmeshed in a movement that was inevitably linked with the prevailing political powers of the period. Explicitly or implicitly this connoted a mindset that constructed the West as inherently superior, progressive, and a model for the rest of the world, precisely because of its Christian character. Some thought that a positive 'by-product' of Christian mission was the 'building up of a new form of society' based on the Western model, although this was not the main objective of missionary work.<sup>8</sup> This was a pervasive theme in both popular and serious literature accessible to many New

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<sup>7</sup> Coleman notes, however, that this construction of sisterhood often contained inherent racial hierarchies which meant that, in effect, 'superior' western sisters had to rescue their 'inferior' Indian sisters. Coleman, 'White Women, Reform and the Missionary Endeavour in India, 1876-1920', pp. 198-199.

<sup>8</sup> James Barton, *Human Progress Through Missions*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1912, pp. 15-18.



Zealanders throughout this period.<sup>9</sup> By the 1920s, in the minds of many, such thinking became less tenable. Groups like the NZSCM began to foster a more co-operative and internationalist approach.

Missionary involvement clearly indicated that New Zealand was not geographically isolated or insulated. There was a constant flow of international information, ideas, and literature that informed and shaped both missionary thinking and involvement. From the 1890s onwards it was also clear that Britain was not the only influence in this process. Australia was an important source of inspiration, missionary initiatives and training. In turn Australia formed one corner of a well-travelled triangle connecting the two colonies (later dominions) with missionary destinations worldwide. There was also a very identifiable 'American connection'.<sup>10</sup> Influences ranged from Christian Endeavour, the Student Volunteer Movement, and conservative evangelicalism, to the individual speakers and missionary leaders who visited and the training institutions attended by New Zealanders. Again this link was made easier by New Zealand's location on the Pacific Rim and direct travel routes to the American West Coast. In this respect, employing exploratory imagery used by Peter Gibbons, the oceans and seas surrounding New Zealand were not 'barriers' but instead constituted 'highways' over which there was a constant interchange of ideas, information and personnel. Missionary involvement indicated that New Zealand was inextricably linked to a hypothesised 'archipelago of urban centres' concerned with 'production and consumption and exchange, not simply in limited economic terms, but also in social and cultural terms'.<sup>11</sup>

This thesis has focussed on the missionary movement as it developed and emerged amongst the Protestant churches of late colonial New Zealand. Whilst broad ranging it has necessarily remained circumscribed in terms of its periodisation and coverage. It has attempted to complement existing histories of New Zealand's Protestant missionary movement (both organisational and academic) by way of a comparative and analytically

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<sup>9</sup> For example the following two books, which elaborated on this theme to varying extents, were read in New Zealand in this period. Brace, *Gesta Christi, or a History of Human Progress under Christianity*; Lavinia L. Dock and Isabel Maitland Stewart, *A Short History of Nursing: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925.

<sup>10</sup> Colin Brown has indicated that this is a fruitful, if somewhat undeveloped, area for further research. 'The American Connection: The United States of America and Churches in New Zealand, 1840-1940', in Maurice Andrew *et al* (eds), *Religious Studies in Dialogue*, Dunedin: Faculty of Theology, University of Otago, 1991, pp. 153-162.

<sup>11</sup> Gibbons, 'The Far Side of the Search for Identity', pp. 41, 44.

rigorous synthesis. Whilst a number of issues have been addressed, a number of others remain as avenues for further research. The most obvious, perhaps, is the need for a longitudinal study that completes the story line up to the present day, and that grapples further with the question as to why so many New Zealanders were involved in the missionary movement. A kind of 'evangelical myth' exists that New Zealand has had one of the highest rates of missionary recruitment worldwide.<sup>12</sup> It is probable that this notion dates from the post-World War Two era (particularly the 1950s and 1960s when it appears that missionary numbers increased quite dramatically) rather than from the period currently under study.<sup>13</sup> Yet, if Callum Brown's secularisation thesis holds true for New Zealand, then the existence of this 'myth' is an important indicator that the well-grounded pre-1930 missionary *mentalité* endured (rather than diminished) and that the movement's growth reflected the wider socio-cultural tenacity of Christian belief and practice within New Zealand. At the same time further study must also take account of a wide range of post-1945 contextual factors including: theological change and diversification; international ecumenism, secularisation; fluctuations in domestic socio-economic prosperity; decolonisation; globalisation; the widening developmental gap between 'North' and 'South'; second wave feminism; and the cultural shifts from modernity to postmodernity, and from colonialism to postcolonialism. This present study also indicates that a greater excavation of localised aspects of the missionary movement must take place, which takes advantage of the wealth of parish and congregational archival material in existence and which seeks to understand the interrelationship of missionary support and popular Christianity at the local level. Underlying this entire task is the prior need to systematically locate, identify and catalogue public and private missionary archives. Whilst substantial collections exist within denominational and regional repositories, there is much yet to do in locating the records of the many smaller (and often conservative) groups that were so numerically important from the 1930s.

In the context of the globalisation of historical study, further research into the missionary movement also has the potential to inform our understanding of New

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<sup>12</sup> Lineham, 'Missions in the Consciousness of the New Zealand Churches', p. 33; in turn quoting from Roberts, 'The Growth of Inter-Denominational Mission Societies in New Zealand', p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> The relative lack of comparable international studies (particularly the lack of rigorous statistical analyses of movements in individual countries) and the inconsistency of statistics recorded from the period make it virtually impossible to ascertain the validity of this 'myth' for the period up to 1930.

Zealand's relationship to the wider world. Research is particularly needed on such areas as: the interaction and impact of New Zealand missionaries and missionary policies within receiving societies and on co-existing international missionary organisations; the extent to which New Zealand missionaries participated in or subverted prevailing imperialist assumptions (and the extent to which this was differentiated by gender); the role of missionaries and missionary publicity on shaping domestic images and knowledge of the world; the roles of missionaries (academic and non-academic) in shaping academic knowledge (for example Geography and Anthropology); the origins of New Zealand aid and development (which had its roots in missionary policy and practice); and the impact of missionary experience on the later lives and careers of missionary children in New Zealand. These are simply indicative of a whole raft of issues that are integral to ongoing New Zealand and mission historiography.

In conclusion we return to two pieces of historiographical wisdom. We are reminded firstly that 'the historian is not concerned to show that belief systems are ridiculous, but to discover why they were not ridiculous once'. Secondly, 'the past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today's predilections, its strangeness domesticated by our own preservation of its vestiges'.<sup>14</sup> New Zealand's participation in the international missionary phenomenon of the late colonial period issued from particular historical roots and was shaped by a complex mix of theological, cultural, gendered, social, economic and political factors. It was an integral part of the wider missionary movement of this period, and at the same time an increasingly important expression of Christian spirituality and activism within New Zealand. Whilst involving all denominations, age groups and genders it became particularly important for the emerging profile of Christian women, and provided a focus for the energies and creativity of children, young people, and students. It was set within a society slowly coming to grips with its own identity, yet was profoundly shaped by and interacted with a variety of international influences. Missionaries and their supporters simultaneously occupied a multiplicity of 'worlds' (local, national, global and spiritual), thus creating a fluid and multiform set of identities. They were often as much international as they were national in outlook, and gave their allegiance equally to God, monarch, and country. In the process they often conflated culture, Christianity and civilisation, and consequently

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<sup>14</sup> Pocock, 'Tangata Whenua and Enlightenment Anthropology', p. 29; Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p.xvii.

their resulting actions have been laid open to historical interpretation and judgement. These were people of their times, whose lives occupied and traversed a mental landscape that now seems strange and foreign. They did so with largesse of spirit and an apparent naivety that both seem somewhat staggering in hindsight. New Zealanders, as missionaries and missionary supporters, were global citizens before their time. Their lives and actions prefigured the interchange of culture and commodities that now characterises the present era of globalisation. They sought to influence the world for good through the Christian gospel. In the process they brought the world to New Zealand and the West to the world. Whilst this thesis has attempted to excavate and explicate the underlying mindset, institutions and influences, there is much of value yet to be learned from their lives. The past may be a 'foreign country' yet in a shrunken world, in which New Zealanders have always been willing or adventurous globetrotters, its very strangeness is surely the invitation for further exploration.

## APPENDIX ONE

### Missionary Organisations with New Zealand Workers, 1869-1930<sup>1</sup>

Missionary Organisations	First NZ Missionary	1869- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1918	1919- 1930	Estimated Total Number Involved
Australasian Methodist Overseas Mission	1827?	■	■	■	■	93
Melanesian Mission	1867?	■	■	■	■	40
Presbyterian Church of New Zealand <sup>2</sup>	1869	■	■	■	■	121
China Inland Mission (England)	1875?	■	■	■	■	3
Zenana Bible and Medical Mission	1875?	■	■			2
New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society	1886	■	■	■	■	47
China Inland Mission (Australasia)	1891		■	■	■	56
United Free Church of Scotland	1892		■	■	■	3
New Zealand Church Missionary Association	1893		■	■	■	30
London Missionary Society	1893		■	■	■	12
Church Missionary Society	1893		■	■		9
Brethren	1894		■	■	■	120
Independent	1894		■	■	■	7
Unidentified Organisations	1894		■	■	■	18
NSW Baptist Missionary Society	1896		■			2
Poona and Indian Village Mission	1896		■	■	■	46
Congo Balolo Mission	1896		■			1
Church of Scotland	1897		■	■	■	9
South American Evangelical Mission <sup>3</sup>	1899		■			9
Regions Beyond Missionary Union	1900			■	■	6
Christian and Missionary Alliance	1903			■		1

<sup>1</sup> The ■ symbol indicates that there were known missionaries sent by the organisation in that particular period.

<sup>2</sup> This includes Synod of Southland and Otago prior to Presbyterian union in 1901.

<sup>3</sup> This figure also includes the three who joined after the SAEM was reformed as the Australasian South American Mission in 1901.

<b>Missionary Organisation</b>	<b>First NZ Missionary</b>	<b>1869-1889</b>	<b>1890-1899</b>	<b>1900-1918</b>	<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Estimated Total Number Involved</b>
Missionary Settlement for University Women	1906			■		1
Associated Churches of Christ	1906			■		3
Salvation Army	1906			■	■	10
Bolivian Indian Mission	1908			■	■	19
Australasian Anglican Papua Mission	1909			■	■	1
Church of England Zenana Missionary Society	1909			■		2
Presbyterian Church of Tasmania	1909			■		1
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	1909			■	■	8
Baptist Missionary Society	1910			■		1
Evangelical Union of South America	1910			■	■	3
Ramabai Mukti Mission	1911			■		4
South Sea Evangelical Mission	1911			■	■	17
Sudan United Mission	1912			■	■	15
Algiers Mission Band	1912			■		2
Presbyterian Church of South Australia	1912			■		1
Presbyterian Church of New South Wales	1914			■		1
South Australia Baptist Missionary Society	1915			■		2
Mission to Lepers	1918			■		2
Universities' Mission to Central Africa	1919				■	1
South African Wesleyan Church	1920s				■	2
New Zealand Student Christian Movement	1920				■	1
Africa Inland Mission	1921				■	3
Sudan Interior Mission	1921				■	13
Kwato Evangelical Society	1923				■	1
South Sea Islands Assam (?)	1925				■	2
New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions	1925				■	3
YWCA	1926				■	2
Welsh Presbyterian Church	1927				■	2
YMCA	1927				■	2

<b>Missionary Organisation</b>	<b>First NZ Missionary</b>	<b>1869- 1889</b>	<b>1890- 1899</b>	<b>1900- 1918</b>	<b>1919- 1930</b>	<b>Estimated Total Number Involved</b>
Anglican Diocese of Polynesia	1927				■	9
Latin American Prayer Fellowship	1928				■	1
Cairo Nile Mission Press	1928				■	1
Australian Anglican Board of Missions	1929				■	1
Dutch Reform Church	1930				■	1
Ceylon and India General Mission	1930				■	1
Emmanuel Mission to Seamen	1930				■	1

## APPENDIX TWO

### Notes on Sources for Missionary and Applicant Details, 1869-1930<sup>4</sup>

#### **Bolivian Indian Mission (BIM)**

Missionary and applicant names for both the South American Evangelical Mission and the Australasian South American Mission (1899-1908) were extracted from a combination of: the Minutes of the Dunedin Committee of the South American Evangelical Mission, 1899-1908; the Correspondence of the Dunedin Committee of the South American Evangelical Mission, 1900-1902; and the Correspondence of the Australasian South American Mission, 1902-1908. Further missionary and applicant names for the Bolivian Indian Mission (1908-1930) were extracted from a hand written 'Listing of Bolivian Indian Missionaries, 1909-1945', and crosschecked against the Minutes of the New Zealand Council of the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1908-1916 and the Minutes of the Field Conferences of the Bolivian Indian Mission, 1913-1945. All of these, plus the following three magazines, are located in the SIM Archives, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA. Biographical details were found in a wide range of BIM material including: miscellaneous personnel files; the *South American Messenger*, 1897-1899; the *South American News*, 1904-1906; the *Bolivian Indian*, 1911-1930 (initially entitled *Tahuantín Suyu*); the Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute; in the literature of other New Zealand denominations; and in newspapers.

#### **Brethren Missionaries**

The list of names of missionaries from Brethren assemblies (1896-1930) was exclusively extracted from Les Marsh, *In His Name: A Record of Assembly Missionary Outreach From New Zealand*, Palmerston North: G.P.H. Society, 1974, and from the updated version, Les Marsh and Harry Erlam, *In His Name: A Record of Brethren Assembly Missionary Outreach From New Zealand*, Palmerston North: G.P.H. Society, 1987. No attempt has been made to work directly with Brethren primary source material due to difficulty of access and time constraints. Miscellaneous biographical details have also been found in: J. G. Harvey, *Brief Records of Service for Christ in Many Lands, 1896-1947*, Palmerston North: Gospel Publishing House, 1947; materials relating to the Poona and Indian Village Mission; biographies; other New Zealand denominational literature; the Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute; and the private collection of Dr. John Hitchen, Auckland.

#### **China Inland Mission (CIM)**

The list of missionary names for the China Inland Mission in New Zealand, (1894-1930), was initially constructed from a combination of the lists in Marcus Loane, *The Story of the China Inland Mission in Australia and New Zealand, 1890-1964*, Sydney: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, 1965, pp. 151-164; and in Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China 1912-1949*, Auckland: The University of Auckland New Zealand Asia Institute, 1995, pp. 184-185. Applicant names, for the North Island only, were listed in the 'CIM Register of Candidates, 1893-1937'. Biographical details were also found in the 'CIM Register', as well as in miscellaneous personnel files and in the Mission's magazine *China's Millions*, 1893-1930<sup>5</sup>. These are held either in the OMF Archives, Auckland, or at the Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland. There were also further details in the literature of New Zealand denominations and in the

<sup>4</sup> Refer to the Bibliography for fuller details of each source cited here.

<sup>5</sup> The version read and quoted from was an Australasian edition of *China's Millions*.



Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute. There is also some New Zealand CIM personnel information in the Australia CIM archives held at the Bible College of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia – including applicant names and an incomplete set of individual missionary files. There are gaps in the personnel data for some South Island CIM missionaries because the official records of the South Island Council (up until its amalgamation with the North Island Council in 1939) seem to have been lost or destroyed. Substantial efforts to locate these were unsuccessful. The Australian CIM records, however, did provide material to fill some of these gaps, particularly the identification of South Island applicants who did not go on to missionary service.

### **London Missionary Society (LMS)**

Names for New Zealand LMS missionaries (1893-1930) were initially found in a wide range of sources, including local newspapers and the Minute Book of the London Missionary Society, New Zealand Auxiliary, Otago Branch, 1900-1932. These were then crosschecked and supplemented by more complete material in: James Sibree (ed.), *London Missionary Society: A Register of Missionaries, Deputations, etc., 1796-1923*, London: London Missionary Society, 1923; and in Norman Goodall, *A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945*, London: Oxford University Press, 1954, Appendix III, pp. 595-623.

### **Melanesian Mission**

Missionary names only were initially extracted from a range of sources including: W. P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973; E. S. Armstrong, *The History of the Melanesian Mission*, London: Isbister and Company Ltd., 1900; D. Hilliard, *God's Gentlemen: A History of the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1942*, St. Lucia, Queensland: Queensland University Press, 1978; Janet Crawford, “‘Christian Wives for Christian Lads’: Aspects of Women’s Work in the Melanesian Mission, 1849-1877”, in Allan K. Davidson and Godfrey Nicholson (eds), *With All Humility and Gentleness*, Auckland: St John's College, 1991, pp. 51-66; the *Proceedings of the General Synod*, 1896-1900; the Minutes of the Christchurch Gleaners’ Union, 1893-1923; and the *Annual Reports of the New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions*, 1920-21, 1924-1930. These were further crosschecked against the ‘List of Melanesian Missionaries Compiled at the London Office of the Mission’, a copy of which is located in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. Biographical material was also extracted from these sources, as well as from: the *Southern Cross Log*, 1895-1926; the [NZABM] *Reaper*, 1923-1932; Gerald Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, New York: MacMillan Reference USA, 1998; and Robert Glen (ed.), *Mission and Moko: Aspects of the Work of the Church Missionary Society in New Zealand, 1824-1882*, Christchurch: Latimer Fellowship of New Zealand, 1992. Because the sources do not all clearly define a missionary’s nationality, the working assumption at this stage is that the list of New Zealander Melanesian Mission workers presented here is incomplete.

### **Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM)**

The list of Methodist missionaries only (1886-1930) was constructed initially from George C. Carter, *A Family Affair: A Brief Survey of New Zealand Methodism's Involvement in Mission Overseas*, Proceedings Wesley Historical Society of New Zealand, Volume 28, Numbers. 3-4, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society (NZ), 1973, Appendix Two. There was no further attempt to work directly with primary source

material. Biographical details were extracted from both *A Family Affair*, other Wesley Historical Publications (noted in the bibliography), and from two recent theses on New Zealand Methodist women missionaries – Daphne Beniston, ‘New Zealand Women of the Methodist Solomons Mission 1922-1992’, MA Thesis in History, University of Auckland, 1992, pp. 184-199; and Lisa Early, “‘If we win the Women’: The Lives and Work of Methodist Missionary Women in the Solomon Islands, 1902-1942’, PhD Thesis in History, University of Otago, 1998, pp. 350-361.

#### **New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society (NZBMS)**

The list of missionary names for the NZBMS (1886-1930) were initially drawn from S. L. Edgar and M. J. Eade, *Towards the Sunrise: The Centenary History of the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society*, Auckland: New Zealand Baptist Historical Society for the New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society, 1985, pp. 272-273. They were crosschecked against E. P. Y. Simpson, ‘A History of the N.Z. Baptist Missionary Society, 1885-1947’, MA Thesis in History, Canterbury University College, 1948, pp. 171-173. Applicant names were extracted from the Minutes of NZBMS Committee Meetings 1885-1931. Because there were no extant applicant records for the NZBMS, this listing is probably incomplete. Biographical details were found in a combination of: miscellaneous personnel files; the *NZBU Handbook*, 1903-1930; the *New Zealand Baptist*, 1886-1930; the *Missionary Messenger*, 1886-1930; and the Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute.

#### **New Zealand Church Missionary Association/Society (NZCMS/A)**

An initial list of missionary names for the NZCMA (1893-1916) and the NZCMS (1916-1930) was extracted from Kenneth Gregory, *Stretching Out Continually: Whaatoro Tonu Atu: A History of the New Zealand Church Missionary Society, 1892-1972*, Christchurch: The author, 1972, and supplemented by Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China 1912-1949*, p. 189. This was then crosschecked against a full listing of missionaries given in the catalogue of the NZCMS Archives, Series Three. Names of applicants were also extracted from Series Three. Biographical details were found primarily in the application records and personnel files of both missionaries and applicants, located in the Correspondence of the New Zealand Church Missionary Association/Society, 1893-1930 (Series Three).

#### **Poona and Indian Village Mission (PIVM)**

The list of names for New Zealand missionaries with the Poona and Indian Village Mission (1896-1930) was extracted from a combination of: the Mission’s magazine *White Already to Harvest*, 1899-1930 (located in the SIM Archives, Charlotte, North Carolina, USA); references to missionaries in New Zealand denominational publications; the Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute; and the Minutes of the Christchurch Gleaners’ Union, 1893-1923. This is likely to be an incomplete list. Applicant records do not exist. Biographical details were found in the same sources as above.

#### **Presbyterian Church of New Zealand Foreign Missions Committee (PCNZ FMC)**

An initial list of missionary names of both the Presbyterian Synod of Southland and Otago (1869-1901) and of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand (1869-1930) was constructed from a combination of: J. R. Elder, *The History of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1840-1940*, Christchurch: Presbyterian Bookroom, 1940; J. S. Murray, *A Century of Growth: Presbyterian Overseas Mission Work, 1869-1969*, Christchurch:

Presbyterian Bookroom, 1969, pp. 110-112; and Matthew Dalzell, *New Zealanders in Republican China 1912-1949*, pp. 187-188. This was then crosschecked using Ian Fraser, 'Register of Ministers and Missionaries, 1840-1989', PACNZ, 1990. This register is now accessible as an online 'Register of Ministers, Deaconesses and Missionaries', at [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/). Applicant and missionary names, and biographical details, were further added to from: the Staff Files, Series Six, Canton Villages Mission Archives (1901-1930); the Staff Files, Series Six, Punjab Mission Archives (1908-1930); the Staff Files, Series Six, New Hebrides Mission Archives (1869-1930); and from Missionary Candidates, Series Three, PCNZ Foreign Missions Committee Archives (1905-1935). The most comprehensive collection of formal application records, for both missionaries and unsuccessful applicants, has only been kept from 1905 onwards. Biographical details were also found in the various Presbyterian publications plus miscellaneous personnel files.

### **Student Volunteers (SVM/ASCU/NZSCM)**

The names and details of New Zealand Student Volunteers (1896-1918) were constructed from two extant lists: an undated 'Listing of NZ Student Volunteers', located in the NZSCM Collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; and a 1916 'List of [Australasian] Student Volunteers' (G549.111), located in the World Student's Christian Federation Archives, Yale School of Divinity, Yale University. An effort was made to track down the original application papers filled out by New Zealand Student Volunteers (which exist for their North American counterparts). These were probably sent either to the central office of the Australasian Students Christian Union (first in Sydney and then in Melbourne) or directly to the missionary organisations being applied to, but they do not seem to have survived. Further biographical information was also found in NZCMA/S and PCNZ application records.

### **Other Missions**

Missionary names for the other diverse range of missions were found in a wide array of sources. Primarily these were the publications of the various New Zealand denominations (already cited), as well as the [NZBTI] *Reaper*, 1923-1931, regional newspapers, various biographies, and historical accounts of some of the missions (see Bibliography). Some biographical information for missionaries departing between 1922 and 1930 was also found in the Student Record Cards of the New Zealand Bible Training Institute. Further biographical information was found in: Gerald Anderson (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Christian Missions*, New York: MacMillan Reference USA, 1998; Brian Dickie (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994; the online Presbyterian 'Register of Ministers, Deaconesses and Missionaries', and the online version of the *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* ([www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)). Again, because this listing of 'other missionaries' is incomplete, the working assumption should be that overall missionary numbers are underestimated for the period up to 1930.

## APPENDIX THREE

### Categories for Sociological and Theological Analysis

#### Origin (Regions)

1. Northland/Auckland
2. Waikato
3. Bay of Plenty
4. Taranaki
5. Hawkes Bay/East Coast
6. Wanganui/Manawatu
7. Wairarapa
8. Wellington
9. Nelson/Marlborough
10. West Coast
11. Canterbury
12. Otago
13. Southland
14. Overseas
15. Don't Know

#### Denominations

1. Anglican
2. Associated Churches of Christ
3. Baptist
4. Brethren
5. Congregational
6. Lutheran
7. Methodist
8. Pentecostal
9. Presbyterian
10. Salvation Army
11. Don't Know
12. Other

#### Education

1. No education
2. Private tutoring/General education
3. Primary school (non-Proficiency)
4. Primary school (Proficiency)
5. Secondary school (non-Matriculation)
6. Secondary school (Matriculation)
7. Technical College
8. University
9. Other Tertiary
10. Don't Know/Not Stated

#### Occupations (Categories used for the Census 1901-1926)

1. Professional
2. Domestic
3. Commercial
4. Transport/Communication
5. Industrial
6. Agricultural
7. Indefinite
8. Dependent

#### Theological

1. Biblical Fulfilment
2. Christian Leavening
3. Duty/Obligation
4. Enlightenment
5. Establishing an Indigenous Church
6. Extending God's Kingdom
7. Going/Taking the Gospel
8. Liberation
9. Preaching/Teaching
10. Premillennial Urgency
11. Reaping a Harvest
12. Representing Christ
13. Response to a Command
14. Response to Great Need
15. Salvation/Conversion
16. Service/Sacrifice
17. Warfare

## APPENDIX FOUR

### Selected Sociological Data for New Zealand Missionaries, 1869-1930

#### 1. Geographical Origin By Gender (Numbers/Percentages)

<b>1868-1889</b> <b>Region</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Northland/Auckland	4	31	3	17	7	24
Waikato	-	-	1	8	1	4
Bay of Plenty	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taranaki	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hawkes Bay/East Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wanganui/Manawatu	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wairarapa	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wellington	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nelson/Marlborough	2	15	-	-	2	8
West Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	-	-	1	8	1	4
Otago	3	23	3	25	6	24
Southland	1	8	-	-	1	4
Overseas	3	23	5	42	8	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size - 26 known origins for a total of 31 known missionaries = 83.9%]

<b>1890-1899</b>						
Northland/Auckland	14	25	6	10	20	17
Waikato	-	-	1	2	1	0.8
Bay of Plenty	1	2	-	-	1	0.8
Taranaki	-	-	1	2	1	0.8
Hawkes Bay/East Coast	2	3	1	2	3	2.5
Wanganui/Manawatu	1	2	3	5	4	3
Wairarapa	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wellington	4	7	5	8	9	7.5
Nelson/Marlborough	3	5	5	8	8	7
West Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	4	7	12	19	16	13
Otago	22	39	20	32	42	35
Southland	1	2	2	3	3	2.5
Overseas	5	9	7	11	12	10
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>99.9</b>

[Sample size – 120 known origins for a total of 139 known missionaries = 86.3%]

<b>1900-1918</b>						
Northland/Auckland	6	7	23	15	29	12
Waikato	4	5	2	1	6	2.5
Bay of Plenty	-	-	1	0.6	1	0.4
Taranaki	2	2	5	3	7	3
Hawkes Bay/East Coast	9	11	3	2	12	5
Wanganui/Manawatu	7	8	12	8	19	8
Wairarapa	2	2	1	0.6	3	1
Wellington	9	11	8	5	17	7
Nelson/Marlborough	4	5	11	7	15	6
West Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	11	13	29	19	40	17
Otago	20	24	36	23	56	23.5
Southland	1	1	7	4	8	3
Overseas	9	11	16	10	25	10.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>98.2</b>	<b>238</b>	<b>98.9</b>

[Sample size – 238 known origins for a total of 294 known missionaries = 80.9%]

<b>1919-1930</b>						
<b>Region</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Northland/Auckland	20	28	34	30	54	29
Waikato	4	5.5	3	3	7	4
Bay of Plenty	1	1	1	0.9	2	1
Taranaki	3	4	3	3	6	3
Hawkes Bay/East Coast	3	4	1	0.9	4	2
Wanganui/Manawatu	5	7	5	4	10	5
Wairarapa	1	1	-	-	1	0.5
Wellington	9	12.5	16	14	25	13
Nelson/Marlborough	1	1	3	3	4	2
West Coast	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	4	5.5	13	11	17	9
Otago	12	17	15	13	27	14
Southland	5	7	9	8	14	7
Overseas	4	5.5	12	10	16	8.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>115</b>	<b>100.8</b>	<b>187</b>	<b>98</b>

Sample size – 187 known origins for a total of 272 known missionaries = 68.8%.

<b>Overall</b>	<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>1890-1899</b>	<b>1900-1918</b>	<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Region</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>
Nth/Auckl	7 (24)	20 (17)	29 (12)	54 (29)	110 (19)
Waikato	1 (4)	1 (0.8)	6 (2.5)	7 (4)	15 (3)
Bay of Plenty	-	1 (0.8)	1 (0.4)	2 (1)	4 (0.7)
Taranaki	-	1 (0.8)	7 (3)	6 (3)	14 (2)
HB/EC	-	3 (2.5)	12 (5)	4 (3)	19 (3)
W/M	-	4 (3)	19 (8)	10 (5)	33 (6)
Wairarapa	-	-	3 (1)	1 (0.5)	4 (0.7)
Wellington	-	9 (7.5)	17 (7)	25 (13)	51 (9)
N/M	2 (8)	8 (7)	15 (6)	4 (2)	29 (5)
West Coast	-	-	-	-	-
Canterbury	1 (4)	16 (13)	40 (17)	17 (9)	74 (13)
Otago	6 (24)	42 (35)	56 (23.5)	27 (14)	131 (23)
Southland	1 (4)	3 (2.5)	8 (3)	14 (7)	26 (4.5)
Overseas	8 (32)	12 (10)	25 (10.5)	16 (8.5)	61 (11)
<b>Total</b>	<b>26 (100)</b>	<b>120 (99.9)</b>	<b>238 (98.9)</b>	<b>187 (98)</b>	<b>570 (99.9)</b>

[Overall sample size – 571 known origins for a total of 736 known missionaries = 77.6%]

## 2. Denominational Background By Gender (Numbers/Percentages)

<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Region</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Anglican	7	44	2	15	9	31
Assoc. Church of Christ	-	-	-	-	-	-
Baptist	-	-	2	15	2	7
Brethren	-	-	-	-	-	-
Congregational	-	-	1	8	1	3
Lutheran	1	6	-	-	1	3
Methodist	3	19	3	23	6	21
Pentecostal	-	-	-	-	-	-
Presbyterian	5	31	5	38	10	34
Salvation Army	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>99</b>

[Sample size – 29 known denominations for a total of 31 known missionaries = 93.5%]

<b>1890-1899</b>		<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Region</b>		<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Anglican		10	19	12	19	22	19
Assoc. Church of Christ		-	-	-	-	-	-
Baptist		15	28	13	20	28	24
Brethren		10	19	9	14	19	16
Congregational		-	-	2	3	2	2
Lutheran		-	-	-	-	-	-
Methodist		4	8	4	6	8	7
Pentecostal		-	-	-	-	-	-
Presbyterian		14	26	24	38	38	32
Salvation Army		-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>		<b>53</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size - 117 known denominations for a total of 139 known missionaries = 86%]

<b>1900-1918</b>							
Anglican		16	15	17	10	33	12
Assoc. Church of Christ		1	0.9	1	0.6	2	0.7
Baptist		21	19	39	22	60	21
Brethren		23	21	38	22	61	21
Congregational		-	-	5	3	5	2
Lutheran		-	-	-	-	-	-
Methodist		19	17	29	17	48	17
Pentecostal		-	-	-	-	-	-
Presbyterian		27	25	40	23	67	24
Salvation Army		1	1	5	3	6	2
Other		2	2	-	-	2	0.7
<b>Total</b>		<b>110</b>	<b>100.9</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>100.6</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>100.4</b>

[Sample size - 284 known denominations for a total of 294 known missionaries = 96.6%]

<b>1919-1930</b>							
Anglican		10	11	20	13	30	13
Assoc. Church of Christ		-	-	-	-	-	-
Baptist		24	28	33	22	57	24
Brethren		23	26	24	16	47	20
Congregational		1	1	2	1	3	1
Lutheran		-	-	-	-	-	-
Methodist		11	13	34	22	45	19
Pentecostal		-	-	-	-	-	-
Presbyterian		16	18	37	24	53	22
Salvation Army		2	2	2	1	4	2
<b>Total</b>		<b>87</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>152</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>239</b>	<b>101</b>

[Sample size - 239 known denominations for a total of 272 known missionaries = 87.9%]

<b>Overall</b>	<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>1890-1899</b>	<b>1900-1918</b>	<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Region</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>
Anglican	9 (31)	22 (19)	33 (12)	30 (13)	94 (14)
Church of Christ	-	-	2 (0.7)	-	2 (0.3)
Baptist	2 (7)	28 (24)	60 (21)	57 (24)	147 (22)
Brethren	-	19 (16)	61 (21)	47 (20)	127 (19)
Congregational	1 (3)	2 (2)	5 (2)	3 (1)	11 (2)
Lutheran	1 (3)	-	-	-	1 (0.15)
Methodist	6 (21)	8 (7)	48 (17)	45 (19)	107 (16)
Pentecostal	-	-	-	-	-
Presbyterian	10 (34)	38 (32)	67 (24)	53 (22)	168 (25)
Salvation Army	-	-	6 (2)	4 (2)	10 (1.5)
Other	-	-	2 (0.7)	-	2 (0.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>29 (99)</b>	<b>117 (100)</b>	<b>284 (100.4)</b>	<b>239 (101)</b>	<b>669 (100)</b>

[Overall sample size – 669 known denominations for a total of 736 known missionaries = 90.9%]

### 3. Highest Educational Background By Gender (Numbers/Percentages)

<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Region</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
No education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tutoring/General -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary (non-Profic.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary (Profic.) -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary (non-Matric.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary (Matric.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical College	1	8	-	-	1	6
University	12	92	1	33.3	13	82
Other tertiary	-	-	2	66.7	2	12
<b>Total</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size – 16 known educational backgrounds for a total of 31 known missionaries = 51.6%]

#### 1890-1899

No education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tutoring/General -	-	-	2	7	2	3
Primary (non-Profic.)	1	3	-	-	1	2
Primary (Profic.) -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary (non-Matric.)	2	6	3	10	5	8
Secondary (Matric.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Technical College	3	10	-	-	3	5
University	12	39	3	10	15	25
Other tertiary	13	42	22	73	35	57
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size – 61 known educational backgrounds for a total of 139 known missionaries = 43.9%]

#### 1900-1918

No education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tutoring/General -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary (non-Profic.)	1	2	1	1	2	1.5
Primary (Profic.) -	-	-	1	1	1	0.7
Secondary (non-Matric.)	1	2	2	3	3	2
Secondary (Matric.)	2	3	1	1	3	2
Technical College	1	2	-	-	1	0.7
University	41	67	19	25	60	43
Other tertiary	15	25	53	69	68	49
<b>Total</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>138</b>	<b>98.9</b>

[Sample size – 138 known educational backgrounds for a total of 288 known missionaries = 47.9%]

#### 1919-1930

No education	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tutoring/General -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary (non-Profic.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Primary (Profic.) -	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary (non-Matric.)	-	-	-	-	-	-
Secondary (Matric.)	-	-	1	1	1	0.6
Technical College	-	-	5	5	5	3
University	30	45.5	12	12	42	26
Other tertiary	36	54.5	79	81	115	71
<b>Total</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>163</b>	<b>100.6</b>

[Sample size – 163 known educational backgrounds for a total of 268 known missionaries = 60.8%]



<b>Overall</b>	<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>1890-1899</b>	<b>1900-1918</b>	<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Region</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>
No education	-	-	-	-	-
Tut./Gen.	-	2 (3)	-	-	2 (0.5)
Prim. (non-Prof.)	-	1 (2)	2 (1.5)	-	3 (0.8)
Primary (Profic.)	-	-	1 (0.7)	-	1 (0.3)
Sec. (non-Mat.)	-	5 (8)	3 (2)	-	8 (2)
Sec. (Matric.)	-	-	3 (2)	1 (0.6)	4 (1)
Tech. College	1 (6)	3 (5)	1 (0.7)	5 (3)	10 (3)
University	13 (82)	15 (25)	60 (43)	42 (26)	130 (34)
Other tertiary	2 (12)	35 (57)	68 (49)	115 (71)	220 (58)
<b>Total</b>	<b>16 (100)</b>	<b>61 (100)</b>	<b>138 (98.9)</b>	<b>163 (100.6)</b>	<b>378 (99.6)</b>

[Overall sample size – 378 known highest education for a total of 736 known missionaries = 51.4%]

#### 4. Occupational Background By Gender (Numbers/Percentages)

<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Region</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Professional	6	75	3	100	9	82
Domestic	-	-	-	-	-	-
Commercial	1	25	-	-	1	9
Transp./Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industrial	1	25	-	-	1	9
Agricultural	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dependent	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size – 11 known occupational backgrounds for a total of 31 known missionaries = 35.5%]

<b>1890-1899</b>						
Professional	13	48	19	76	32	61.5
Domestic	-	-	3	12	3	6
Commercial	6	22	-	-	6	11.5
Transp./Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industrial	4	15	-	-	4	8
Agricultural	3	11	-	-	3	6
Indefinite	-	-	1	4	1	2
Dependent	1	4	2	8	3	6
<b>Total</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>101</b>

[Sample size – 52 known occupational backgrounds for a total of 139 known missionaries = 37.4%]

<b>1900-1918</b>						
Professional	15	42	45	75	60	63
Domestic	-	-	2	3	2	2
Commercial	3	8	3	5	6	6
Transp./Communication	2	6	-	-	2	2
Industrial	3	8	1	2	4	4
Agricultural	1	3	-	-	1	1
Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dependent	12	33	9	15	21	22
<b>Total</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>96</b>	<b>100</b>

[Sample size – 96 known educational backgrounds for a total of 288 known missionaries = 33.3%]

<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Males</b>		<b>Females</b>		<b>Total</b>	
<b>Region</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>%</b>
Professional	12	43	45	70	57	62
Domestic	-	-	7	11	7	8
Commercial	1	4	5	8	6	6.5
Transp./Communication	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industrial	2	7	2	3	4	4
Agricultural	4	14	-	-	4	4
Indefinite	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dependent	9	32	5	8	14	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>99.5</b>

[Sample size – 92 known educational backgrounds for a total of 268 known missionaries = 34.3%]

<b>Overall</b>	<b>1868-1889</b>	<b>1890-1899</b>	<b>1900-1918</b>	<b>1919-1930</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>Region</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>	<b>N (%)</b>
Professional	9 (82)	32 (61.5)	60 (63)	57 (62)	158 (63)
Domestic	-	3 (6)	2 (2)	7 (8)	12 (5)
Commercial	1 (9)	6 (11.5)	6 (6)	6 (6.5)	19 (8)
Trans./Commn	-	-	2 (2)	-	2 (0.8)
Industrial	1 (9)	4 (8)	4 (4)	4 (4)	13 (5)
Agricultural	-	3 (6)	1 (1)	4 (4)	8 (3)
Indefinite	-	1 (2)	-	-	1 (0.4)
Dependent	-	3 (6)	21 (22)	14 (15)	38 (15)
<b>Total</b>	<b>11 (100)</b>	<b>52 (101)</b>	<b>96 (100)</b>	<b>92 (99.5)</b>	<b>251 (100.2)</b>

[Overall sample size – 251 known highest education for a total of 736 known missionaries = 34.1%]

**APPENDIX FIVE**

**Chi-square and Significance Level Values for Sociological Analysis of New Zealand Missionary Data, 1869-1930**

The Chi-square Test measures the level of difference between observed and expected data, in nominal form, in an attempt to answer the general null hypothesis that there is no significant difference between what is observed (for example, an attribute of the missionary population, 1900-1918) and expected (for example, the same attribute expected in the total New Zealand population). If the Chi-square value is higher than the critical value for the chosen level of significance ( $p = 0.05$ ), then the null hypothesis is rejected. That means that there is a likely degree of significant difference between the observed and expected values of a particular attribute. ‘Degrees of Freedom’ is the number of data categories minus one. The level of significance, for the appropriate Degrees of Freedom and Critical Value are both derived from a standard Table of Critical Values.

See further: Pat Hudson, *History by Numbers: An Introduction to Quantitative Approaches*, London: Arnold, 2000, pp. 139-143; David Ebdon, *Statistics in Geography*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1985, pp. 65-71.

<b>Attribute</b>	<b>Chi-square Value</b>	<b>Degrees of Freedom</b>	<b>p = 0.05 Critical Value</b>
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**Table 4.2 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with Missionaries 1890-1899**

Marital Status	4.9	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	17.7	6	12.59
Denomination	19.5	5	11.07
Education	11.4	2	5.99
Occupation	15.11	2	5.99

**Table 4.3 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with New Zealand Population 1900-1918**

Gender	23	1	3.84
Birthplace	40	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	28.5	7	14.07
Denomination	1011.15	5	11.07
Occupation	260	4	9.49

**Table 4.4 – Missionaries 1900-1918 compared with Applicants 1900-1918**

Gender	14	1	3.84
Marital Status	282.2	2	5.99
Geographical Origins	43.26	7	14.07
Denomination	267.6	4	9.49
Education	42.9	6	12.59
Occupation	29.9	5	11.07

**Table 5.2 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with Missionaries 1900-1918**

Gender	0.3	1	3.84
Marital Status	4.8	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	74.4	6	12.59
Denomination	4.3	5	11.07
Education	24.8	2	5.99
Occupation	8.6	4	9.49

Attribute	Chi-square Value	Degrees of Freedom	p = 0.05 Critical Value
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**Table 5.3 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with New Zealand Population 1919-1930**

Gender	21.5	1	3.84
Birthplace	11.3	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	18.8	7	14.07
Denomination	870.2	5	11.07
Occupation	349.3	4	9.49

**Table 5.4 – Missionaries 1919-1930 compared with Applicants 1919-1930**

Gender	0.4	1	3.84
Marital Status	80.4	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	10.1	6	12.59
Denomination	1552.4	4	9.49
Education	112.1	6	12.59
Occupation	29.6	6	12.59

**Table 5.5 – Applicants 1919-1930 compared with Applicants 1900-1918**

Gender	20.5	1	3.84
Marital Status	1.5	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	73.2	6	12.59
Denomination	30.5	3	7.82
Education	13.2	6	12.59
Occupation	13.6	6	12.59

**Table 5.5 – Applicants 1919-1930 compared with New Zealand Population 1919-1930**

Gender	14.6	1	3.84
Birthplace	23.6	1	3.84
Geographical Origins	11.6	7	14.07
Denomination	311	4	9.49
Occupation	140	4	9.49

## APPENDIX SIX

### Listing of Known New Zealand Missionaries, 1869-1930<sup>6</sup>

**Adkin, Kate** (1900-1986), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse and deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1928-1930).

**Aiken, Albert** (?), male, single, Manawatu, Wanganui and/or Kimbolton Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1930-1936), returned to secular employment.

**Aish, Percy** (1898-1958), male, single, Okato, Okato Assembly, Brethren missionary, Uruguay (1925-1958), died from illness, married **Helen Holmes** in 1928.

**Aitken, Tom** (1870-1896), male, single, East Taieri, Presbyterian, engineer, Balolo Mission, Upper Congo (1896), died of malarial fever en route to mission field.

**Alexander, Harry** (1876-1910), male, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, dentist, Rehoboth College Melbourne, ASAM, Argentine (1903-1908), joined the Brethren movement and then became a Brethren missionary, Argentine (1909-1910), died from typhoid fever.

**Alexander (Robb), Mrs Jessie** (1882-?), female, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, domestic, Rehoboth College Melbourne, ASAM, Argentine (1903-1908), joined the Brethren movement and then became a Brethren missionary, Argentine (1909-1910), returned to New Zealand after husband's death.

**Allan, Ann** (1902-1988), female, single, Whakatane, Whakatane Presbyterian, domestic, PWTL, Punjab Mission, North India (1930-1934), married Mr D. Robertson, returned to further work in India (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Allan, George** (1871-1941), male, married, Wyndham (East Taieri), Wyndham Presbyterian, farm worker, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM/ASAM, Argentine/Bolivia (1899-1907), BIM, Bolivia (1908-1941), died, co-founder of the Bolivian Indian Mission.

**Allan (Stirling), Mrs Mary** (1871-1939), female, married, Wyndham, Wyndham Presbyterian, probably a trained nurse, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM/ASAM, Argentine/Bolivia (1899-1907), BIM, Bolivia (1908-1939), died, co-founder of the Bolivian Indian Mission.

**Allan, Margarita** (1900-?), female, single, Bolivia, Presbyterian, student, PWTL, BIM, Bolivia (1919-1944), transferred to work with the United Bible Societies in Bolivia, daughter of **George and Mary Allan**, married Thomas Hudspith (an English BIM missionary), wrote the BIM history.

**Anderson, Margaret** (1877-1960), female, single, Dunedin, St. Andrew's Presbyterian, trained kindergarten teacher, PWTL, CVM, South China (1905-1945), retired, married the **Rev. Herbert Davies** in 1911 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Anderson, William** (1891-1972), male, single, Stirling, Stirling Presbyterian, farming, Melbourne BTI, CIM, China (1921-1935), wife's ill health, WW1 stretcher bearer, married **Ella Salisbury**, later Presbyterian home missionary.

**Andrews, Captain Avelis** (?-1926), female, single, Salvation Army, China (1917-1926), died, married Ensign John Nelson (origin unknown) in China.

**Andrews, Rev. G.** (?-1912), male, single?, Anglican, ministry training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1905-1912), died.

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<sup>6</sup> Order of details – name (unmarried surname); birth and death; gender; marital status at departure; origin (birth place if different); denomination and church; prior occupation, highest education; mission; destination; years of service; reason for ending missionary work; pertinent notes. Names in bold denote significant connections to people mentioned elsewhere in this listing.

**Annan, Reg** (1903-1960), male, single, Port Chalmers, Presbyterian, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1928-?), resigned, married **Mary Orme**, later joined the Gospel Furthering Fellowship, died in car accident in Kenya.

**Arnold, Eileen** (?), female, single, Wanganui, Gonville Baptist, trained teacher, NZBMS, India (1922-1959), retired.

**Arnold, Harriet** (1884-191), female, single, Timaru, Chalmers Presbyterian, trained nurse, PWTI, Punjab Mission, North India (1920-1927), returned to care for ill father and sister on family farm, later editor of the *Harvest Field* and one of the first woman elders at St. Paul's Presbyterian, Christchurch (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Astbury, Nancy** (1899-?), female, single, Wanganui, St. Paul's Presbyterian, stenographer, PWTI, CVM, China (1924-1925), marriage to a Mr McPheat (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Atkin, Rev. Joseph** (?-1871), male, single, Auckland, Anglican, theological training at St John's College, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1867-1871), died from tetanus from an arrow wound during the attack on Bishop Patteson at Nukapu Island.

**Ault, Rev. Harold F.** (1902-?), male, single, Christchurch, St. Matthew's Anglican, minister, MA and LTh, NZCMS, North West India (1928-1933), ill health, replaced **Frank Long** in Karachi, returned to parish ministry in New Zealand and later appointed Archdeacon.

**Ault (Hurley), Mrs Zeta** (1905-?), female, married, Nelson, All Saints Anglican, trained teacher, NZCMS, North West India (1929-1933), married Harold in 1929.

**Austin, Mary** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1906-1913).

**Avery (Belton), Mrs Elizabeth** (1880-?), female, married, Dunedin, Methodist, deaconess, MOM, Papua (1910-1914), previously Sister Bessie of the Dunedin Central Mission.

**Avery, William** (1877-?), male, married, Methodist, farm worker, Prince Albert College, MOM, Papua (1910-1914), ill health.

**Bacon, Annie** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, trained nurse, NZBMS, India (1890-1899), resigned with husband, married **Walter Barry**, later worked with the NSW BMS in India.

**Bailey, Mr J. J.** (?), male, single, Auckland, Grange Road Baptist, PIVM, India (1899-at least 1931), married **Maggie (Lottie) Fear**.

**Bailey, Rev. Reuben** (?), male, married, Auckland, Grey Lynn Baptist, minister, CIM (England), China 1920-1922), suffered a stroke, intended work was pastoral support of other CIM missionaries.

**Bailey, Mrs** (?), female, married, Auckland, Grey Lynn Baptist, CIM (England), China 1920-1922).

**Baker, Ethel** (1881-?), female, single, New Plymouth, St. Mary's Anglican, shorthand typist, St. Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, NZCMA, China (1908-1910), marriage to a Mr McKenzie and remained in China.

**Ballantine, Mary** (1867-1918), female, single, Auckland, Auckland Central Methodist Mission, prison warden, MOM, Fiji (1900-1918), died after illness, taught in Matavelo Girls' School, at Ba, Viti Levu.

**Bargrove, Violet** (1895-?), female, single, Christchurch, New Brighton Anglican, trained nurse, Sydney Missionary Training College, NZCMS, China, (1923-1950), returned to New Zealand after the Communist takeover of China, worked with sister Grace in NZCMS Maori Mission work at Ruatoki until retirement in 1955.

**Barnett, Mary** (1886-1976), female, single, Methodist, Deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1932).

**Barry, Alex** (1875-1934), male, single, Palmerston North, Palmerston North Assembly, Brethren missionary, Australia (1908-1924), ill health, worked amongst Aborigine boys in Darwin and, after marriage, amongst Chinese in Sydney.

**Barry (Le Couteur), Mrs Daisy** (?), female, married, Feilding/Napier, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Australia (1911-1924).

**Barry, Rev. Walter** (1871-?), male, single, Auckland (b. Northern Ireland), Ponsonby Baptist, mixture of private theological tuition and Knox College Dunedin, NZBMS, India (1896-1899), asked to resign during the crisis of 1899, brother of Samuel Barry the Auckland Baptist missionary enthusiast, married **Annie Bacon**, later worked with the NSW BMS in India.

**Barton, Charles** (1899-?), male, single, Auckland (b. Hastings), Baptist Tabernacle, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1929-1940), married **Elsie Downey**.

**Barton, Robert** (?), male, single, Portobello, Presbyterian, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM, Argentine (1899-1901), became privately employed, initially applied to the PIVM, one of the original SAEM party.

**Bateman, Henry** (1884-?), male, single, Hokitika?, Presbyterian, Angas College Adelaide, CIM, China (1913-1915).

**Battersby, Major Agatha** (?), female, single, Salvation Army, Japan (early 1920s-c. 1929), transferred to Rhodesia and later to Kenya.

**Beale, Emily** (?-1900), female, single, Napier, Napier Baptist, trained nurse, PIVM, India (1897-1900), died from cholera.

**Beckingsale, Emma** (1870-?), female, single, Dunedin (b. Kakanui), Hanover Street Baptist, trained nurse, NZBMS, India (1895-c.1934), retired, further nursing training in Edinburgh before missionary work.

**Begbie, Rachael** (1886-?), female, single, Pukekohe, Presbyterian/Auckland Central Methodist Mission, maternity nurse, St. Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China (1917-1945), retired.

**Begg, Jean** (1887-1971), female, single, Dunedin, Moray Place Congregational, student, BA, PWTI, LMS, Samoa (1910-1919), further education in welfare work in the USA, went on to a long service with the YWCA in New Zealand and overseas, awarded the CBE (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Bell, Miss** (?), female, single, Wellington, Vivian Street Baptist, teacher?, Angas College Adelaide, Evangelical Union of South America?, Brazil (1911-?), noted as going to teach in a mission school in San Paola, Brazil.

**Benfell, Alfred** (?), male, single, Dunedin, North East Valley Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, Evangelical Union of South America?, Brazil (1910-1920), accepted Baptist pastorate in Dunedin, married by 1916.

**Benjamin, Julia** (?), female, single, Australia, Methodist, previously an Australian missionary in Papua 1897-1906, MOM, Papua (1909-1913), came to New Zealand after illness and did Maori Mission work before being accepted as a New Zealand missionary supported by the Otago Methodist Women's Auxiliary.

**Bensley, Rev. Arthur** (1884-?), male, single, Methodist, minister, MOM, Solomon Islands (1921-1934), married **Constance Olds**.

**Berry, Elizabeth** (1890-1981), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse and deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1933).

**Bice (Maunsell), Mrs Susannah** (1843-?), female, married, Auckland (b. Waikato), Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island, (1871-1891), children's education, she was the daughter of Rev. Robert and Susan Maunsell (CMS missionaries in the Waikato and later Anglican ministry in Auckland)

who married the Rev. Charles Bice (English missionary working with the Melanesian Mission since 1867) in 1871.

**Black (Morine), Mrs Agnes** (?-1967), female, married, Bunnythorpe, Bunnythorpe Assembly, Brethren missionary, South India (1922-1953), retired.

**Black, George** (1888-1962), male, single, Napier, Napier Assembly, Brethren missionary, South India (1919-1953), ill health and retired.

**Blaikie, William** (1892-1966), male, married, Dunedin (b. Lawrence), Hanover Street Baptist, trained teacher, Bible Missionary College Sydney, Africa Inland Mission, Kenya (1921-1928), Church of Scotland, Kenya (1928-c. 1956), changed employment and worked for some years as the PSSA field officer for Otago, WW1 service.

**Blaikie (Peterson), Mrs Laura** (?), female, married, Dunedin (b. Kahuika, Owaka), Hanover Street Baptist, trained nurse, Africa Inland Mission, Kenya (1921-1928), Church of Scotland, Kenya (1928-c. 1956)

**Blair, Jessie** (?-1900), female, single, Dunedin, Green Island Presbyterian, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, Church of Scotland, India (1899-1900), died from typhoid fever.

**Blair, William C.** (?-1918), male, single, Waipawa, Presbyterian, independent missionary trader (supported by St Paul's Presbyterian, Wanganui), New Hebrides (early 1900s), illness from fever, went on to university and theological study and Presbyterian ministry, enquired in 1906 to the PCNZ FMC about missionary work in India, died during the influenza epidemic of 1918.

**Blakeley, Jane** (1866-1956), female, single, Auckland (b. England?), Methodist, City mission work, CIM, China (1894-1904), married Mr Chadwick-Brown, later became secretary of the North Island CIM Council.

**Blamires, Gwen** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Tonga (1926-1932), marriage to a Mr Ernest Peterson.

**Blick, Jessie** (1873-?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, CIM, China (1901-1908), husband's health, sister of **Walter**, married Mr W. S. Strong (CIM England).

**Blick, Walter** (1865-1943), male, single, Nelson, Nelson Assembly, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1898-1942), disruption of WW2, brother of **Jessie**, one of the original New Zealand group to go to Malaya with William McDonald (English Brethren missionary), married to Fanny Lloyd who had been in Malaya with the British and Foreign Bible Society and then as an independent missionary, she died in 1960.

**Bourne, Bro. E** (?), male, single, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1905-1919), illness.

**Bowden, Mr** (?), male, married, Ashburton, Ashburton Baptist, Argentine (c. 1904-1923).

**Bowden, Mrs** (?), female, married, Ashburton, Ashburton Baptist, Argentine (c. 1904-1923).

**Bowen, Leslie** (1906-1931), male, single, Hunterville, Hunterville Assembly, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, South India (1928-1931), died from combination of heart problems and fever.

**Bowie, Mrs Isabella** (1872-?), female, married, Scotland, Presbyterian, trained nurse, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1899-1913), volcanic eruption on the island of Ambrim, wife of **John**.

**Bowie, Rev. Dr John** (1871-1950), male, married, Orkney Islands Scotland, Presbyterian, university qualifications in medicine and theology, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1899-1913), volcanic eruption, brother of **William**, husband of **Isabella**, initially a missionary with the Presbyterian Church of Victoria (1897-1899), replaced Dr Lamb as medical superintendent on Ambrim in 1899, later a doctor and key missionary adviser in Dunedin.



**Bowie, William** (?), male, single, Orkney Islands Scotland, Presbyterian, apprenticed carpenter, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1900-1902), temporary appointment to assist brother **John**.

**Boyall, Mr C.** (?), male, single, Sudan United Mission, Sudan (1920s), mentioned in SUM advertisement.

**Bradfield, Mary** (1892-?), female, single, Owaka, Owaka Baptist, trained teacher, university, NZBMS, India (1918-1954), retired.

**Bradley, Rev. Arthur** (?), male, single, Auckland, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1926).

**Brewerton, Ernest** (?-1975), male, single, Martinborough, Martinborough Assembly, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1921-1964), retired, married **Bertha Townley**.

**Brice, Ethel** (?-1956), female, single, Christchurch, Brethren, unspecified medical training, Brethren missionary, Holland (1909-1956), old age and death, married a Mr Peter Wilson from Scotland, lived in Holland through the German occupation during WW2.

**Brierley, Frank**, (?), Wellington, Vivian Street Assembly, Brethren missionary, Central Africa (1924-1981), retired, married Lilian Hilton (also from Vivian Street Assembly, Wellington) in 1935.

**Broom, Frank** (?), male, single, Methodist, MOM, New Britain (1913-1918), temporary appointment as a plantation manager.

**Broom, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, New Britain (1914-1918).

**Brown, Elise** (?), female, single, trained nurse, India (1918-c. 1923).

**Brown, Rev. Hubert** (1899-?), male, single, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Solomon Islands (1924-1927), climate and ill health.

**Brown (Crespin), Mrs Irene** (1896-1944), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1926-1927).

**Brown, Grace** (?), female, single, Australia, Baptist, missionary, NZBMS, India (1906-1907), West Australia BMS missionary who relieved whilst **Myra Inglesby** was ill.

**Brown, Thomas** (?), male, single, Manawatu, Brethren, farm labourer, Brethren missionary, South India (1929-1974), old age and death, married **Jessie Treweek** and remained in India after her death in 1942.

**Browne, Elsie** (?), female, single, Christchurch, trained nurse, PIVM, India (1922-?).

**Brunt, Beatrice** (1894-?), female, single, Christchurch, Christchurch Anglican Cathedral, trained nurse and midwife, NZCMS, China (1923-1929), ill health, possibly a niece of **Amy and Beatrice Harband**.

**Buchanan, Edward** (1883-1970), male, single, Rongotea, Rongotea Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1904-1952), second wife's ill health.

**Buchanan (Saunders), Mrs Dora** (?-1923), married, England, Brethren missionary, India (1909-1923), died, first wife of **Edward**.

**Buchanan (Murphy), Mrs G.** (?-1953), married, Brethren missionary, India (1924-1952), ill health, second wife of **Edward**.

**Buchanan, Rev. E.** (?), male, single?, Anglican, BSc and MA, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1895).

**Buckton, Gladys** (?-1948?), female, single, Auckland, Mt Eden Baptist, trained nurse, SUM, Sudan (1926-1948), died?, probably married Mr W. Hicks (SUM) of Feilding c. 1937.

**Buist, Miss (?)**, female, single, Wellington (b. Dunedin), Vivian Street Baptist, possibly a trained nurse, PIVM, India (1897-?), initially applied to the NZBMS in 1893 and advised to do nursing training first.

**Burgess, Christian (?)**, male, single, Wellington, Ngaere Assembly, Brethren missionary, Argentine and Bolivia (1909-1912), changed to secular employment.

**Burns, Edgar** (1905-1945), male, single, Auckland (b. Hastings), Ngaire Street Assembly (Auckland) and Nelson Street Assembly (Hastings), NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Peru (1930-1945), died from tetanus, married Miss E. Jacobsen (American missionary) in 1933.

**Burns, Mr H.** (1876-1955), male, single, Hastings, Hastings Assembly, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1914), temporary appointment working amongst the English speaking population of Singapore.

**Burnside, Miss K. (?)**, female, single, Dunedin, PIVM, India (1899-at least 1906).

**Burrell, Dr H. (?)**, male, single?, Hamilton, Presbyterian, university qualifications in medicine, Presbyterian Church of Victoria, New Hebrides (1930-?), initially applied to PCNZ FMC but then accepted the Victorian appointment as surgeon to the mission hospital at Vila.

**Burton, Rev. John** (1875-1970), male, married, born in England but lived and educated in New Zealand, Methodist, Methodist Mission, Fiji (1902-1912), wife's health, wrote a book that paved the way for the abolition of indentured labour in Fiji, later general secretary of the Australasian Methodist Overseas Mission (1925-1945) and president general of the Methodist Church of Australasia (1945-1948).

**Burton, Mrs (?)**, female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1902-1912), ill health.

**Button, Lela (?)**, female, single, CIM, China (1905-1952), retired, married Mr Arthur Taylor, a non-NZ CIM missionary.

**Cannon, Arthur (?)**, male, single, CIM, China (1908-1916), later married Edith McKee who was a CIM NSW missionary in China.

**Carmichael, Captain Maude (?)**, female, single, Salvation Army, China (1918-1951), forced out after Communist revolution, married Charles Sowton (English Salvation Army officer) in China.

**Carr, Arthur** (1871-?), male, single, Auckland, Lower Remuera Mission Hall, soft goods warehouse worker, high school, NZCMA, South India (1899-1905), ill health, missionary interest stimulated by the visit of Stock and Stewart in 1892, married Miss Bachelor, a Victorian missionary of the CEZMS.

**Carr, Rev. C. (?)**, male, married, Methodist, minister, MOM, Fiji (1915).

**Carr, Mrs (?)**, female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1915).

**Catherwood, Robert** (1870-1938), male, single, Upper Owaka, Presbyterian, PIVM, India (1897-c. 1899), entered Knox College in 1900, married Frances and also ordained in 1903, went on to parish ministry.

**Chisnall, Ellen** (1872-?), female, single, Christchurch, St Luke's Anglican, Warren's Missionary Training Home Melbourne, PIVM, India (1897-?), initially applied to NZCMA in 1896 but changed to the PIVM after the visit of Charles Reeve in 1896-1897.

**Chivers, Frank (?)**, male, married, Methodist, engineer, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1927), wife's death, specifically employed to run various industrial ventures and to train workers.

**Chivers (Blayne), Mrs Gladys, (?-1927)**, female, married, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1927), died.

**Clapham, James** (?-1960), male, single, Hastings, Brethren, trained teacher, Brethren missionary, Palestine and Cyprus (1926-1960), died from a heart attack, biographer of **John Olley**.

**Clapham (Tweedie), Mrs Florence (?)**, female, married, Makotutu, Hawkes Bay, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Palestine and Cyprus (1930-1960), returned to New Zealand after husband's death.

**Clemence, Miss (?)**, female, single, Wanganui, Wanganui Baptist, North East India (1918-at least 1921), went to work at the St Andrew's Colonial Homes for Eurasian Children, in Kalimpong, Northern Bengal.

**Coates, Mr R. G. (?)**, male, single?, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1903-1904).

**Codrington Rev. Robert** (1830-1922), male, single, Nelson (b. England), Anglican, minister, Oxford University, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1867-1887, 1892-1893), returned to parish work in England, filled in as interim head of the Melanesian Mission after Bishop Patteson's death, author of significant anthropological books.

**Cole, Clare (?)**, female, single, deaconess?, Ramabai Mukti Mission, India (?).

**Colenso (Fairburn), Elizabeth** (1821-1904), female, separated, Paihia (b. Otahuhu), ex-missionary wife and teacher, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1875-1898), retired, born in New Zealand to CMS parents, married to and worked with William Colenso (CMS) until separation in the early 1850s, Elizabeth and **Mrs Thorn** were probably the first New Zealand born single woman missionaries.

**Colley, Catherine** (1884-?), female, single, Auckland, Presbyterian, trained nurse and teacher, St Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, Church of Scotland Mission, China (1913-?), originally applied to the CIM in 1911 (rejected because her spiritual qualities were questioned) and the Presbyterian FMC in 1913 (turned down due to a lack of vacancies).

**Common, Elizabeth** (1889-1946), female, single, Methodist, trained Plunket nurse, MOM, Solomon Islands (1923-1941), possibly left because of WW2.

**Conway, Norah** (1900-1970), female, single, Auckland (b. China), Baptist Tabernacle, trained nurse and midwife, NZBTI, CIM, China (1928-1954), retired, daughter of **Miriam and H. S. Conway**, and probably the first of a second generation of CIM missionaries.

**Cook, Mr W. (?)**, male, single, Malvern, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM, Argentine (1899-?), one of the original group to leave with the SAEM, previously applied to the PIVM but changed his decision, possibly carried on under the umbrella of the Regions Beyond Missionary Union.

**Cooke, Kate** (1874-1962), female, single, Port Chalmers, Methodist, domestic and nursing work, Rehoboth Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China (1904-?).

**Copeland, Rev. Fred (?)**, male, married, Methodist, MOM, Samoa (1913-1916), ill health.

**Copeland, Mrs (?)**, female, married, Methodist, MOM, Samoa (1913-1916), husband's ill health.

**Cordell, Emily (?)**, female, single, Wellington, Anglican, trained nurse, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1926).

**Cornwell, Leonard** (?-1974), male, single, born in Malaya and came as a young man to New Zealand, commended by Nelson and Palmerston North Assemblies, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1929-1940), wife's ill health and WW2, married Mabel Wilson in 1931 (daughter of **George and Elizabeth Wilson**), returned to Singapore after WW2 as an independent missionary for a few years.

**Cousins, Dr (?)**, female, single, Presbyterian, doctor, university, Punjab Mission, North India (1923-1924), temporary appointment in charge of the Women's Dispensary and Child Welfare Centre, Jagadhri Hospital, until the appointment of Harriet Arnold.

**Cowan, Miss E. (?)**, female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1919-1921).

**Cowie, Andrew** (1907-1980), male, single, Winton, Presbyterian, bank clerk, NZBTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1930-1940), WW2, married Nancy Mackintosh in 1941, went on to Home Mission and ordained parish ministry work.

**Cowles, Amy** (?-1957), female, single, Wanganui, Wanganui Baptist, trained teacher, NZBMS, India (1911-1947), retired, her minister at Wanganui Baptist was the Rev. A. S. Wilson.

**Crawshaw, Rev. Francis** (?), male, single?, Anglican, minister, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands and Norfolk Island (1909-1912, 1915-1916), ill health, became NZCMS Organising Secretary in 1919, resigned when NZCMS amalgamated with NZABM and he also instituted legal action against both NZCMS and the NZABM, left Anglican church and became a Baptist minister in Gisborne.

**Cresswell, Annie** (1876-1967), female, single, Nelson, Presbyterian?, BIM, Bolivia (1909-1917), husband's ill health, married **John Starnes** in 1912.

**Cruikshank, William** (1888-?), male, single, Timaru, United Evangelical Church, NZBTI, Belgian Congo (c. 1924).

**Crump (Rose), Mrs Alice** (1867-1954), female, married, Blenheim, Methodist, MOM, New Britain (1894-1904), husband's health and sick children, her father was the farmer who employed John in 1886.

**Crump Rev. John** (1866-1930), male, married, Blenheim (b. Great Britain), Methodist, farm worker, Three Kings College, MOM, New Britain (1894-1904), ill health and sick children.

**Cull, Roy** (?), male, single?, Wellington, Anglican, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1927-?), village work near Suva.

**Cushen, Miss A.** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1921-1924).

**Cuthbertson, Bessie** (1905-?), female, single, Invercargill, Esk Street Baptist, student, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1926-1957), sister of **Margaret Searle** and of an Allan Cuthbertson who applied unsuccessfully to the CIM, married Sydney Edmonds (Australian BIM missionary) in 1927.

**Dalziel, Jean** (1891-?), female, single, Methodist, deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1925-1930).

**Daniell, Evelyn** (1879-1975), female, single, Christchurch, Assemblies in Christchurch and Rangiora, Brethren missionary, China (1912-1949) and Hong Kong (1949-1971), moved with adopted Chinese daughter and family to Vancouver, Canada.

**Darby, Henry** (1896-1975), male, single?, Auckland, Congregational, NZBTI, Emmanuel Mission to Seamen, Ceylon (1930-?), later moved on to similar work in Sydney.

**Davey, Mildred** (?-1958), female, single, Dunedin, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian, trained teacher, MA, PWTI, United Free Church of Scotland, India (1907-1919), original passage to India paid for by the Presbyterian FMC, accompanied by Helen Macgregor on her initial voyage to India (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Davies, Rev. Herbert** (1876-1949), male, single, Wellington, St John's Presbyterian, Government Life Insurance officer, MA, CVM (1909-1947), retired, the first missionary to be supported by the Young Men's Presbyterian Bible Class Union, married **Margaret Anderson** in 1911 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Davies, Miss M.** (?-1930), female, single, Palmerston North Assembly, trained nurse, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1898-1903), ill health, one of the original group of five missionaries to Malaya.

**Davison, Laurie** (1909-?), male, single, Auckland, East Street [Brethren?] Hall, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1929-1959?), appointed SIM NZ Home Director 1960-1968, married Lily Middleton in 1934.

**de Carteret, Herbert** (1876-1943), single, male, Auckland, PIVM, India (1899-early 1900s), Brethren missionary, India (early 1900s-1943), died from illness whilst in England during WW2.

**de Carteret (Hunter), Mrs Maude** (1881-1969), female, married, Brethren missionary, India (1899-1951), retired, origin unclear but she had originally gone to India to help her parents, married Herbert c. 1907.

**de Carteret, Mrs (?)**, female, widowed?, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, trained nurse, PIVM, India (1900-c.1906), NZBMS, India (1907-1911), ill health, noted as having two children, worked with Emma Beckingsale in dispensary work whilst with the NZBMS.

**de St Dalmas, Rev. H. G.** (1847-?), male, married, England, Baptist, BMS and independent missionary, NZBMS, India (1890-1895), resigned, employed to supervise what was essentially a team of single women missionaries and to oversee the construction of missionary buildings.

**de St Dalmas, Mrs (?)**, female, married, England, Baptist, NZBMS, India (1890-1895).

**Deck (Gibson), Mrs Jessie** (?-1921), female, married, Dunedin, South Sea Evangelical Mission, Solomon Islands (1911-1921), died from blackwater fever, married Dr Northcote Deck in 1911 whilst he was in New Zealand doing deputation work for the SSEM.

**Deck, Gladys** (?), female, single, Motueka, Brethren?, South Sea Evangelical Mission, Solomon Islands (1923-1928), husband's retirement, married Dr Northcote Deck in October 1923 becoming his second wife.

**Dent, Rev. C.** (?), male, married, Auckland, Methodist, South African Wesleyan Church, South Africa (1920s).

**Dent (Parker), Mrs** (?), female, married, Auckland, Methodist, South African Wesleyan Church, South Africa (1920s), daughter of Samuel Parker who was involved with the Helping Hand Mission in Central Auckland and the founder of Parker Roller Doors.

**Dent, Mrs May** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1934).

**Dent, Rev. Thomas** (1895-1961), male, married, born in England, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1934).

**Dineen, Maud (Anne)** (1878-?), female, single, Auckland, St Alban's Anglican Mt Roskill, trained teacher, BA, NZCMA, China (1907-1932), prior to leaving she had also participated in a CIM Auckland supporters group; author of a missionary book about China.

**Dixon, Muriel** (?), female, single, England, Anglican, NZCMS, China (1926-1934), ill health, missionary service included both evangelistic and secretarial work.

**Dobson, Rita** (1904-1951), female, single, Auckland (b. Omihi, Canterbury), Baptist Tabernacle, domestic work, NZBTI, CIM, China (1928-1943), married Mr A. Rouse (a non-NZ CIM missionary) in 1943.

**Dove, Miss** (?), female, single, Dunedin, North East Valley Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, Brazil (1909-?).

**Downey, Elsie** (1902-?), female, single, Edendale, Brethren, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1929-1940), married **Charles Barton**.

**Driver, Dr Arthur** (1897-?), male, single?, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, qualified doctor, LMS, India (1922-1939), son of Harry and Annie (née **Newcombe**) Driver.

**Dron, Elizabeth** (1876-1967), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Assembly, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1898-1967), died, one of the original party to Malaya, married George Wilson (a British missionary) in 1902, he died in 1942.

**Dunn, Maria** (?-1950), female, single, Dunedin, Caversham Assembly, Brethren missionary, South India (1905-1950), died, married Mr Alfred Redwood (English missionary) in 1914, he retired 1960 and died in 1962.

**Durrad, Mrs** (?), female, married, Dunedin, St Matthew's Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1905-1918).

**Durrad, Rev. W. J. (?)**, male, married, Dunedin, St Matthew's Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1905-1918), NZABM Organizing Secretary by 1923.

**Duthie, James** (?-1961), male, single, Mataura, Mataura Assembly, Livingston College London (medical training), Brethren missionary, China (1905-1942), WW2 internment and repatriation to England, married Florence Leach (English missionary) in 1910.

**Dyason, Afra** (1899-1981), female, single, Auckland, Parnell Assembly, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, India (1924-1946), Fiji and India (1950-1953), India (1959-1970), retired, married Frank Cooper (Huntermville, previously in Palestine and Fiji from 1931) in 1950, he died in 1956.

**Dyer, Mr (?)**, male, single?, Invercargill and Dunedin, CIM (England), China (c. 1875).

**Eade, Rev. Bun** (1901-?), male, single, Hawera (b. Feilding), Hawera Baptist, farmworker, Victoria University and Baptist College, NZBMS, India (1926-1962), retired, missionary interest fostered by the **Rev. Ernest Goring** who was minister at Hawera Baptist.

**Eade (Adams), Mrs Lois** (?), female, married, USA, NZBMS, India (1926-1962), retired.

**Edgar, J. Huston** (1872-1936), male, single, Dunedin (Tapanui), Baptist, farming/bush work, Angas College Adelaide, CIM, China (1898-1936), died from heart failure, married **Lily Trudinger** (CIM South Australia), later appointed a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

**Edmanson, Annie (Nancy)** (?), female, single, Wellington, Kent Terrace Congregational, trained nurse, LMS, China (1924-1947), repatriation after WW2, matron of the Mackenzie Memorial Hospital, Tientisin from 1924-1942.

**Edmeades, Robert** (?), male, single?, Wellington, Petone Baptist, Harley College London, BMS, India (1910-1941).

**Elder, Miss I.** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Baptist?, training in London, Evangelical Union of South America, Peru (1911-at least 1926).

**Elder, Robert** (?), male, single, Maheno, Oamaru Baptist, Knox College Dunedin and individual tuition, Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Argentine (1900-at least 1907), married **Effie Hay** in 1901.

**Elliott, Esther** (1889-1968), female, single, Lovell's Flat, Presbyterian, trained nurse?, Punjab Mission, India (1922-1950), retired, Matron of Ross Home (Dunedin) for the ten years following return from India (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Emerson, Miss M.** (1859-1918), female, single, commended by Waverley Assembly, Brethren missionary, Singapore (1898-1918), died.

**Enticott, Rev. W. J.** (?), male, single?, Dunedin (b. South Africa), Trinity Methodist Church, MOM, Papua (1913-1917), ill health.

**Escott, Tom** (?), male, single, Wellington, Vivian Street Baptist, carpenter, PIVM, India (1899-at least 1906).

**Evans, Amy** (?), female, single, Timaru, Presbyterian, trained teacher, university and PWTI, Church of Scotland, India (1906-1939), retired, initially a colleague of **Alice Henderson** in Madras (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Evans, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1917-1920).

**Evans, Rev. M.** (?), male, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1917-1920).

**Evans, Thomas** (?), male, single, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, mechanic, Angas Training College Adelaide, PIVM, India (1899-at least 1908), initially applied to NZBMS but told to do training first.

**Fabrin, Ruth** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Tonga (1926-1934), financial difficulties of the Depression, married the Rev. George Harris (Australian missionary).

**Falls (Watson), Mrs** (?), female, married, Canada, CIM, China (1897-1927).

**Falls, John** (1873-1961), male, married, Auckland, Presbyterian, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, CIM, China (1897-1927), possibly resigned in protest over perceived involvement of CIM with NMC.

**Favell, Rev. Harold** (?), male, single, Wanganui, Anglican, theological training, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1923-?).

**Fear, Maggie** (?), female, single, Wellington, Vivian Street Baptist, trained nurse, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, PIVM, India (1897-at least 1902), initially applied to NZBMS but there were no immediate vacancies.

**Fellows, Rev. Samuel** (?-1933), male, single, Dunedin, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Papua (1891-1901), contracted malaria, one of the original group of Methodist missionaries to Papua, married an Australian missionary c. 1894.

**Ferguson, Jessie** (?), female, single, Ramabai Mukti Mission, India (at least the early 1920s).

**Ferguson, Phebe** (?), female, single, Brethren, trained teacher, Brethren missionary, South Africa (1902-for several years), supported herself through school teaching whilst working amongst soldiers in the Transvaal.

**Findlay, David** (?-1915), male, married, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, New South Wales BMS, India (1896-1906), ill health of son.

**Findlay, Mrs** (?), female, married, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, New South Wales BMS, India (1896-1906), ill health of son.

**Findlay, Rev. G.** (?), male, married, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1928-1932).

**Findlay, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1928-1932).

**Findlay, Mary** (1892-1975), female, single, Auckland, St Peter's Presbyterian Grey Lynn, office secretary, technical college, CVM, China (1923-1935), family reasons, China (1946-1951), retired, (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Fleming, Jean** (?), female, engaged, Christchurch, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1918-1939, 1948-1960), married a Mr Walter Redwood English missionary) in 1918 after he had visited NZ.

**Fleming, William** (?), male, single?, SUM, Sudan (1912-1944).

**Fletcher, Rev. Ambrose** (1864-?), male, married, Auckland, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Papua (1894-1906), contracted malaria.

**Fletcher (Bavin), Mrs** (?), female, married, MOM, Papua (1894-1906).

**Flux, Doris** (?), female, single, Palmerston North, All Saints Anglican, trained nurse, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1921-1924).

**Foord, Miss** (?), female, single, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, PIVM, India (late 1890s-1900), ill health.

**Forgie, Madge** (1895-1975), female, single, Dunedin, Mornington Baptist, NZBTI, PIVM, India (1925-?).

**Forlong, Houlton** (1864-1908), male, single, Bulls (b. Scotland), Brethren, farmer, primary school, Independent missionary trader, New Hebrides (1894-1908), drowned in a boating accident.

**Forlong (McLay), Mrs Margaret** (?), female, married, Clutha, Brethren?, Independent missionary trader, New Hebrides (1901-1908).

**Fountain, Emma** (?), female, single, Auckland, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1906-1914).

**Fountain, Miss H.** (?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, unspecified training in Sydney, SSEM, Solomon Islands (mid to late 1920s).

**Fox, Rev. Dr Charles** (1878-1977), male, single, Gisborne (b. England), Anglican, student, university and theological training, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island and Solomon Islands (1902-c. 1977), retired/died, the only missionary member of the lay indigenous order of the Melanesian Brotherhood, received a DLitt. in 1922.

**Francis, Charles** (18676-?), male, married, Methodist, wood carver, primary school, MOM, Papua (1904-1907), wife's ill health.

**Francis, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, trained nurse, MOM, Papua (1904-1907), ill health.

**Francis, Rev. D. L.** (?), male, married, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1926-1940).

**Francis, Mrs** (?), female, married, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1926-1940).

**Fraser, Kate** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Knox Presbyterian, trained teacher, Church of Scotland, China (1897-at least 1926), accompanied **Mary Moore** and **Miss E. Smith** to China in 1897.

**Freeman, Miss** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist?, China (1903-?), possibly married on or just after departure to China.

**Funnell, Rev. Henry** (1881-1962), male, single, Christchurch, St John's Anglican (Latimer Square), clerk, Xenia Theological Seminary Ohio, CIM, China (1912-1934), appointment as CIM Deputation Secretary in England, married Kathleen Polhill (CIM England), Assistant CIM Home Secretary for NZ and Australia 1945-1954.

**Gainsford, Nellie** (1876-?), female, single, Christchurch (b. England), Oxford Terrace Baptist, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, NZBMS, India (1904-1907, 1909-1913, 1916-1920), ill health.

**Gavin, Doris** (?), female, single, Wellington?, MA, NZSCM Greater Service Scheme, India (1920-1923, 1925-1937), previously NZSCM traveling secretary, acted as Student Secretary in Calcutta.

**Gibbons, G. Stanley** (?), male, single, Auckland, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1905-1906), temporary appointment and job mismatch, assistant to **Dr Bowie** on Ambrim but not qualified for the mechanical aspects of the position ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Gibson, May** (?-1937), female, single, Dunedin, Anglican, trained teacher, SPG, China (1923-1937), died, originally recruited by the **Rev. Crichton McDouall**.

**Giesen, Edith** (?), female, single, Feilding, Presbyterian, PIVM, India (1900-1902), transferred missions, Free Church of Scotland, India (1902-1909), resigned to care for sick parents, whilst working for the Free Church the PCNZ contributed part of her salary under a joint agreement ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Giffard, Beatrice** (1875-?), female, single, Palmerston North, All Saints Anglican, trained kindergarten teacher, Missionary Training Home Melbourne, PIVM, India (c. 1900), Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, India (c. 1902), transferred missions, NZCMA, India (1905-1914), transferred to CMS England because she wanted to spend furloughs with sisters living in England.

**Gilfillan, Rev. Trevor** (?), male, single?, Auckland, Anglican, MA and theological training, SPG, China (1920s at least).



**Gillanders, Helen (Nell)** (1897-?), female, single, Auckland (b. Scotland), Mt Albert Baptist, trained teacher, NZBMS, India (1924-1958), retired, married **Harry Jones** in 1925.

**Gillanders, Roderick** (1899-?), male, single, Silverdale, Presbyterian, NZBTI, Evangelical Union of South America, Brazil (1923-1958), retired, married Isobel Cumming of Hamilton c. 1935.

**Gillies, Rev. Alexander** (?), male, single, Orkney Islands, Presbyterian, ministry student, Glasgow Divinity School, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1897-1901), ill health, (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm))

**Gilmour, Rev. Matthew** (?-1962), male, married, Auckland, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Papua (1901-1933), retired to Australia.

**Gilmour (Francis), Mrs Norma** (?), female, married, Waiuku, Methodist, MOM, Papua (1901-1933), retired with husband to Australia.

**Glanville, Edith** (1875-1932), female, single, Christchurch, Methodist, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, CIM, China (1901-1932), died, married Mr H. H. Curtis (non-NZ CIM missionary).

**Glanville, Samuel** (1879-?), male, married, Christchurch, Methodist, CIM, China (1904-1941), appointed CIM representative in Western Australia for the period 1941-1949.

**Glanville, Mrs** (?), female, married, Christchurch, Methodist, CIM, China (1904-1941), husband's appointment.

**Godfrey, Mrs Eileen** (?), female, married, Auckland, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, New Hebrides (1918-1935).

**Godfrey, Rev. Richard** (?), male, married, Auckland, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, New Hebrides (1918-1935).

**Goodson, Elsie** (1900-?), female, single, Dunedin (b. Oamaru), Knox Presbyterian, trained nurse, CVM, China (1926-1927), ill health ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Goold, Leonard** (?), male, single, Auckland, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Palestine and South India (1930-1958), married Margaret Moore in 1940, later itinerated back and forth to the Middle East.

**Gordon, Margaret** (?-1962), female, single, Dunedin, Caversham Assembly, Brethren missionary, South India (1905-1913), ill health, later married.

**Gordon, Martha** (1889-?), female, single, Auckland (b. Ireland), Presbyterian and Auckland Central Mission, trained teacher, St Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China, (1916-1939), married Mr J. Brock (non-NZ CIM missionary) c. 1921, retired to Auckland where he died in 1942.

**Goring, Rev. Ernest** (1888-?), male, single, Christchurch, Sydenham Baptist, NZBMS, India (1919-1922), ill health, married Belle in 1921, in later pastoral ministry at Hawera Baptist he encouraged **Bun Eade** towards missionary work with the NZBMS.

**Goring (Hamer), Mrs Belle** (?), female, single, New South Wales Australia, Baptist, previously a missionary with the NSW BMS, NZBMS, India (1921-1922), husband's ill health, later founded the New Zealand Baptist Ropeholder's League for missionary support amongst young people.

**Goulstone, Marjorie** (?-1969), female, single, Auckland, Brethren, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, China (1925-1940), service discontinued because of WW2, married Mr Leonard Steel (English missionary) in 1930, after WW2 they did further work in India and amongst the Palm Island Aborigines, Australia.

**Goulstone, Rosa** (?-1941), female, single, Auckland, Parnell Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1926-1941), died after an operation, sister of **Mrs G. Thomson**, helped run a rest home for missionaries and in looking after the Thomson's invalid son Geoffrey.

**Goulton Hazel** (?), female, single, Methodist, possibly a trained teacher, MOM, Tonga (1929-1932).

**Graham, Jean** (1890-?), female, single, Wallacetown Southland, First Presbyterian Church Invercargill, trained teacher, BA, Presbyterian Church of NSW Mission, India (1914-?), initially applied to the PCNZ FMC in 1914, but was then adopted by PCNSW for educational missionary work in India.

**Graham, Jessie** (?-1969), female, single, Auckland, Birkenhead Methodist, trained at Doric Lodge (part of Harley College England), Regions Beyond Missionary Union, India (1906-1947), retired to Auckland.

**Graham, May** (?), female, single, Rangiora, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Fiji (1910-25, 1929-32, 1936-?), retired, supported by the Christchurch Ladies' Methodist Auxiliary.

**Gray, George** (1899-?), male, married, Auckland (b. Scotland), St Stephen's Presbyterian Ponsonby, civil engineer, university, Punjab Mission, India (1930-1945), ill health, brother of **James Gray** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Gray (Stewart), Mrs Jean** (1902-?), female, married, Auckland, St Stephen's Presbyterian Ponsonby, household duties, matriculation, Punjab Mission, India (1930-1945), husband's ill health (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Gray, Rev. James** (1892-?), male, married, Eltham (b. Scotland), Eltham Presbyterian, minister, BA, Knox College and post graduate study in Edinburgh, Punjab Mission, India (1921-1940, 1956-1959), retired, brother of **George Gray**, Young Men's Bible Class travelling secretary in 1916, WWI service 1917-1919 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Gray (Scott), Mrs Marion** (1898-2001), female, married, Scotland, Cathcart United Free Presbyterian Church, trained PE teacher, Punjab Mission, India (1921-1940, 1956-1959), retired, (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Greer, Rev. J. Lawrence** (?), male, married, Waiheke, Waiheke Anglican, minister, theological training, Diocese of Polynesia, Samoa (1929-?).

**Greer, Mrs** (?), female, single, Waiheke, Waiheke Anglican, Diocese of Polynesia, Samoa (1929-?).

**Gresham, Alice** (1873-1973), female, single, Invercargill, Invercargill Assembly, Brethren missionary, China (1904-1942), retired and forced home by WW2, possibly a sister of **Irene Gresham**.

**Gresham, Irene** (1886-1970), female, single, Invercargill, Invercargill Assembly, Brethren missionary, Congo (1919-1958), retired, possibly a sister of **Alice Gresham**, married **Ernest Rout** in 1920.

**Grey, Naomi** (1900-?), female, single, Dunedin, St Andrew's Presbyterian, trained teacher, NZBTI, CIM, China (1928-1950), niece of John Wilkinson, married Donald Grant (Victoria CIM), sister Ruth Grey subsequently went to NZBTI and began working with the ZB&MM in 1931.

**Griffin, Harry** (1877-1927), male, single, Waimate, Presbyterian, LMS, Samoa (1905-1921), resigned in 1921 to become Resident Commissioner of Savaii, first appointed in 1900 without missionary status, in 1922 he was appointed Secretary of Native Affairs for Samoa, originally an artisan missionary superintending the mission press.

**Griffin (Armstrong), Mrs Evelyn** (?), female, married, Auckland, St Barnabus' Anglican?, LMS, Samoa (1907-1921).

**Griffin, Maud** (c.1186-?), female, single, Christchurch, Methodist, trained teacher, Canterbury University, MOM, Fiji (1912-15, 1919-24, 1926-45), bouts of ill health and eventually retired.

**Griffiths, Winnifred** (?), female, single, Wellington?, Victoria University, Missionary Settlement for University Women, India (1906-?), noted in 1924 that she married a Mr Ponsford and was resident in NZ.

**Grigg, Rev. Edward** (1903-?), male, single, Auckland (b. Australia), Ponsonby Baptist, student, MA and New Zealand Baptist Theological College, NZBMS, India (1926-1930), ill health.

**Grocott (Gibbs), Mrs Ada** (?-1958), female, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, BIM, Bolivia (1909-1914), ill health affected by high altitude and poor living conditions, later instrumental in developing the Girls' Life Brigade and served as its first Dominion President (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)).

**Grocott, Horace** (1880-1963), male, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, Post Office clerk, night school, BIM, Bolivia (1909-1914), ill health, later a BIM Council member, instrumental in developing the Boys' Life Brigade and served as its first Dominion President (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)).

**Guardiola, Miss** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, mission unspecified, India (1896-?), sister of **Olegario Guardiola**.

**Guardiola, Olegario** (1869-1899), male, single, Dunedin, Anderson's Bay Presbyterian, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, CIM, China (1895-1899), died from fever, brother of **Miss Olegario**.

**Haddow, Dr Phyllis** (1892-1978), female, single, Auckland, Devonport Anglican, trained doctor, St Hilda's Melbourne, NZCMS, China (1923-1951), Hong Kong (1954-1968), retired, interned during WW2, between 1952 and 1954 she spent periods working in Sierra Leone and Malaya.

**Hadfield, Mr F. L.** (?), male, married, Associated Churches of Christ missionary, Southern Rhodesia (1906-?), noted as going to continue work established by an earlier New Zealander **John Sheriff**.

**Hadfield, Mrs** (?), female, married, Associated Churches of Christ missionary, Southern Rhodesia (1906-?).

**Hale, George** (?-1949), male, married, Hastings, Hastings Assembly, master mariner, Brethren missionary, British Guiana and Jamaica (1920-1949), illness and death.

**Hale, Mrs** (1887-1969), female, married, Hastings, Hastings Assembly, Brethren missionary, British Guiana and Jamaica (1920-1949), husband's illness and death.

**Hall, Annie** (1883-?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, NZBMS, India (1914-1917), language difficulties, founded the Baptist Girls' Missionary Band.

**Hall, Kathleen** (1896-1970), female, single, Auckland (b. Napier), Holy Sepulchre Anglican Khyber Pass Road, trained nurse and midwife, SPG, China (1923-1941), ill health and caring for ill mother, close friend of **Eunice Preece**, recruited by **Rev. Crichton McDouall**, returned briefly to Hong Kong (1950-1951) and then worked with the Anglican Maori Mission until retirement in 1956 ([www.dnzb.govt.nz](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz)).

**Hames, Inez** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1920-?), retired.

**Hamilton, Dr George** (1877-1955), male, married, Wellington, Petone Assembly, trained doctor, Brethren missionary, Bolivia and Argentina (1908-1955), died after an operation in Glasgow, previously married before first going as a missionary, also qualified in Tropical Medicine.

**Hamilton (Rogerson), Mrs Isa** (?-1928), female, married, Invercargill, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Bolivia and Argentina (1908-1928), died, second wife of **George Hamilton**.

**Hamilton (Paton), Mrs M.** (1886-1967), female, married, Scotland, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Bolivia and Argentina (1930-1967), died in old age, previously a missionary for twenty years, third wife of **George Hamilton**.

**Hamilton, Dr Norman** (?-1984), male, married, Argentine, Brethren, trained doctor, Brethren missionary, Argentine (1925-1970s), retired, son of **George and Isa Hamilton**, married **Reta Paton** in 1925.

**Hamilton, Robert Sinclair** (1897-1978), male, single, Waikato (b. Enfield, North Otago), Presbyterian, land surveyor, NZBTI, CIM, China (1925-1939), ill health, married **Grace McGregor** in 1927, served as the first NZ CIM Council Secretary in 1939.

**Hancock, Annie** (1880-?), female, single, Dunedin, St Clair Congregational, trained teacher, BA, PWTI, CVM, China (1912-1929), ill health and conflict with mission structures, Own Missionary of St Andrew's Presbyterian Dunedin (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Hands, Mrs Edith** (?), female, married, Wellington, Anglican, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1923-?).

**Hands, Rev. William** (?), male, married, Wellington, Anglican, theological training, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1923-?).

**Hankins, Miss** (?-1900), female, single, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Malaya and Singapore (1899-1900), died from cholera.

**Harband, Amy** (1858-?), female, single, Christchurch (b. Birmingham), Trinity Congregational, BA, LMS, India (1893-1916), ill health, sister of **Beatrice Harband**, possibly an aunt of **Beatrice Brunt**.

**Harband, Beatrice** (1865-?), female, single, Christchurch, Trinity Congregational, trained teacher, BA, LMS, India (1896-1904), ill health, sister of **Amy Harband**, author of a number of missionary books, possibly an aunt of **Beatrice Brunt**.

**Hardie, Beatrice** (1897-1988), female, single, Christchurch, St Paul's Presbyterian Linwood, trained teacher, PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1923-1951), retired, Principal of Jagadhri Girls' School, later General Secretary of the Christchurch YWCA (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Hardisty, Sarah** (1884-?), female, single, Napier, Methodist, dressmaker, St Hila's Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China (1912-1946), retired, married **Joseph Thompson** in 1914.

**Hardy, Miss H.** (?), female, single, Wellington, St Thomas' Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1920-1924).

**Harford, Marjorie** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Tonga (1927-1932).

**Hargraves, John** (?), male, single?, Australia, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1908-1913), ill health, assistant to Dr Bowie on Ambrim.

**Harrison, Annie** (1869-1961), females, single, Christchurch (b. Rangiora), St. Alban's Anglican (family also possibly had Brethren links), trained teacher, CIM, China (1891-1919), retired, first New Zealand CIM missionary.

**Harrison, Ernest** (1883-1961), male, single, Napier, Methodist, soldier and then home missionary, MOM, Papua (1908-1914?), wife's ill health, married **Maisie (Rose) Lill** in 1910.

**Harvie (Stringer), Mrs Ada** (1895-1965), female, married, Rangiora (b. Kurow, North Otago), Rangiora Presbyterian, trained teacher, one year university, Punjab Mission, India (1925-1939), ill health, sister of **Charles Stringer** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Harvie, Dr Adam** (1894-1978), male, married, Dunedin (b. Middlesbrough), Knox Presbyterian, trained doctor, Punjab Mission, India (1925-1939), later married **Dorothy Mathew** in older age ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Hay, Effie** (?), female, single, Oamaru, Oamaru Baptist, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, Regions Beyond Missionary Union, Argentine? (1901-at least 1907), married **Robert Elder**.

**Hay, James** (1878-?), male, single, Nelson, Anglican, clerk in mercantile business, PIVM and Christian and Missionary Alliance, India (1897-1903), possibly resigned to gain further education and because he was unhappy with the Alliance's mode of operation, applied to NZCMA in 1910 at which time he was married and a clerk in Holy Orders in Nelson, later a curate in Christchurch.

**Hayman, Arnolis** (1890-1971), male, single, Auckland, Zion Hill Methodist, draper, Angas College Adelaide, CIM, China (1913-1947), became CIM NSW Secretary, initially married to Ruth Matheson (CIM NSW) who died in 1925, later married Rhoda Johnson (non-NZ CIM missionary), later ordained into the Anglican ministry in 1948.

**Hayman, Rev. Frank** (?), male, married, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Solomon Islands (1928-1932).

**Hayman, Mrs Ruth** (?), female, married, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Solomon Islands (1928-1932).

**Henderson, Alice** (1860-1952), female, single, Lyttleton (b. Southland), Presbyterian, trained teacher, Church of Scotland, India (1896-1910), Punjab Mission, India (1910-1933), retired, aunt of **Dorothy Mathew**, author of books on India and the PWMU ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Hercus, Eldred** (1877-?), male, married, Dunedin, Baptist, missionary college tutor at Harley College England, BSc and MA, RBMU, Argentine and Peru (1904-1910, 1913-1915), family health reasons, then a teaching career at Wellington College and Christchurch Boys' High School.

**Hercus (Mackellar), Mrs Isabel** (?), female, married, Dunedin, Presbyterian, trained teacher, BA, RBMU, Argentine and Peru (1904-1910, 1913-1915), family health reasons.

**Heycock, Ernest** (1871-1923), male, single, Dunedin, Farley Street Assembly, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM/ASAM, Argentine and Bolivia (1899-1923), died, one of the original party to the Argentine, possibly worked with the RBMU from c. 1907 after dissolution of the ASAM, married **Jessica Jackson**.

**Hinton, William** (?), male, single, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, PIVM, India (1897-1906), ill health, went on to Baptist ministry and was Baptist Union President in 1921, married **Lilian Simpson**.

**Hodgson, Rev. R.** (?), male, single?, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1915-1924).

**Hogg (Maud), Mrs Eleanor** (1884-?), female, married, Halcombe, Presbyterian, BIM, Bolivia (1912-1917), ill health, predeceased her husband ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Hogg, Henry (Harry)** (1881-1967), male, married, Halcombe (b. near Wanganui), Presbyterian, home missionary, Angas College Adelaide, BIM, Bolivia (1912-1917), wife's ill health, later ordained and Presbyterian ministry ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Holmes, Helen** (1892-1985), female, single, Wanganui, Wanganui Assembly, Brethren missionary, Uruguay (1927-1928), old age/died, married **Percy Aish** in 1928.

**Hooper, Miss** (?), female, single, Matura, PIVM, India (1899-1900), ill health, noted as going straight into zenana work as she already had acquired fluency in Hindustani before arriving.

**Hopkins, Rev. H.** (?), male, single?, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1901-1926).

**Howard, Rev. S.** (?), male, single?, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1905-1911).

**Hughes, George** (?), male, married, England, Baptist, BMS missionary and interim pastor of South Dunedin Baptist, NZBMS, India (1895-1899), resigned, acted as field supervisor of NZBMS missionaries and was at the centre of personality problems that precipitated the crisis of 1899.

**Hughes, Mrs** (?), female, married, England, Baptist, BMS missionary, NZBMS, India (1895-1899), husband's resignation.

**Hunter, Rev. W. C. (?)**, male, married, England, Baptist, BMS missionary, NZBMS, India (1923-1925), temporary appointment.

**Hunter, Mrs (?)**, female, married, England, Baptist, BMS missionary, NZBMS, India (1923-1925), temporary appointment.

**Hunter-Brown, Della** (1862-?), female, single, Nelson, All Saints Anglican, trained nurse, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, NZCMA, Japan (1893-1902), marriage, initially had applied to the newly formed Victoria CMA, married Rev. F. W. Rowlands (CMS England) and remained working with him in Japan until 1916.

**Hurse, May (?)**, female, single, Kaiapoi, Anglican, trained teacher, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1901-1933), originally a Gleaners' Union member.

**Inglesby, Myra (?)**, female, single, Christchurch, Oxford Terrace Baptist, Dunedin Missionary Training Home, NZBMS, India (1901-1906), ill health and climate, originally involved with Chinese Mission work in China and intended to work with the CIM, married and lived in England after 1906.

**Inglis, Jessie** (1873-), female, single, Christchurch, Trinity Congregational?, MA, LMS, India (1901-1935), involved in girls' school teaching in Madras, and village work in Erode, married Australian LMS missionary Anthony Brough who died in 1936.

**Ings, Rev. John** (1872-?), male, single, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, Knox College and private tuition with the Rev. Alfred North, NZBMS, India (1896-1899), resigned, brother of **Letitia** and **Joseph**, resignation as a result of the 1899 crisis, went on to work with the South Australia BMS until ill health forced retirement in 1919, married Kate Middleton.

**Ings, Dr Joseph** (1873-1906), male, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, trained doctor, CVM, China, (1905-1906), died from dysentery, brother of **John** and **Letitia** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ings, Mrs,** (1875-1950), female, married, Dunedin, trained nurse, CVM, China (1905-1907), after husband's death she was nursing superintendent of the Canton Medical Missionary Association, after this date and up to at least 1923 she stayed on in a nursing capacity but not with the CVM (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ings, Letitia** (1869-?), female, single, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, NZBMS, India (1896-1900), resigned in protest after the 1899 crisis, sister of **John** and **Joseph**, went on to work with the NSW BMS until 1917, later involved with the leadership of the BMWU.

**Irvine, William** (1872-1947), male, single, Brethren, PIVM, India (1897-early 1900s), Brethren missionary, India (early 1900s-1947), died, married **Agnes Kay** in 1903, occasional evangelist to the Ramabai Mukti Mission, editor of the *Indian Christian* (a magazine published in India).

**Irving, Hannah (?)**, female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, trained doctor, CMS, Pondoland, South Africa, (c. 1910-at least 1926), originally applied to NZCMS in 1903 before medical training.

**Ivens, Kate (?)**, female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, deaconess, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1900-1908), sister of **Walter Ivens**.

**Ivens, Rev. Walter (?)**, male, single, Christchurch, Anglican, curate, MA, NZCMA (seconded to the Melanesian Mission), Solomon Islands (1895-1909), brother of **Kate Ivens**, married to a Miss Barrett (nationality unknown), went on to a mixture of aboriginal and parish work in Australia, a research position at Melbourne University, travelling secretaryship for the Melanesian Mission and then parish ministry in England.

**Jackson, Jessica (?)**, female, single, Ashburton, Ashburton Baptist, Melbourne Missionary Training Home, ASAM, Argentine/Bolivia (1905-1939), retired?, married to **Ernest Heycock**, carried on as a missionary after Ernest's death in 1923.

**James, Annie** (1884-1965), female, single, Dunedin (b. Herbert, North Otago), St Andrew's Presbyterian, PWTI, CVM, China (1912-1953), retired, specialised in child welfare work (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**James, Dr Clifford** (1895-?), male, married, Dunedin?, Methodist, trained doctor, MOM, Solomon Islands and New Britain (1928-1931).

**James (Heward), Mrs Florence** (1897-1975), female, married, Dunedin?, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Solomon Islands and New Britain (1928-1931).

**James, Gwen** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1920s).

**Jamieson, Charles** (?), male, single, Oamaru, Columba Presbyterian, CIM, China (1911-1930), married Nellie Pearson (a non-NZ CIM missionary).

**Jamieson, Margaret** (1883-1921), female, single, Palmerston North, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Papua (1911-1921), died, married **Arthur Scrivin** in 1915.

**Jenkins, Molly** (1907-?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, NZBTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1920-1944).

**Jenness, May** (1875-?), female, single, Lower Hutt, Methodist, matriculation, MOM, Papua (1905-1915), husband's death, married Andrew Ballantyne (Australian Methodist missionary) in 1906.

**Jennings, Margaret** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Anglican, St Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, NZCMS, China and Fiji (1923-1956), retired.

**Jensen, Laura** (1870-1903), female, single, Dunedin, CIM, China (1896-1903), died.

**Johnston, Howard** (1906-1986), male, single, Gore, Presbyterian, farming?, NZBTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1930-c. 1935), ill health, married **Molly Muir** in 1931, later Maori Mission work and theological training, ordained in 1949, then worked with both the British and Foreign Bible Society and the PSSA.

**Jones, Rev. Harry** (1897-?), male, single, Hamilton, Hamilton Central Baptist, Los Angeles BTI, NZBMS, India (1923-1958), retired, married **Helen (Nell) Gillanders** in 1925.

**Jones, Rev. F. Melville** (?), male, single?, Nelson, All Saints Anglican, vicar, theological training, CMS Niger Mission, Nigeria (1893-?), later appointed the first Bishop of Lagos.

**Jones, Lina** (1890-1979), female, single, Christchurch, Methodist, trained kindergarten teacher, MOM, Solomon Islands (1924-1942, 1947-1949).

**Jones, Miriam** (1872-?), female, single, Auckland (b. London), Brethren, CIM, China (1904-1924), home base appointment for husband, married Mr H. S. Conway (CIM England) in 1904, mother of **Norah Conway**.

**Kay, Agnes** (1878-1963), female, single, Brethren, PIVM (1898-early 1900s), married **William Irvine** in 1903, Brethren missionary, India (early 1900-1947), husband's death, retired to Tasmania.

**Kean, Miss** (?), female, single, Timaru, Presbyterian, Church of Scotland, India (1903-?), possibly later withdrew because of illness.

**Kempthorne, Rev. Stanley** (?), male, single?, Nelson, Anglican, theological training, CMS England and SPG, Nigeria and Malaya (1914-1916), Diocese of Polynesia (1923-?), consecrated Bishop of the Polynesian Diocese in 1923.

**Kendon, Eleanor** (1880-?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, trained teacher, CIM, China (1912-1950), retired, married Mr G. W. Gibb (England CIM) who was appointed CIM General Director in 1935 and died in 1940.

**Kerkham, Algernon** (1873-1900), male, single, Dunedin, St John's Anglican Roslyn, PIVM, India (1896-1900), engaged to **Annie Morton** but tragically died from typhoid fever on their wedding day.

**Kimpton, Mr (?)**, male, single, Wellington, Vivian Street Baptist, China (1904-?).

**Kinnear, James (?)**, male, single, Dunedin, Roslyn Baptist, MA, Cairo Nile Mission Press, Egypt (1928-1940), military service (combat and intelligence) in Egypt for the British Army, later noted as having married an American and becoming a naturalised American citizen.

**Kirk, Dr Edward** (1886-c. 1963), male, single, Edinburgh, Evangelical Union Church, trained doctor, CVM, China (1909-1926), political turmoil, moved to a government medical position, brother of **John**, married **Winnifred Stubbs** in 1918 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Kirk, Dr John** (1881-1959), male, married, Edinburgh, Evangelical Union Church, trained doctor, CVM, China (1908-1929), resigned for family reasons, brother of **Edward**, replaced Dr Joseph Ings who he had studied with at Edinburgh University, later became Professor of Anatomy at London University (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Kirk (Hughes), Mrs Norah** (1881-1962), female, married, Ireland, Presbyterian?, trained nurse, CVM, China (1908-1929), resigned for family reasons, played a significant role in establishing the Nurses' Training School at the mission's hospital (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Kirk, James** (1873-1952), male, single, Owaka, Owaka Assembly, engineer, Brethren missionary, Argentine (1896-1952), died, married Ana Albert of Belgium c. 1901, Kirk holds something of a revered status in New Zealand Brethren memory having erroneously been named the first Brethren missionary to leave New Zealand.

**La Barte, Walter** (1856-?), male, single, England, Baptist, some time with the British Army in India as well as some years in New Zealand, Harley Missionary Training Home London, NZBMS, India (1892-1896), contract terminated because of inadequate language progress and poor quality of work, married **Helen Whapham** in 1893.

**Lamb (Reiache), Mrs Mary (?)**, female, married, Scotland, Presbyterian, trained nurse, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1892-1898), husband's health, experienced the trauma of their twin first born babies both dying whilst in the New Hebrides (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Lamb, Rev. Dr Robert** (1862-1907), male, married, Matakana, Presbyterian, MA (Canterbury), trained doctor and theological training, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1892-1898), tuberculosis, carried on doing translation work whilst living in New South Wales, died of tuberculosis in 1907 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Lang, Miss (?)**, female, single, PIVM, India (1899-1901), family needed her help at home.

**Lang, Rev. Henry (?)**, male, single? Christchurch, St Andrew's Presbyterian, home missionary, theological training, YMCA (funded by the PCNZ FMC), India (1910-1914), insufficient funding, went on to further home missionary work until 1919 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Latham, Violet** (1870-1920), female, single, Ngaruawahia, Holy Trinity Anglican, domestic and farm work at home, Marsden Training Home Sydney, NZCMA, India (1895-1899), death of mother, (1913-1920), died in Sydney en route to convalesce in New Zealand.

**Law, Major Alice** (?-1956), female, single, Blenheim, Salvation Army, nurse, nursing and officer training, India (1907-c. 1934?), husband's death?, initially appointed as the first matron of the Salvation Army hospital at Anand in Western India, married Gilbert Carter (English Salvation Army) in India.

**Leggatt, Rev. C. F. (?)**, male, single?, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1927-1933).

**Leigh, Mr (?)**, male, single, Auckland, PIVM, India (1898-19000), returned on furlough but possibly unable to return because of ill health.



**Leslie, Elizabeth** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, China (?-c. 1905).

**Lewis, Marjorie** (?-1985), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Assembly, Brethren missionary, Paraguay (1917-1967), retired, possibly related to **Ruth Lewis**, married Mr Gordon Airth (Scotland) in 1923, he died in New Zealand in 1975.

**Lewis, Ruth** (?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Assembly, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1913-1943 plus a further period after WW2), retired, married Mr Robert Austin (ship's engineer) in 1920.

**Lill, Maisie (Rose)** (1884-1972), female, single, Christchurch, Methodist, MOM, Papua (1908-1914), mental and physical breakdown, married **Ernest Harrison** in 1910, she remained in New Zealand at first seriously ill but later recovered, Ernest never returned to New Zealand (reasons unknown) and remained in Papua until his death in 1961.

**Lilly, Elise** (?), female, single, PIVM, India (?).

**Lindsay, Ruby** (1886-?), female, single, Melbourne (b. New Zealand), St Catherine's Anglican Caulfield, trained nurse, NZCMS, Tanganyika (1928-1948), ill health.

**Livingstone, Margaret** (1898-?), female, single, Wellington (b. Scotland), Vivian Street Baptist, trained nurse, Baptist Theological College, NZBMS, India (1926-1937).

**Long, Rev. Frank** (1876-?), male, single, Waipiro Bay Gisborne, Waipiro Bay Anglican, previously bank teller and teacher, Anglican Vicar, MA and theological training, NZCMS, India (1910-1927), ill health, married Miss Doris Liddell (born in India, but details unknown) in 1912.

**Lowe, Henry** (?), male, married, Wellington?, Engineer in Chief of New Zealand Railways, PIVM, India (1899-?).

**Lowe, Mrs** (?), female, married, Wellington?, PIVM, India (1899-?).

**MacDiarmid, Donald** (1886-1973), male, single, Dunedin (b. New Plymouth), St Andrew's Presbyterian, seaman, university and theological training, SUM, Sudan (1912-1930), prior to departure he served as SUM Organising Secretary for Australasia, YMCA secretary in Africa during WW1, awarded MBE for work in the Nuba Mountains region, later served as Secretary of the Presbyterian Foreign Missions Committee (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**MacDiarmid (Harrington), Dr Phoebe** (1892-1971), female, married, Pahia Southland, Presbyterian, trained teacher, MA, SUM, Sudan (1920-1930), later awarded a DLitt. for her studies of the Nubian language (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**MacDuff, Nellie** (1886-1927), female, single, Auckland (b. Thames), Baptist Central Mission, book keeper, St Hilda's Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China (1915-1927), died from pulmonary tuberculosis.

**Macgeorge, Rosalie** (1860-1891), female, single, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, trained teacher, NZBMS, India (1886-1891), died en route to New Zealand, first NZBMS missionary, her sister Lilian also applied to NZBMS in 1888 but withdrew for health reasons.

**MacGregor, Helen** (?-1933), female, single, Oamaru (b. Scotland), Columba Presbyterian, trained teacher, United Free Church of Scotland, India (1892-1926), retired, partly supported by PCNZ until 1910, aunt of **Grace Patterson** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**MacGregor, Joan** (1873-1946), female, single, PIVM and Ramabai Mukti Mission, India (1899-?).

**Macky, Nora** (1893-?), female, single, Auckland, St Luke's Presbyterian Remuera, YWCA secretary, MA and nursing training, YWCA, Singapore (1926-?), cousin of **Catherine McKenzie**, initially applied to the PCNZ FMC but withdrew because of the Singapore position.

**MacLean, Annie** (1890-?), female, single, Palmerston North (b. Wanganui), Presbyterian, primary school principal, trained teacher, CIM, China (1919-1941), retired?, earlier applied to the Egypt General Mission but was rejected for being too young.

**Mai, Alice** (1890-1966), female, single, Pohangina, Brethren, Brethren missionary, South India (1913-1934), returned home to care for ageing parents.

**Malcolm, Rev. William** (1867-1959), male, single, Ormondville Gisborne (b. England), Presbyterian, BA and Knox College, CIM, China (1895-1924), retired, later married **Anna Trudinger** (CIM South Australia), later Presbyterian parish ministry (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mansfield, John** (?-1930), male, single, Timaru, Trinity Presbyterian, mechanical engineer, engineering apprenticeship, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1892-1893, 1895-1899, 1921-1927), health reasons including an eye injury in 1899, initially an assistant to Dr Lamb, married sometime in the mid 1890s, wife (unnamed) died in 1921 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Marsden, Captain** (?), male, married, Salvation Army, Kenya (1921-?).

**Marsden, Mrs** (?), female, married, Salvation Army, Kenya (1921-?).

**Martin, Bessie** (1902-1933), female, single, Invercargill, Baptist, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1930-1933), died from food poisoning.

**Mason, Henrietta** (?), female, single, Wellington, St Peter's Anglican, trained teacher, university, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1920-1924), initially applied to the NZCMS in 1919.

**Mason, Mrs Gwendolyn** (?), female, widowed?, Dunedin, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (mid 1920s).

**Massam, Mr H.** (?), male, single?, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, New Guinea (1929-at least 1931).

**Mathew, Dorothy** (1896-1976), female, single, Hamilton, St Andrew's Presbyterian, trained teacher, PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1923-1957), retired, niece of **Alice Henderson**, later married **Dr Adam Harvie** at the age of 71 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mawson Jean** (1876-1952), female, single, Dunedin (b. Purakanui), Presbyterian, deaconess, PWTI, CVM, China (1905-1910), sister of **William**, married Dr Machle (American Presbyterian Church South China Mission), retired from mission work in 1929 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mawson (Gordon), Mrs Sara** (1878-1956), female, married, Marton, Presbyterian, BA and PWTI, CVM, China (1903-1923), children's education ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mawson, Rev. William** (1874-1935), male, married, Dunedin (b. Purakanui), Presbyterian, trained teacher, temporary teaching assistant at Otago University, MA, theological training, CVM, China (1903-1923), children's education, went on to be minister at the Auckland Chinese Church (1923-1928) and then was Secretary of the Foreign Missions Committee (1928-death in 1935), brother of **Jean** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**May, Helen** (?), female, single, Wellington, Kent Terrace Congregational, LMS, India (1925-1933).

**McBride, Mr** (?), male, single, Charlton, Maitua Presbyterian, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1911-1915, 1920-at least 1925), returned home in 1915 to help on father's farm whilst brothers served with the New Zealand Expeditionary Force in WW1.

**McBride, Mrs** (?), female, married, Charlton, Maitua Presbyterian, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1920-at least 1925), married Mr McBride in New Zealand prior to going to the Solomon Islands in 1920.

**McCallum, Isabella** (1871-1903), female, single, Auckland, Auckland Anglican Cathedral, domestic and trainee nurse, Marsden Training Home Sydney, NZCMA, Palestine (1899-1903), died from tuberculosis en route to New Zealand for furlough and convalescence.

**McCausland, Dr S. R. (?)**, male, single?, Presbyterian, trained doctor, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1904), temporary appointment as a locum doctor for Dr Bowie.

**McColl, Mr D. (?)**, male, single?, Scotland, Presbyterian, Punjab Mission, India (1921-1924), temporary appointment engaged by Dr Porteous in Jagadhri.

**McDonald, Grace** (1903-1989), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse and deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1927- 1934, 1939-1942, 1945- 1951).

**McDonald, Miss (?)**, female, single, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, Ramabai Mukti Mission, India (1911-?).

**McDonald, Elizabeth (?)**, female, single, Baptist, deaconess, PWTI, SUM, Sudan (1926-1929), ill health.

**McDouall, Rev. Crichton (?)**, male, single, Oamaru, Anglican, minister, university and theological training, SPG, North China (1909-?), responsible for recruiting **May Gibson, Kathleen Hall, Eunice Preece** and **Beryl Steven** for SPG work in China, marriage date unknown.

**McDouall, Mrs (?)** (1925), female, married, Anglican, SPG, China (?-1925), died.

**McDowall, Robert (?)** (1927), male, single, Christchurch (b. Tasmania), Presbyterian, YMCA secretary, law degree, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1892-1894), resigned to train for Presbyterian ministry, assistant to Dr Lamb (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McEwan, Annie** (1884-1939), female, single, Havelock North, Presbyterian, PWTI, CVM, China (1909-1923), ill with tuberculosis (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McGoun, John (?)**, male, single, Dunedin, PIVM, India (1897-?).

**McGregor, Grace** (1896-1972), female, single, Morrinsville, Presbyterian, dressmaker, Melbourne Bible Training Institute and then NZBTI, CIM, China (1925-1939), husband took on administrative role with CIM, married **Robert Sinclair Hamilton** in 1927.

**McGregor, Jessie (?)**, female, single, Morrinsville, Baptist, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1920-?), listed in 1925 as one of the home staff for the SSEM in Australia.

**McGregor, May** (1898-1984), female, single, Auckland (b. Riverton), Howe Street Assembly, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Paraguay and Argentine (1925-1966), retired, married Mr F. Woodhatch (England) in 1933, he was in the oil business and also doing Christian work.

**McIver, John** (1882-1932), male, single, Dunedin, Caversham Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1904-1932), died, married Miss F. Gallop (British missionary) in 1907, she died in 1956.

**McKenzie (McLaurin), Mrs Catherine** (1897-1975), female, married, Kaikohe (b. Wellington?), Presbyterian, minister's wife, three years university, CVM, China (1923-1935), ill health, cousin of **Nora Macky** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McKenzie, Rev. John** (1891-1981), male, married, Kaikohe (b. Auckland), Presbyterian, minister, BA, LLB and theological training, CVM, China (1923-1935), wife's ill health, Assembly Moderator in 1956 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McKenzie (Findlay), Mrs Martha** (?-1900), female, married, Dunedin, Baptist?, independent missionary, New Hebrides (1900), died, recruited along with husband by **Houlton Forlong**.

**McKenzie, William** (1858-1925), male, married, Owaka (b. Scotland), Owaka Baptist, itinerant evangelist, independent missionary, New Hebrides (1900-1901), wife's death, previously recruited by **Houlton Forlong**, later returned to Scotland where he was a renowned Brethren evangelist.

**McLean, Minnie** (1863-?), female, single, Australia, Presbyterian, trained nurse, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1887-1889), resigned, nurse at the Ambrim Hospital with Dr Lamb.

**McLennan, Christina** (1906-?), female, single, Auckland, Newmarket Undenominational Church, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1930-1947), resignation over policy disagreements, married to **Alfred Roke**.

**McNaughton, Mr** (?), male, married, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1902-1903), wife's ill health and resignation of Dr Bowie, assistant to Dr Bowie on Ambrim.

**McNaughton, Mrs** (?), female, married, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1902-1903), ill health.

**McNeish, Alice** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1911-1913), ill health, first New Zealand Methodist woman to work in the Solomon Islands.

**McNeur, Rev. George** (1871-1953), male, single, Inchclutha, Presbyterian, newspaper printing, Angas College Adelaide, Glasgow Bible Training Institute, Knox College, CVM, China (1901-1940), retired, originally intended applying to the CIM, pioneer CVM missionary, Presbyterian moderator in 1926 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McNeur (Sinclair), Mrs Margaret** (1869-1957), female, married, Kaitangata, Presbyterian, trained teacher, CVM, China (1903-1940), retired (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**McQuire, Elizabeth** (1892-?), female, single, Waiuku (b. Scotland), Waiuku Presbyterian (originally Brethren), trained maternity nurse, Melbourne Bible Institute, CIM, China (1924-1930), ill health, married Mr J. Watt (non-NZ CIM missionary).

**McSkimming (Nelson), Mrs Gertrude** (1906-?), female, married, Stirling, Brethren, NZBTI, Palestine (1930-?), married just prior to leaving in 1930.

**McSkimming, Peter** (1907-1973), male, married, Stirling, Brethren, NZBTI, Palestine (1930-?).

**Michelsen, Rev. Oscar** (1844-1936), male, single, Dunedin (b. Norway), Lutheran, Bible Society colporteur, theological training, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1878-1924, 1926-1930), retired, second missionary of the Synod of Southland-Otago ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Michelsen (Langmuir), Mrs Jane** (?-1882), female, married, Dunedin (b. Australia), Presbyterian?, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1880-1882), died in childbirth, first wife of **Oscar**, married in 1880.

**Michelsen (Hare), Mrs Sophia** (?-1897), female, married, England, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1883-1897), died from a brain tumour, second wife of **Oscar**, married in London in 1883.

**Michelsen (Hargraves), Mrs Alba** (1880-1970), female, married, Presbyterian?, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1905-1930), retired, third wife of **Oscar**, married in 1905 in Vila, New Hebrides.

**Michelsen, Miss Ere** (?), female, single, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1927-1928), temporary appointment, daughter of **Oscar Michelsen**, sister of **Marie**, taught in mission school on Tongoa Island, paid an honorarium by the PCNZ.

**Michelsen, Marie** (?), female, single, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1927-1928), temporary appointment, daughter of **Oscar Michelsen**, sister of **Ere**, taught in mission school on Tongoa Island, paid an honorarium by the PCNZ.

**Mill, Miss B.** (?), female, single, Auckland, Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, undetermined training in Sydney, Kwato Evangelical Society, New Guinea (1923-1937).

**Miller, Rev. Andrew** (1883-1944), male, single, Dunedin, Green Island Presbyterian, trained teacher, BA, theological training, CVM, China (1915-1929), second daughter's health, married **Ellen Wright** in 1919, first daughter (Nancy) died of tropical fever ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mills (Boyd), Mrs Nellie** (?-1952), female, married, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Uruguay (1923-1952), died, married Thomas in 1923.

**Mills, Thomas**, (1897-1966), male, single, Wellington?, Vivian Street Assembly, Brethren missionary, Uruguay (1920-1966), died.

**Mills, Wilfred** (?), male, single?, Matangi, Baptist, Livingstone Medical Mission College London, SUM, Sudan (1913-?), possibly later married.

**Milne (Snr), Rev. Peter** (1834-1924), male, married, Scotland, Free Church of Scotland, theological training, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1869-1916), retired, first missionary of the Synod of Southland-Otago with wife Mary, remained living in New Hebrides after retirement, moderator of the New Hebrides Mission Synod 1872-73 and 1915 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Milne, Mrs Mary** (?-1908), female, married, Scotland, Free Church of Scotland, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1869-1908), died after falling ill in Dunedin whilst visiting their children, first missionary of the Synod of Southland-Otago with husband Peter.

**Milne, Isobel** (1885-1964), female, single, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, high school, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1901-1906), mission school teaching assistant, nursing training, Punjab Mission, India (1913-1946), retired, daughter of **Peter and Mary**, married **Thomas Riddle** in 1917.

**Milne, Kate** (?), female, single, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1898-1901), married a Mr Anderson who was a missionary on another island, eldest daughter of **Peter and Mary**.

**Milne (Currie), Mrs Hazel** (1888-?), female, married, Balclutha, Presbyterian, trained teacher?, CVM, China (1913-1915), husband's ill health, married Peter (Jnr) in 1913 ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Milne (Jnr), Rev. Dr Peter** (1888-1964), male, single, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, student, BA and theological study, CVM, China (1911-1915), ill health, son of **Peter and Mary**, later worked for the British Medical Administration in Kenya and then as Medical Superintendent at the Seacliff Psychiatric Hospital and at Waitati Hospital ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Milne (Scott), Mrs Jemima** (1874-1972), female, married, Dunedin, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1905-1937), returned to Invercargill (New Zealand) after the death of William ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Milne, Rev. William** (1877-1937), male, married, New Hebrides, Presbyterian, theological training at Knox College, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1900-1902, 1905-1937), murdered by a resident of the island of Nguna, son of **Peter and Mary** ([link to www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Mitchell, Vera** (?), female, single, Hamilton, Hamilton Baptist, SSEM, Solomon Islands? (1926-?).

**Moir, Mr W.** (1892-?), male, single, Auckland (b. Dunedin), Brethren (originally Roslyn Baptist), mechanical engineer?, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Paraguay (1929-1932), mixture of war and ill health.

**Money, Herbert** (1899-1996), male, single, Christchurch (b. Australia), Oxford Terrace Baptist, trained teacher, MA, Free Church of Scotland, Peru (1927-1968), retired, initial interest sparked by George Allan (BIM) and visit of John R. Mott in 1926, mixture of school teaching and academic posts in Peru, married Netta (Janet) Kemp (nationality unknown).

**Moore, Mary** (1869-1951), female, single, Dunedin, Knox Presbyterian, trained teacher, BA, Church of Scotland, China (1897-1948), retired, accompanied **Kate Fraser** and **Miss E. Smith** to China in 1897 ([link to www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Morley, Ella** (?), female, single, Oamaru, Columba Presbyterian, PIVM, India (1897-?), sister of **Miss Morley**.

**Morley, Miss (?)**, female, single, Oamaru, Columba Presbyterian, PIVM, India (1899-?), sister of **Ella**.

**Morris, Mrs W. (?)**, female, widowed?, Australia, Presbyterian, trained nurse and deaconess, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1900-1912), ill health, previously an Australian missionary in the New Hebrides, nurse at Ambrim Hospital (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Morton, Annie (?-1914)**, female, single, Puerua (near Owaka), Owaka Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, PIVM, India (1897-c. 1900), ill health, engaged to Algernon Kerkham who died in 1900, independent missionary associated with the NZBMS (c. 1903-c. 1912), ill health, married a Mr Storrie (nationality unknown) in 1903.

**Mosley, Miss M. (?)**, female, single, Dunedin, Brethren, Brethren missionary, South India (1920-1924, 1930-1936, 1949-1960), ill health at various times, retired.

**Mountford, Rev. Conrad (?)**, male, single?, Tauranga, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1925-1928).

**Muir, John (1907-1964)**, male, single, Gisborne, Baptist, farmer, agricultural college and NZBTI, CIM, China (1930-1951), retired, brother of **Molly Muir**, married a Miss M. Waldner (Non-NZ CIM missionary).

**Muir, Molly (1906-1984)**, female, single, Gisborne, Brethren, NZBTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1930-c. 1935), brother of **John Muir**, married **Howard Johnston** in 1931.

**Munnings, Miss (?)**, female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, PIVM, India (1897-?), went directly to India without any training.

**Murray, Alex (?)**, male, single, Clinton, PIVM, India (1897-?).

**Murray, Coralie (1901-?)**, female, single, Methodist, trained nurse, MOM, Solomon Islands (1929-1931).

**Murray, Rev. Charles (1858-1925)**, male, married, Scotland, Free Church, probationary minister, MA, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1885-1888), wife's death and ill health, carried on in parish ministry in New Zealand, originally went to the New Hebrides to replace his brother who died there (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Murray (Cheyne), Mrs Flora (?-1886)**, female, married, Scotland, Free Church, trained teacher, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1885-1886), died ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Naish, Violet (1891-1953)**, female, single, Christchurch, Clarence Road Methodist, trained nurse, CVM, China (1919-1923), marriage to the Rev. Ernest Bastin (English Wesleyan Church Mission in southern China), served with him in China until 1932, and in further Methodist circuit work in England and missionary work in Kenya (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Neal, Marion (?)**, female, single, trained nurse, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1926-1931).

**Neill, Mrs (?)**, female, married or widowed, Presbyterian?, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1899), temporary assistant to Oscar Michelsen on the island of Epi.

**Newcombe, Annie (?)**, female, single, Australia, Congregational and then Baptist, art teacher, art school, NZBMS, India (1887-1889), ill health, further stint as a missionary also thwarted by ill health, sister of **Dr F. W. Newcombe**, subsequently married the Rev. Harry Driver in Dunedin, established the Dunedin Missionary Training Home for women which ran from 1899 until becoming the Presbyterian Women's Training Institute, a founding member of the BWMU in 1903.

**Newcombe, Dr F. W. (?-1905)**, male, married, Australia, Congregational?, trained doctor, NZBMS, India (1904-1905), died from typhoid, brother of **Annie Newcombe**, temporary replacement for Dr Charles North whilst waiting to take up a hospital position in India with Church of Scotland.

**Newcombe (Forrester), Mrs Ethel** (?), female, married, Australia, NZBMS, India (1904-1905), husband's death.

**Newport, Cora** (?-1907), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1904-1907), died from typhoid.

**Newton, Adjutant Ellen** (?), female, single, Salvation Army, China (1917-?).

**Newton, Lilian** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, Mr Warren's Melbourne Missionary Training Home, PIVM, India (1897-?), sister of **Nellie Newton**.

**Newton, Nellie** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, Mr Warren's Melbourne Missionary Training Home, PIVM, India (1897-?), sister of **Lilian Newton**.

**Nicholson, Jack** (1901-1977), male, single, Waikaka Southland, Presbyterian, farmer, NZBTI, SIM, Nigeria (1925-1964), retired and asked to fulfil NZ based responsibilities for SIM.

**Nicholson (Civil), Mrs Vera** (1901-1992), female, engaged, Auckland (b. Warkworth), Baptist (originally Methodist), trained nurse, NZBTI, SIM, Nigeria (1927-1964), retired, originally applied to the NZBMS but transferred application to SIM on engagement to Jack.

**Nind, Rev. Hubert** (?), male, single?, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1899-1934).

**Noble, Elizabeth** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Samoa (1901-1903).

**Noel, Edwyn** (1865-1943), male, single, Rongotea, Rongotea Assembly, Brethren missionary, South India (1904-1943), died, married **Julia Shirliff** in 1909.

**North, Dr Charles** (1873-1955), male, married, Dunedin (b. England), Hanover Street Baptist, trained doctor, BA and some theological training, NZBMS, India (1898-1910), children's needs, son of Rev. Alfred North, returned to medical practice in Dunedin and part time lecturing in obstetrics and gynaecology at the Otago Medical School.

**North (Wiseman), Mrs Emily** (?-c. late 1940s or early 1950s), female, married, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, NZBMS, India (1898-1910), children's needs.

**North (Merrington), Mrs Agnes** (1904-?), female, married, Dunedin, Presbyterian, Welsh Presbyterian Mission, India (1927), transfer to CVM, China (1928-1931), ill health as well as husband's ill health.

**North, Dr Charles Everard** (1902-?), male, married, Dunedin (b. India), Hanover Street Baptist, trained doctor, Welsh Presbyterian Mission, India (1927), transfer to CVM, China (1928-1931), ill with tuberculosis, son of **Charles and Emily North**, returned to medical practice in Dunedin and acted as medical examiner for missionary applicants (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ogilvie, Eunice** (1902-?), female, single, Auckland, Auckland Baptist Tabernacle, trained nurse, NZBTI, NZBMS, India (1927-1947).

**Ogilvie, Frances** (1895-1993), female, single, Timaru (b. Adelaide), Highfield Presbyterian, trained teacher, BA, PWTI, CVM, China (1920-1960), retired, left mainland China in 1951 and served in Suva Fiji (1951-1953), and then Hong Kong (1953-1960) ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Oldrieve, Rev. Frank** (?), male, married, Timaru, Timaru Baptist, minister, theological training, Mission to Lepers, India (1918-?), preached missionary sermon to Baptist Union Conference in 1916.

**Oldrieve, Mrs** (?), female, married, Timaru, Timaru Baptist, Mission to Lepers, India (1918).

**Olds, Constance** (1885-1964), female, single, Methodist, deaconess, MOM, Solomon Islands (1919-1934), married **Arthur Bensley** in 1922.

**Olley, John** (1887-1956), male, single, Feilding (b. England), Brethren, trained teacher, Brethren missionary, Chad (1919-1956), died, originally an Anglican, initially approached the NZCMS in 1917 about missionary service but possibly refused because of views about baptism.

**Opie, Gwen** (1886-1944), female, single, Christchurch, New Brighton Anglican, trained teacher, MA and MSc, NZCMA/S, Ceylon (1915-1944), died, sister of **Vivienne and Rita**.

**Opie, Vivienne** (1888-?), female, single, Christchurch, Christchurch Anglican Cathedral, trained nurse, NZCMS, North India (1919-1956), retired, sister of **Gwen and Rita**.

**Opie, Rita** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, trained teacher, NZCMS, Ceylon (1928-1956), retired, sister of **Gwen and Vivienne**.

**Orme, Mary** (1905-1977), female, single, Robinson's Bay Banks' Peninsula, Presbyterian, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1929-?), married **Reg Annan** in 1930.

**Osborne, David** (?), male, single?, Moody Bible Institute, SIM, Sudan (1924-?), possibly the first New Zealander to work with SIM, applied to/appointed by the Canadian Council.

**Packham, Mrs E.** (1874-1971), female, married, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1909-1914), husband's death, Uruguay (1921-1931), ill health.

**Packham, Mr V.** (?-1914), male, married, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1909-1914), death in New Zealand whilst on furlough.

**Palmer, Rev. John C.** (1837-1902), male, single, Auckland (b. England), Anglican, previously worked on the Ashwell's CMS mission station in the Waikato, theological training at St John's College, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1863-1902), died, subsequently Archdeacon of Southern Melanesia.

**Palmer (Ashwell), Mrs Sarah** (1841-1874), female, married, Auckland, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Norfolk Island (1868-1874), died from fever, daughter of Benjamin and Harriet Ashwell (CMS missionaries in the Waikato and later Anglican ministry in Auckland).

**Palmer, Rev. J. C.** (?), male, single, Auckland, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1892-1910), son of **John and Sarah Palmer**.

**Park, Nance** (?), female, single, Hawera, Hawera Presbyterian, trained nurse, CVM, China (1923-1925), ill health, (1929-1935), family reasons (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Parkin, Stella** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1917-1920).

**Pasley, Marie** (?), female, single, Blenheim, Church of the Nativity (Anglican), Warren's Missionary Training Home Melbourne, NZCMA, Japan (1893-1900), interest sparked by visit of Rev. G. C. Grubb in 1892, intended to apply to the Victoria CMA but switched to NZCMA after news of its formation.

**Patchett, Cyril** (1903-?), male, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, pastry cook/baker and previously a storeman, NZBTI, CIM, China (1928-1944), married **Ada Smith** in 1931.

**Paterson, Mrs Catherine** (1878-?), female, married, Presbyterian, CVM, China (1912-1920), husband's withdrawal (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Paterson, Dr R.** (1877-?), male, married, Presbyterian, trained doctor, CVM, China (1912-1920), withdrew for personal reasons, (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Paton, Reta** (?-1962), female, single, Wellington, Newtown, Vivian Street and Miramar Assemblies, Brethren missionary, Argentine (1923-1962), died, married **Dr Norman Hamilton** in 1925.

**Patterson, Grace** (1898-?), female, single, Wellington, Presbyterian, trained teacher, PWTI, Church of Scotland Mission, India (1928-1962), retired, niece of **Helen MacGregor**, originally applied to the PCNZ FMC but was declined for health reasons (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).



**Paul, Robina** (?), female, single, Presbyterian, trained nurse, CVM, China (1924-1925), temporary appointment as Acting Matron at Kong Chuen Hospital.

**Paulsen, Miss M. M.** (1904-), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, NZBTI, Latin American Prayer Fellowship, Mexico (1928-1963).

**Perkins, Alfred** (?-1959), male, single, Maxwelltown, Maxwelltown Assembly, itinerant evangelist, Brethren missionary, India (1904-1954), ill health, married a Miss A. C. Greatorex (England) who had previously trained in an English missionary training school.

**Perry, Dr** (?), female, single, Presbyterian, trained doctor, Punjab Mission, India (1922-1923), temporary appointment, Matron of Women's Dispensary and Child Welfare Centre, Jagadhri Hospital.

**Perry, William** (?), male, single, Wellington, Vivian Street Baptist, PIVM, India (1899-1900), ill health, went on to Baptist ministry and involvement with local councils of the BIM.

**Persson, Oscar** (?-1905), male, single, Rongotea, Rongotea Assembly, Brethren missionary, China (1904-1905), died, first New Zealand Brethren missionary to go to China.

**Peters, Alfred** (?), male, single?, Hamilton, Hamilton Baptist, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1916-at least 1931), noted by Florence Young in 1925 as being a 'valued worker' of 'advanced age' who 'is a man of prayer, and greatly loved by both missionaries and natives.

**Peters, Gladys** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Oxford Terrace Baptist, trained nurse, PWTI, midwifery training in Adelaide, NZBMS, India (1922-1925), ill health.

**Peters, Lilian** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Hanover Street Baptist, NZBMS, India (1894-1904), ill health, later married the Rev. Frank Buckingham (NZ Baptist minister).

**Pettit, Jessie** (1887-?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, trained teacher, St Hilda's Missionary Training Home Melbourne, CIM, China (1912-1951), retired, sister of **William Pettit**, married **Francis Worley**.

**Pettit (Campbell), Mrs Letitia** (?-1965), female, married, Dunedin, Caversham Baptist, trained nurse, NZBMS, India (1910-1915), ill health (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Pettit, Dr William** (1885-1985), male, married, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, trained doctor, NZBMS, India (1910-1915), wife's health, sister of **Jessie Pettit**, continued on missionary interest as an examining physician for missionary candidates in Auckland and as a North Island CIM Council member (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Phillips, Mary** (c. 1855-?), female, single, Auckland, Presbyterian, trained nurse, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1896-1897), asked to resign for unspecified 'gross negligence', previously a charge nurse at Auckland Public Hospital (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Pih, Dr Kathleen** (1902-?), female, single, Dunedin (b. China), St Andrew's Presbyterian, trained doctor, CVM, China (1930-1938), marriage to Dr Francis Chang of Shanghai, originally adopted in China by **Margaret Reid** (CIM) and came to live in New Zealand c. 1908.

**Pillow, Hopestill** (1857-1895), female, single, Christchurch, Oxford Terrace Baptist, personal tuition, NZBMS, India (1889-1895), died.

**Pitt, Miss A.** (?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, India (1920s), initially applied to NZBMS in 1920 but rejected because of her age (unspecified).

**Plant, Rev. John** (?), male, single?, Auckland, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1884-1891).

**Popham, Katie** (?-1935), female, single, Dunedin, CIM, China (1901-1925), ill health, married Mr J. Webster (CIM NSW).

**Porteous (Rayner), Mrs Edith** (1882-1951), female, married, Scotland, Presbyterian, pharmacy dispenser, Punjab Mission, India (1909-1926), resigned for family reasons, met William while he was a medical student at Edinburgh University (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Porteous, Dr William** (1884-1969), male, married, Port Chalmers, Presbyterian, trained doctor, Punjab Mission, India (1910-1926), resigned for family reasons, pioneer of the PCNZ mission in the Punjab, later acted as examining physician for the PCNZ FMC ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Porter, William** (1870-1950), male, single, Te Puke (b. England), Presbyterian, coach builder, unspecified mission, Portugese East Africa (1894-1896), ill health, married Eliza (origin unknown, b. 1870, d. 1970) in 1895, went on to be variously a Methodist home missionary, farmer and Presbyterian home missionary (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Preece, Eunice** (?), female, single, Auckland (b. Coromandel), Holy Sepulchre Anglican Khyber Pass, trained nurse and mid-wife, SPG, China (1923-at least WW2), possibly a descendent of James and Mary Ann Preece (CMS missionaries to NZ, 1831-1856) who retired to the Coromandel area, close friend of **Kathleen Hall** and also recruited by the **Rev. Crichton McDouall**, interned during WW2.

**Prentice, Elizabeth** (1884-1952), female, single, Mosgiel, Presbyterian, trained nurse, PWTI, CVM, China (1910-1923), ill health (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Price, Cyril** (1898-1981), male, married, Gore, Presbyterian, trained teacher, MA and BCom, Punjab Mission, India (1928-1929), temporary appointment relieving for William Ryburn, went on to educational positions in Australia, India and New Zealand

**Price, Mrs Grace** (?), female, married, Gore, Presbyterian, Punjab Mission, India (1928-1929), husband's temporary appointment.

**Price, Eric** (1900-?), male, single?, Auckland, Church of Christ, NZBTI, YMCA, Malaya (c. 1927-?).

**Pullenger, Robert** (?-1971), male, single, Hamilton, Brethren, mechanic, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1928-1940), married Jessie Madden (Halcombe) in 1935, she died in 1943 and he later remarried.

**Rapley, Eva** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, secretary, deaconess training, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1927-?).

**Raven, Ruth** (?-1952), female, single, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Paraguay (1920-1952), died, married a Mr Conaty (a businessman) in 1921.

**Ravn, Nellie** (?), female, single, Patea, Presbyterian, PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1920-1928), ill health, later married to Mr Edward Thomson ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Reddell, Arthur** (?), male, single, Oamaru, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1899-?), family reasons.

**Reeve, Miss M.** (1847-1842), Palmerston North, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1898-1902), ill health, one of the original New Zealand group to go to Malaya with William McDonald (English Brethren missionary), later Maori mission work in Te Kuiti.

**Reid, Eileen** (1901-1982), Auckland, St Peter's Presbyterian, Grey Lynn, stenographer and trained nurse, CVM, China (1929-1951) ill health, ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Reid, Hannah** (1862-1955), female, single, Akaroa/Christchurch (b. England), St John's Presbyterian, CIM, China (1895-1945), retired after WW2 internment, sister of **Lilias**.

**Reid, Lilias** (1866-1934), female, single, Akaroa/Christchurch (b. England), St. John's Presbyterian, CIM, China (1895-1934), died of cancer, sister of **Hannah**.

**Reid, Margaret** (1870-?), female, single, Dunedin, Presbyterian, CIM, China (1896-1909), motivated by John R. Mott's 1896 visit, later applied to the PCNZ FMC without any outcome, adopted mother of **Dr Kathleen Pih** (CVM), later married a Mr. Russell and worked for the Presbyterian Maori Mission.

**Revell, William** (1882-1966), male, single, Dannevirke, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1905-1966), died, married twice – in 1912 to Mrs Revell (Russell) from England who died the same year, and in 1916 to Dora Annear (origin unknown) who died in 1961.

**Rice, Hilda** (1890-?), female, single, Napier, Napier Central Baptist, trained teacher, NZBMS, India (1914-1937), ill health.

**Richardson, Mr E. (?)**, male, single, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, mission unspecified, South and East Africa (1906-at least 1913), probably a brother of **Reuben Richardson**, married a Miss Julia McCloy (origin unknown) in 1909.

**Richardson, Reuben** (1892-?), male, married, Dunedin, South Dunedin Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, CIM, China (1915-1938), probably a brother of **Mr E. Richardson**.

**Richardson (Forrest), Mrs Sophia** (1888-?), female, married, Dunedin (b. Scotland), South Dunedin Baptist, Angas College Adelaide?, CIM, China (1915-1938).

**Richmond, Andrew** (?-1978), male, married, Christchurch, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Paraguay (1929-1934), Argentine (1937-1965), retired.

**Richmond, Mrs (?)**, female, married, Christchurch, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Paraguay (1929-1934), Argentine (1937-1965), retired.

**Richter, Thyra** (?), female, single, Wellington, St Peter's Anglican, trained teacher, NZABM Own Missionary, India (1925-1928), marriage to a Mr Evitt (non-NZ missionary) took her out of the employment of the NZABM.

**Riddle, Rev. Thomas** (1878-1967), male, single, Rakaia, Presbyterian, ministry student, university (NZ and Edinburgh), New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1903-1911), decreasing population on the island of Epi and the perception that needs were greater elsewhere, Punjab Mission, India (1911-1947), retired, married **Isobel Milne** in 1917 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ridley, Maud** (1885-?), female, single, Dunedin, Moray Place Congregational, PWTI, LMS, China (1911-1914), married a Rev. T.C. Brown of the Amoy Mission in China.

**Rimmer, Ernest** (?-1932), male, single, Auckland, Brethren, PIVM, India (1899-c. 1903), transferred to being a Brethren missionary, India (1905-1910), ill health, married a Miss E. C. Hollands (origin unknown) in 1908.

**Rimmer (Galbraith), Mrs Isa** (1900-1967), female, married, Auckland, Grange Road Baptist, NZBTI, SUM, Sudan (1925-c. 1934), married Keith in 1925.

**Rimmer, Keith** (?), male, single, Auckland, Grange Road Baptist, Baptist home missionary, NZBTI, SUM, Sudan, 1922-c. 1934).

**Roberts, Miss** (?), female, single, Dunedin, PIVM, India (1898-at least 1903).

**Robertson, Dorothy** (1894-1962), female, single, Oamaru (b. Australia), St Paul's Presbyterian, bank clerical worker and trainee nurse, CVM, China (1926-1951), Hong Kong (1951-1957), retired, ordained as a deaconess on her return to Oamaru ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Robertson, Isabel** (?), female, single, Nelson, Anglican, trained teacher, MA, Anglican Papua Mission, Papua (1909-1912).

**Robertson (Somerville), Mrs Agnes** (1886-?), female, married, Scotland, Presbyterian, Punjab Mission, India (1910-1921), husband's ill health, married W. Stewart Robertson whilst he was a medical student in Edinburgh (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Robertson, Dr W. Stewart** (1876-?), male, single, Napier, St Paul's Presbyterian, PIVM, India (1897-c. 1901), medical training, Punjab Mission, India (1910-1921), ill health and educational needs of children, went into government service as State Surgeon in the Native Indian State of Chamba (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Robin, Rev. L.** (?), male, single?, Auckland, Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1888-1898).

**Roget, Rev. H. H.** (?), male, married, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1904-1916).

**Roget, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1904-1916).

**Roke, Alfred** (1904-still alive), male, single, Auckland (b. Paparata), New Market Undenominational Church, timber mill worker and electrical apprentice, NZBTI, SIM, Ethiopia (1929-1947), resigned over policy disagreements, returned to take up Baptist ministry, married **Christina McLennan**.

**Rolls, Charles** (?), male, single, Napier, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Ceylon and South India (1910-1921), in 1923 he was appointed dean of the newly established NZBTI.

**Roper, Amy** (1876-1967), female, single, Auckland, Brethren, India (1906-1948), ill health, married a Mr Henry Rees (a British Brethren missionary) in 1908.

**Roscoe, Helen** (?), female, single, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1919-1923).

**Ross (Smith), Mrs Isabella** (?-1945), female, married, Wellington?, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Paraguay and the Argentine (1910-1945), died, sister of **Allan Smith**, spent part of the early 1920s in NZ due to ill health.

**Ross, John** (?-1946), male, single, Palmerston North, Brethren, itinerant evangelist, Brethren missionary, Paraguay and Argentine (1908-1946), died from heart problems, married Isabella in 1910.

**Roulston, Mary** (1886-?), female, single, Hillend, Brethren, Kensington Missionary College Adelaide, CIM, China (1913-1951), retired, married a Mr H. Liversidge (a non-NZ CIM missionary).

**Rout, Alice** (1876-1969), female, single, Invercargill, Invercargill Assembly, Brethren missionary, China (1904-1942), WW2 and retired, possibly a sister of **Ernest Rout**.

**Rout, Ernest** (1882-1974), male, single, Invercargill, Invercargill Assembly, Brethren missionary, Congo (1916-1958), retired, possibly brother of **Alice Rout**, married **Irene Gresham** in 1920.

**Roxburgh, Alfred** (?), male, single, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1908-1912), family needs in New Zealand, at one stage may have worked with **Annie Storrie (née Morton)** and her husband.

**Runciman, Thomas** (1901-1964), male, single?, Auckland, Baptist, surveyor?, NZBTI, independent missionary, Malaya (1928-?).

**Russell, Naomi** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, NZABM, India (1920s)

**Ryburn (Stewart), Mrs Jessie** (1879-1968), female, married, Dunedin, Knox Presbyterian, Punjab Mission, India (1910-1919), family reasons ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ryburn, Rev. Josiah** (1878-1939), male, single, Gisborne (b. Auckland), Presbyterian, customs office clerk, PIVM, India (1899-1903), dissatisfaction and for further education, BA and theological education, Punjab Mission, India (1910-1919), family reasons, uncle of **William Morton Ryburn**, married Jessie in 1910 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ryburn (Tizard), Mrs Hilda** (1896-1987), female, married, Auckland, St Luke's Presbyterian Remuera, trained teacher, BA, Punjab Mission, India (1922-1960), retired, married William in 1922 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Ryburn, Rev. William Morton** (1895-1986), male, married, Dunedin (b. Auckland), Knox Presbyterian, ministry student, MA and theological education, Punjab Mission, India (1922-1960), nephew of **Josiah Ryburn**, distinguished educationalist ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Sage, Dorothy** (?-1991), female, single, Hawera, Presbyterian, trained nurse, PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1929-1932), resigned to marry a Mr J. C. Christie (origin unknown) who was a missionary with the Church of Christ Mission in India, they later spent more time working in India between 1937-1949 and 1949-1956 ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Salisbury, Ella** (1895-1948), female, single, Wellington, Brethren, at home domestic help, Melbourne BTI, CIM, China (1922-1935), ill health, married **William Anderson**.

**Salisbury, Ernest** (1904-?), male, single, Upper Hutt, Brethren, NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Congo (1930-1982), retired, later married Edna Missen (Hamilton Baptist) and, after her death in 1957, Grace Branch (Britain).

**Salmond, Mary** (1887-1976), female, single, Gore or Invercargill (b. Queenstown), Presbyterian, trained teacher, MA, PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1916-1927), ill health, Principal of the PWTI 1929-1941, ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Salter, Rev. Lawry** (?), male, married, Auckland, Grey Lynn Baptist, theological training, South Australian BMS, India (1915-?).

**Salter (Churchward), Mrs** (?), female, married, Auckland, Grey Lynn Baptist, trained nurse, South Australian BMS, India (1915-?).

**Satchell, Agnes** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Bank's Island (1920s).

**Saunders, Ada** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse, MOM, Solomon Islands (1923-1924).

**Saunders, Arthur** (1903-?), male, single, Glentunnel (b. England), Brethren, farm worker, trained teacher, NZBTI, CIM, China (1930-1968), retired, responded to CIM's call for 200 workers in 1929 whilst working on the Broughton family farm near Darfield, married Miss E. M. Bain (an American CIM missionary) in 1934.

**Saunders, Miss** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, trained nurse, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1915-1920), ill health.

**Savage, Miss** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Oxford Terrace Baptist, PIVM, India (1914-1949).

**Sayers (Grove), Mrs Jane** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1927-1934), husband's change of career, divorced in 1971 ([www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Sayers, Dr Edward** (1902-1985), male, single, Christchurch, Sydenham Methodist, trained doctor specialising in tropical medicine, MOM, Solomon Islands (1927-1934), change of career, went on to distinguished roles in World War 2 and medical education, remarried to Patricia Coleman in 1971 ([www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Scott, Miss** (?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, RBMU, Argentine (1906-at least 1914), first went to the Argentine in the company of **Eldred and Isabella Hercus**.

**Scrivin, Rev. Arthur** (1883-?), male, single, South Taranaki, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Papua (1914-1931), appointed General Secretary of the New Zealand Methodist Missionary Committee (1932-1952), married **Margaret Jamieson** who died in 1921, remarried to Elsie Warner (Australia) in 1926.

**Searrell, Edith** (1860-1900), female, single, Christchurch (Waipapa), Presbyterian, trained teacher, CIM, China (1895-1900), killed, the only New Zealand fatality in the Boxer Uprising of 1900.

**Searle, Olive** (1895-?), female, single, Christchurch, Presbyterian, typist and book-keeper, technical college and Melbourne BTI, CIM, China (1924-1941), possibly a sister of **William Searle**.

**Searle (Cuthbertson), Mrs Margaret** (1902-?), female, married, Invercargill, Baptist (previously Presbyterian), domestic help and untrained maternity nurse, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1925-1964), retired, sister of **Bessie Cuthbertson** and of an Allan Cuthbertson who applied unsuccessfully to the CIM.

**Searle, Mr William** (1897-1973), male, married, Christchurch, St Peter's Presbyterian, carpenter/joiner, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1925-1964), possibly brother of **Olive Searle**.

**Selwyn, Bishop John R.** (1844-1898), male, married, Waimate North, Anglican, theological education at Cambridge University, Melanesian Mission (c. 1873-1891), ill health, son of Bishop George Augustus Selwyn, married twice (first wife died in 1878), appointed Bishop of Melanesia in 1877, later became Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge.

**Shaw, Thelma** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, trained teacher, Diocese of Polynesia, Fiji (1929-?), taught in the Chinese School in Suva.

**Shepherd, George** (?), male, single, Brethren, Brethren missionary, China (1918-1925), transferred to work with the ABCFM in China, lived in USA for three years prior to going to China, married a Dr Clara Sargent (origin unknown) in 1921.

**Sheriff, John** (?), male, single?, Associated Churches of Christ missionary, Southern Rhodesia (early 1900s), noted as having started missionary work there and as being a 'devoted servant of God and an advocate of New Testament Christianity', his work later taken up by **Mr and Mrs Hadfield**.

**Shirtliff, Bessie** (?), female, single, Nelson, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1904-1932), retired, sister of **Clare, Kath, Julia and Sarah**, married a Mr W. H. Green (civil servant origin unknown) in 1910.

**Shirtliff, Clare** (?-1949), female, single, Nelson, Brethren, trained teacher?, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1919-1949), died from heart problems, sister of **Bessie, Kath, Julia and Sarah**, spent some of WW2 in India.

**Shirtliff, Kath** (?-1965), female, single, Nelson, Brethren, trained teacher, Brethren missionary, India (?-1945), retired, sister of **Bessie, Clare, Julia and Sarah**, taught at Hebron School for missionary children.

**Shirtliff, Julia** (?-1966), female, single, Nelson, Brethren, trained nurse and midwife, Brethren missionary, South India (1907-1956), retired, sister of **Bessie, Clare, Kath and Sarah**, married **Edwyn Noel** in 1909.

**Shirtliff, Sarah** (1872-1947), female, single, Nelson, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1898-1947), died, sister of **Bessie, Clare, Kath and Julia**, one of the original New Zealand group to go to Malaya with William McDonald (English Brethren missionary), spent 1941-1946 in India.

**Simmonds, Rev. Joseph** (?), male, married, Blenheim, Methodist, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1888-1891), ill health, interest in foreign missions raised at Bible Class by the Rev J. W. Wallis.

**Simmonds, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1888-1891), husband's ill health.

**Simpson, Lilian** (?), female, single, Dunedin, Baptist?, PIVM, India (1895-1906), husband's ill health, married **William Hinton**, author of a biography of the Australian PIVM missionary doctor Dr Ethel Ambrose.

**Sister Elizabeth** (1926-?), female, single, Christchurch, Colombo Street Baptist, deaconess, SUM, Sudan (1926-?), previously a deaconess at Colombo Street Baptist.

**Slade (Gilmour), Mrs Margaret** (?), female, married, Raglan, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1886-1902), husband's ill health.

**Slade, Rev. William** (1860-?), male, married, Port Chalmers (b. England), Methodist, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1886-1902), ill health, over the next decade worked hard to raise missionary awareness amongst NZ Methodists.

**Smaill (Grant), Mrs Helen** (1867-1966), female, married, Leeston (b. Hastings), Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1890-1902), husband's death, Helen and Thomas lost both their first and second babies whilst in the New Hebrides, she returned for the years 1903-1906 to assist the **Rev. Thomas Riddle** on the island of Epi ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Smaill, Rev. Thomas** (1857-1902), male, single, Inchclutha (b. Scotland), Presbyterian, apprentice joiner and ministry student, BA and theological training, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1889-1902), died from illness contracted during a hurricane ([www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Small, Hilda** (1891-?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Congregational, trained teacher, university education, LMS, Samoa (1917-1927), service included a period as Principal of Atauloma Girls' School.

**Smeeton, Nellie** (?-1918), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, Algiers Mission Band, Algeria (1912-1918), died, sister of **Rona**, possibly wider family connections within this mission.

**Smeeton, Rona** (?), female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, Ridglands Missionary College England, Algeria Mission Band, Algeria (?-1937), sister of **Nellie**.

**Smith, Ada** (1904-1969), female, single, Te Kopuru, Baptist Tabernacle, tailoress, technical college and NZBTI, CIM, China (1928-1944), married **Cyril Patchett** in 1931.

**Smith, Allan** (1883-1936), male, single, Wellington, Brethren, shop assistant and itinerant evangelist, Brethren missionary, Paraguay and Brazil (1907-1936), ill health and died, brother of **Isabella Ross**.

**Smith, Captain Louie** (?), male?, single, Salvation Army, China (1917-?).

**Smith (Martin), Mrs Maud** (1885-1961), female, married, Wellington, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Paraguay and Brazil (1908-1936), husband's ill health and death, married Allan in 1908.

**Smith, Dorothy** (1902-?), female, single, Christchurch (b. England), Spreydon Baptist, NZBTI, CIM, China (1926-1928), ill health, later went on to look after missionary children for the BIM in 1933 and to orphanage work in Whangarei.

**Smith, Miss E.** (?), female, single, Port Chalmers, Presbyterian, trained nurse, Church of Scotland, China (1897-?), accompanied **Kate Fraser** and **Mary Moore** to China ([link to www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Smith, Eric** (?), male, single, Auckland, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1921-1942), withdrew from Brethren assembly fellowship, married Miss R. Driver (an American nurse) in 1924 and who died in 1933, remarried to Miss Gertrude Derrick (an American missionary) in 1938.

**Smith, Florence** (1874-?), female, single, Nelson, St Luke's Anglican Foxhill, trained teacher, NZCMA (but seconded to the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society), India (1899-1937), ill health and retired.

**Smith, Margaret** (?), female, single, South Canterbury, Fairlie and Pleasant Point Assemblies, Brethren missionary, Argentine and Uruguay (1930-1980s), married William Goodson (Oamaru) in 1938.

**Smith Rev. Thomas** (?), male, single?, Wellington, Kent Terrace Congregational, theological training, LMS, China (1896-1923), spent this period working specifically in Beijing.

**Smyth, Brigadier Annie** (1878-1942), female, single, Wellington, Salvation Army, trained teacher, BA and officer training in Melbourne, Salvation Army missionary, Japan (1906-1939), retired and WW2, first NZ Salvation Army foreign missionary, whilst working in Wairoa Annie and her sister were murdered by an out of jail itinerant (link to [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Snee, Rev. J. F. (?)**, male, single?, Cheviot (b. England), Cheviot Anglican, parish minister, theological training, CMS, India (1904-1927).

**Sowry, Zaidee** (1901-1968), female, single, Palmerston North, All Saints Anglican, shorthand typist, public service entrance certificate and St Hilda's Missionary Training Home Melbourne, NZCMS, India (1928-1946), ill health, initially seconded to Church of England Zenana Missionary Society to work alongside **Florence Smith**.

**Spedding, Hilda (?)**, female, single, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1923-c. 1926?).

**Starck, Emily** (?-1952), female, single, Rongotea, Rongotea Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1904-1952), old age and died.

**Starnes, John** (1885-1976), male, single, Motueka, Presbyterian, farmer, Angas College Adelaide, BIM, Bolivia (1912-1917), ill health (malaria and small pox), married **Annie Cresswell** in 1912, later trained for Presbyterian ministry and worked as a parish minister from 1926 until retirement in 1951 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Steele, Kate** (?), female, single, Auckland, mission unknown, India (1902-?).

**Steven, Beryl** (?), female, single, Oamaru, St Luke's Anglican, SPG, China (1924-?), initially enquired to the NZCMS in 1918 seeking information on training requirements.

**Stewart, Marie** (?), female, single, Hawkes Bay, Anglican, trained nurse, CMS, Persia (dates unknown).

**Stewart, Muriel** (?), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse, MOM, Solomon Islands (1927-1932).

**Stinson, Elizabeth** (1876-?), female, single, Christchurch, Anglican, trained nurse and midwife, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, China (1909-1914), transferred to NZCMA, China (1914-1926), resigned in protest over theological modernism, further alienated herself from Anglican constituency by being rebaptised in c. 1925.

**Stocker, Mrs Dorothy** (?), female, widowed?, Christchurch, Anglican, SPG, China (1920s).

**Strachan, Grace** (?-1978), female, single, Invercargill, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Argentina (1928-1969), ill health and retired, remained living in Buenos Aires until her death.

**Strange, Dr Charles** (?-1927), male, married, England, Anglican, trained doctor, NZCMA, China (1910-1927), died, initially intended being a CMS missionary but transferred to NZCMA because of a lack of funds, came to NZ before commencing work in China.

**Strange, Mrs Olive** (1886-?), female, married, England, Anglican, NZCMA, China (1910-1927), probably returned to England after husband's death, sought to return to China in 1934 but again a lack of CMS finances prohibited her.

**Stringer, Charles** (1900-?), male, single, Orawia (b. Oamaru), Presbyterian, trained teacher, two years university, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1928-1929), temporary appointment and work pressures, brother of **Ada Harvie** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Stuart, Anne** (?), female, single, Napier, Anglican, trained nurse, CMS, Persia (c. 1894-1910), daughter of **Bishop Stuart**.



**Stuart, Bishop Edward** (1827-1911), male, married, Napier, Anglican Cathedral, Bishop of Waiapu, university and theological training, CMS, Persia (1894-1910), old age and died, previously served with CMS in India (1850-c. 1872), his wife Anne had been invalided to Britain with mental illness in 1857, after India he lived in NZ serving as the Bishop of Waiapu from 1877 until departure in 1894.

**Stubbs, Winnifred** (1888-c. 1950s), female, single, Christchurch (b. Scotland), Knox Presbyterian, trained nurse and midwife, CVM, China (1913-1926), husband's change of career, married **Dr Edward Kirk** in 1917 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Sturt, Reginald** (1883-1948), male, single, Hamilton (b. England), Brethren, Livingstone Medical College London, Brethren missionary, China (1906-1948), died from pneumonia, married Miss Gertrude Twite (an English missionary) in 1912.

**Stych, John** (?), male, single, Wellington, Anglican, UMCA?, Central Africa (1910s), ill health, upon recovery he then enquired about further possibilities with the NZCMA (at which point he was married) but nothing further seemed to come of this.

**Suckling, Rev. J.** (?-1918), male, married, Primitive Methodist, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1918), died.

**Suckling, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1918-1921), transferred to unspecified government service.

**Sundgren, Lottie** (1882-1951), female, single, Wellington, Petone Assembly, Brethren missionary, India (1905-1951), died.

**Sutherland, Mr** (?), male, single?, Presbyterian, carpenter, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1925-1926), temporary appointment as a missionary carpenter.

**Sutherland, Dr Angus** (1900-1976), male, single, Dunedin, Kaikourai Presbyterian, trained doctor, Punjab Mission, India (1925-1950), resigned for family reasons, brother of **Violet Sutherland**, married Margaret Massie (Church of Scotland missionary) in 1928, they lost two infant children during their time in India (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Sutherland, Mr B.** (?), male, married, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Fiji (1915-1929), worked in Fiji as a technical teacher.

**Sutherland, Mrs** (?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Fiji (1915-1929).

**Sutherland, Violet** (1903-1978), female, single, Dunedin, Kaikourai Presbyterian, clerk, civil service qualification and PWTI, Punjab Mission, India (1929-1956), retired, sister of **Angus Sutherland**, a noted educational specialist who also became an elder of the Church of North India (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Takle, Rev. John** (1870-1939), male, single, Wellington (b. England), Vivian Street Baptist (originally exclusive Brethren), clerk for Thomas Cook and Sons, two years tuition and theological training, NZBMS, India (1896-1924), ill health, noted Baptist missionary statesman, founded a league for missionaries working amongst Indian Muslims and wrote a number of books on Muslim missions.

**Takle (Beavis), Mrs Maude** (1875-?), female, married, Wellington, either Vivian Street or Brooklyn Baptist, NZBMS, India (1898-1924), husband's ill health.

**Taylor, Harry** (1899-?), male, single, Auckland, Grange Road Baptist, solicitor, LLB and Melbourne BTI, CIM, China (1925-1948), later married Maud King (nurse from Auckland) who went from NZ with CIM in 1931 and married Harry the same year.

**Taylor, Sybil** (?-1981), female, single, Auckland, Brethren, trained nurse, Brethren missionary, India (1924-1977), retired.

**Teall, Rev. A. E. (?)**, male, single?, Dunedin, St Matthew's Anglican, theological training, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1921-1959), supported by St Matthew's.

**Theobald, Don (?)**, male, single?, Matura, Matura Presbyterian, Gold Coast of West Africa (dates unknown).

**Thompson, Florrie (?)**, female, single, Stratford, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Papua (1908-1909), mother's illness.

**Thompson, Joseph (1887-1959)**, male, single, Auckland (b. Brunnerton), Mt Eden Methodist, cycle motor mechanic, Angas College Adelaide, CIM, China (1912-1946), retired, married **Sarah Hardisty**.

**Thompson, Victor (?-1960)**, male, single, Auckland, Salvation Army, India (1921-1955), other international appointments in England and Rhodesia.

**Thomson, Mr G. (1862-1951)**, male, married, Hamilton?, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1910-1942), family health.

**Thomson (Goulstone), Mrs (1873-1962)**, female, married, Auckland, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1910-1942), family health, sister of **Rosa Goulstone**.

**Thomson, Mr G. (?)**, male, single, Presbyterian, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1903-1906), father's health, assistant to Dr Bowie replacing Mr McNaughton.

**Thomson, Thomas (1904-1939)**, male, single?, Auckland, Baptist Tabernacle, NZBTI, Ceylon and India General Mission, India and Ceylon (1930-1939), died.

**Thorn, Miss (?)**, female, single, Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, India (1875-?), noted as first going to Benares, she and Elizabeth Colenso were probably the first New Zealand born single woman missionaries.

**Thorp, Mary (1888-?)**, female, single, Paeroa, St Paul's Anglican, trained teacher and Grade II in theology, NZCMS, China (1917-1920), further university study.

**Tisdall, Rev. Dr William St Clair (1859-1928)**, male, single?, Nelson (b. Wales), Anglican, minister and theological teacher, MA and theological training, CMS, India (early 1880s-1892) and Persia (1892-c. 1910), parish ministry in England, a noted linguist, scholar, missionary statesman and writer, awarded the Doctor of Divinity degree from Edinburgh University in 1903, CMS delegate at Edinburgh Conference.

**Tobin, Blanche (1894-?)**, female, single, Tauranga, Anglican, trained teacher, university education, NZCMS, China and Malaya (1923-1959), retired.

**Todd (Chambers), Mrs Amy (?)**, female, married, Baptist?, CIM, China (1895-1899), ill health.

**Todd, James (1864-?)**, male, married, Dunedin, Caversham Baptist, bank clerk, Moody BTI, CIM, China (1895-1899), ill health, CIM secretary in Australia 1906-1915.

**Tolley, Frances (?)**, female, single, Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Fiji (1927-1939), ill health.

**Townley, Bertha (?-1987)**, female, single, Palmerston North?, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1914-1924), married **Ernest Brewerton** and moved with him to Malaya (1924-1964), retired.

**Treasure, Miss E. (1884-1966)**, female, single, Invercargill, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Holland (1921-1929), returned to NZ to care for aging parents.

**Treweek, Jessie (?-1942)**, female, single, Ngaere, Brethren, Brethren missionary, India (1914-1942), died, married **Thomas Brown**.

**Tunnicliffe, Harold (?)**, male, single?, Gisborne, Methodist, carpenter?, MOM, New Britain (1914-1925), noted as taking over as plantation manager from **Frank Broom** in 1918.

**Turbott (Arthur), Mrs Eveline** (1901-?), female, married, Dunedin, North East Valley Presbyterian, CVM, China (1923-1925), husband's health, she and Harold later divorced in 1938 (see [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm) and also [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Turbott, Dr Harold** (1899-1988), male, married, Hamilton (b. Auckland), Presbyterian, trained doctor, CVM, China (1923-1925), ill health, went on to a distinguished career in NZ public health, health education and was popularly known nationally as the 'radio doctor', remarried to Robinetta Jamieson in 1938 (see [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm) and also [www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/](http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/dnzb/)).

**Turnbull, Johnston** (?), male, married, Dunedin, Mornington Baptist, Angas College Adelaide, BIM, Bolivia (1909-1911), resignation for unspecified reasons, went on to work in Bolivia with the Canadian Baptist Mission.

**Turnbull (Underwood), Mrs** (?), female, married, Dunedin, Mornington Baptist, BIM, Bolivia (1909-1911), resignation.

**Turner, Anthony** (1900-1954), male, single, Invercargill, Esk Street Baptist, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1928-1954), died, married a Miss E. Bleachy (an American BIM missionary) c. 1929-1930.

**Turner, Gordon** (1902-?), male, married, Auckland, Wiremu Street Assembly (originally a Baptist), NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1929-c. 1980), retired.

**Turner (Tucker), Mrs Myrtle** (1905-1985), female, married, Auckland, Wiremu Street Assembly (originally a Baptist), NZBTI, Brethren missionary, Bolivia (1929-c. 1980), retired.

**Valpy, Percy** (?-1908), male, married, Dunedin, Anglican?, PIVM, India (1897-1902), convalescence from surgery, youngest son of W. H. Valpy who was a prominent Dunedin citizen who had emigrated from India in c. 1848, he probably acted as local PIVM secretary in the 1890s and continued to promote the mission after his return in 1902, married Miss Short in 1904 (she had been a PIVM missionary possibly from Australia).

**Vance, Robert** (1899-?), male, single, Wellington, Brethren, NZBTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1930-?).

**Vosper, Janet** (?), female, single, Waitara, Waitara Methodist, trained teacher (possibly kindergarten), MOM, Papua (1907-1909), nervous breakdown.

**Voyce, Mrs Beryl** (1899-?), female, married, Methodist, MOM, Solomon Islands (1926-1958), retired?.

**Voyce, Rev. Arthur** (1899-?), male, married, Methodist, parish minister, theological training, MOM, Solomon Islands (1926-1958), retired.

**Wallis (Fergusson), Mrs Marion** (?), female, married, Dunedin, Methodist, BA, MOM, Fiji (1888-1900), ill health related to miscarriage/loss of child.

**Wallis, Rev. Thomas** (1862-1943), male, married, Methodist, parish minister, theological training, MOM, Fiji (1888-1900), wife's health.

**Waterhouse, J. H. Lawry** (?), male, single?, Methodist, previous unspecified missionary work, MOM, Solomon Islands (1922-1928).

**Waterstone, Miss** (?), female, single, Christchurch, Oxford Terrace Baptist, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1911-c.1933), Frances Young notes a 'Miss Waterston' beginning with the SSEM in 1911.

**Watkins, Mr S.** (?), male, single?, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Solomon Islands (1927-1929).

**Watt (Paterson), Mrs Agnes** (1846-1894), female, married, Scotland, Reformed Presbyterian Church, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1869-1894), died, first PCNZ missionary with husband William (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Watt (Paterson), Mrs Jessie** (?), female, married, Scotland, Reformed Presbyterian Church, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1902-1910), retired with William, possibly a sister of **Agnes Paterson** (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Watt, Rev. William** (1843-1926), male, married, Scotland, Reformed Presbyterian Church, theological training and Edinburgh Medical Missionary Institute, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1869-1910), retired to Melbourne where he further served as secretary of the Australian Presbyterian Church Board of Mission, first PCNZ missionary with wife Agnes also PCNZ moderator in 1896 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Webster, Bessie** (1866-1955), female, single, Christchurch (Cust), Presbyterian, trained teacher, CIM, China (1895-?).

**Weir, Joseph** (?-1920), male, single, Dunedin (b. Waiwera South), Presbyterian, ministry student?, possibly also trained at Angas College Adelaide, Presbyterian Church of Tasmania, New Hebrides (1909-1920), died, initially applied to both the SAEM (1900) and the PCNZ FMC (1908).

**Welch, Vern** (1897-?), male, single, Wellington, Brethren, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1928-1933).

**West, George** (?-1937), male, single?, Dunedin, Anglican, Melanesian Mission, Santa Cruz Islands (1913-1937), drowned.

**Weston, Christine** (?), female, single, New Plymouth (b. Wairarapa), Methodist, trained teacher, MOM, Fiji (1919-1959), retired, influenced towards missionary work by the **Rev. J. W. Burton**.

**Whapham, Helen** (1870-?), female, single (engaged), England, Baptist, Doric Lodge (women's section of Harley Missionary Training College England), NZBMS, India (1893-1896), husband's dismissal, married **Walter La Barte** in 1893.

**White, Arthur** (1880-1936), male, single, Palmerston North, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Uruguay (1909-1936), died whilst in England, married Evelyn Davey (English missionary) in 1911.

**White, Edna** (1902-1987), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse, MOM, Solomon Islands (1927-32, 1936-38, 1955, 1962).

**White, Lily**, (1890-1967), female, single, Methodist, trained nurse and deaconess, MOM, Fiji (1919-1921), Solomon Islands (1925-1928), note that it was unclear as to whether there were two Lily White's working for the MOM but my hunch is that it was the same person working in two consecutive positions.

**White, Rev. Walter** (?), male, married, South Australia, Baptist, previously with the South Australia BMS in India, NZBMS, India (1911-1918), resigned for financial reasons.

**White, Mrs** (?) female, married, South Australia, Baptist, previously with the South Australia BMS in India, NZBMS, India (1911-1918), resigned for financial reasons.

**Wighton, Annie** (1892-?), female, single, Auckland (b. Scotland), Baptist Tabernacle, trained nurse, Toronto Bible College, SIM, Nigeria (1921-1965), retired.

**Wilkens, Linda** (?), female, single, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, Dutch Reform Church, Sumatra (1930-1939).

**Wilkinson, Captain Eva** (?), female, single, Salvation Army, China (1917-1951), Communist revolution, possible later service in India, married Arthur Ludbrook (English Salvation Army officer) in China.

**Wilkinson, Rev. Frank** (1891-1965), male, married, Dunedin, Knox Presbyterian, ministry student, MA and theological training, CVM, China (1920-1927), resigned due to political unrest and growing Chinese church autonomy, went on to parish ministry (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Wilkinson (Cameron), Mrs Helen** (1890-1960), female, married, Dunedin, Maori Hill Presbyterian, trained teacher, BSc, CVM, China (1920-1927), resignation.

**Wilkinson, Nellie** (1888-?), female, single, Auckland, Ponsonby Baptist, NZBMS, India (1912-1921), ill health.

**Williams, Bennet** (1900-?), male, single, Hinds, Ashburton Baptist, NZBTI and Los Angeles BTI, language training in Belgium, Africa Inland Mission, Central Africa (1928-1964), retired, married a New Zealand woman (unnamed) c. 1934.

**Williams, Vera** (1899-1936), female, single, Invercargill, Brethren, Brethren missionary, Malaya (1930-1936), ill health, died en route to NZ.

**Wilson, Mr A. Gordon** (?), male, married, Australia, Wesleyan Methodist, qualified architect who had been previously working as General Manager of the Medical Missionary Society's Hospital in Canton, CVM, China (1914-1925), resigned for unspecified reasons, building supervisor of the Kong Chuen hospital complex (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Wilson, Mrs** (?), female, married, Australia, CVM, China (1914-1925), husband's resignation.

**Wilson, Alice** (1863-1954), female, single, Auckland, St Sepulchre's Anglican Khyber Pass, YWCA assistant secretary, private tuition, NZCMA, Nigeria (1894-1908), ill health, sister of **George Wilson**, returned to YWCA work in New Zealand and then ran St Mary's homes.

**Wilson, Charles** (1877-?), male, single, Dunedin, Presbyterian, Angas College Adelaide, SAEM, Argentine and Bolivia (1899-c. 1905), extended deputation/furlough at the time that the ASAM was unravelling meant that he probably did not return, one of the original party to the Argentine, later noted as a missionary enthusiast in Dunedin.

**Wilson, Rev. Fred** (?), male, married, Owaka, Owaka Baptist, Union Missionary College New York, SUM, Sudan (1920s at least).

**Wilson, Mrs** (?), female, married, Baptist, SUM, Sudan (1920s at least).

**Wilson, George** (?), male, single, Auckland, St Sepulchre's Anglican Khyber Pass, CMS Niger Mission, Nigeria (1889-1895), ill health, brother of **Alice Wilson**.

**Wilson, Jim** (?), male, single, Hamilton, Hamilton Baptist, Los Angeles BTI, SSEM, Solomon Islands (1930-1941).

**Wilson, John** (1854-1893), male, married, Dunedin, Presbyterian, carpenter, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1892-1893), died suddenly, temporary appointment to assist in building projects on the island of Nguna, wife (Alice Donald) and children remained in Dunedin.

**Windsor, Albert** (?), male, married, Auckland, Mt Albert Baptist, Sydney Bible College, South Sea Islands Assam, New Guinea (1925-at least 1930), accountant for an industrial mission at Badu, New Guinea.

**Windsor (Runcimann), Mrs Janet** (?), female, married, Auckland, Mt Albert Baptist, South Sea Islands Assam, New Guinea (1925-at least 1930), noted as running a large Sunday school and bible class at Badu.

**Witty, Arthur** (?-1958), male, single, Auckland, Eden Brethren Hall, PIVM, India (1899-c. 1903), became a Brethren missionary, India (c. 1903-1921), married a Miss F. Frith (missionary of unknown origin) in 1907, she died in 1917, Arthur returned to NZ to take up itinerant evangelism.

**Wood (Sutton), Mrs Edith** (1898-?), female, married, Invercargill, North Invercargill Baptist, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1928-1937), ill health.

**Wood, William** (1899-?), male, married, Invercargill, North Invercargill Baptist, NZBTI, BIM, Bolivia (1928-1937), ill health, brother of Myrie Wood who went to China with the CIM in 1931.

**Wood, Reginald** (?), male, single, Palmerston North, chemist, PIVM, India (1899-at least 1902), married Miss Carrie Frederick (Australian PIVM missionary), later noted in 1924 as eager to initiate a local supporting committee in Palmerston North for the PIVM.

**Woods, Margaret** (1890-?), female, single, Christchurch (b. England), St Saviour's Anglican Sydenham, trained teacher, Marsden Missionary Training College Sydney, NZCMS, China (1920-1951), withdrawn from China by NZCMS.

**Worley, Frank** (1882-1932), male, single, Nelson, Nelson Baptist, trained teacher, Moody BTI, CIM, China (1911-1932), died from septicaemia, married to **Jessie Pettit**.

**Wright, Rev. Albert** (?), male, single, Mosgiel, Presbyterian, home missionary, Angas College Adelaide and Knox College Dunedin, Presbyterian Church of South Australia, Korea (1912-?), originally applied to the PCNZ FMC in 1907, at some stage married Miss Alice Niven (origin unknown) (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Wright, Ellen** (1882-1959), female, single, Invercargill, St Paul's Presbyterian, PWTI, CVM, China (1910-1930), daughter's health, married **Andrew Miller**, a daughter died in 1927 (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Wright, Mary** (1885-?), female, single, Christchurch, Presbyterian, trained nurse, PWTI, New Hebrides Mission, New Hebrides (1913-1914), Ambrim Hospital destroyed by volcanic eruption, replaced Miss Morris (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Yansen, Netta** (1892-1961), female, single, Australia, Presbyterian, trained teacher, CVM, China (1923-1950), ill health, retired to Australia (link to [www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm](http://www.archives.presbyterian.org.nz/page143.htm)).

**Young, Florence** (1856-1940), female, single, Australia (b. Motueka and childhood in Southland), Brethren, domestic and evangelist, Kanaka Queensland Mission, Queensland (1882-1891), missionary calling, CIM, China (1891-1900), ill health, SSEM, Solomon Islands and Australia (1904-?), founder of both the Kanaka Queensland Mission and of the SSEM, related to the Deck family.

**Young, Grace** (?), female, single, Auckland, Anglican, trained nurse, Australian Board of Missions, China (1929-?), sister of **Margaret Young**, worked in the Diocese of Shantung.

**Young, Margaret** (?), female, single, Hamilton (b. Auckland), Anglican, trained teacher, NZABM Own Missionary, India (1930-?), sister of **Grace Young**, principal of girls' school in the Diocese of Dornakal as a replacement for **Thyra Richter**.

## Alphabetical Listing by Missionary Organisation

(\* = worked for more than one missionary organisation listed)

### **Africa Inland Mission (AIM)**

Blaikie, Laura and William  
Williams, Bennet

### **Algiers Mission Band**

Smeeton, Nellie  
Smeeton, Ropa

### **Anglican Papua Mission**

Robertson, Isabel

### **Associated Churches of Christ**

Hadfield, Mr F. L. and Mrs  
Sheriff, John

### **Australian Anglican Board of Missions**

Young, Grace

### **Australasian Methodist Overseas Mission (MOM)**

Adkin, Kate  
Austen, Mary  
Avery, Elizabeth and William  
Ballantine, Mary  
Barnett, Mary  
Benjamin, Julia  
Bensley, Rev. Arthur  
Berry, Elizabeth  
Blamires, Gwen  
Broom, Frank and Mrs  
Brown, Rev. Hubert and Irene  
Burton, Rev. John and Mrs  
Carr, Rev. C. and Mrs  
Chivers, Frank and Gladys  
Common, Elizabeth  
Copeland, Rev. Fred and Mrs  
Cowan, Miss E.  
Crump, Alice and Rev. John  
Cushen, Miss A.  
Dalziell, Jean  
Dent, May and Rev. Thomas  
Enticott, Rev. W. J.  
Evans, Rev. M. and Mrs  
Fabrin, Ruth  
Fellows, Rev. Samuel and Mrs  
Findlay, Rev. G. and Mrs  
Fletcher, Rev. Ambrose and Mrs  
Francis, Charles and Mrs  
Gilmour, Rev. Matthew and Norma  
Goulton, Hazel  
Graham, May  
Griffin, Maud  
Hames, Inez  
Harford, Marjorie  
Harrison, Ernest  
Hayman, Rev. Frank and Ruth

James, Dr Clifford and Florence  
Jamieson, Margaret  
Jenness, May  
Jones, Lina  
Lill, Maisie  
McDonald, Grace  
McNeish, Alice  
Murray, Coralie  
Noble, Elizabeth  
Olds, Constance  
Parkin, Stella  
Roget, Rev. H. H. and Mrs  
Roscoe, Helen  
Saunders, Ada  
Sayers, Jean and Dr Ted  
Scrivin, Rev. Arthur  
Simmonds, Rev. Joseph and Mrs  
Slade, Margaret and Rev. William  
Stewart, Muriel  
Suckling, Rev. J. and Mrs  
Sutherland, Mr B. and Mrs  
Thompson, Florrie  
Tolley, Frances  
Tunncliffe, Harold  
Vosper, Janet  
Voyce, Rev. Arthur and Beryl  
Wallis, Marion and Rev. Thomas  
Waterhouse, J. H. Lawry  
Weston, Christine  
White, Edna  
White, Lilly

### **Australasian South American Mission (ASAM)**

Alexander, Harry and Jessie\*  
Allan, George and Mary\*  
Jackson, Jessica

### **Balolo Mission**

Aitken, Tom

### **Baptist Missionary Society (BMS)**

Edmeades, Rev. Robert

### **Bolivian Indian Mission (BIM)**

Allan, George and Mary\*  
Allan, Margarita  
Cresswell, Annie  
Cuthbertson, Bessie  
Grocott, Ada and Horace  
Hogg, Eleanor and Henry  
Neal, Marion  
Searle, Margaret and William  
Starnes, John  
Turnbull, Johnston and Mrs  
Turner, Anthony

Welch, Vern  
Wood, Edith and William

**Brethren**

Aiken, Albert  
Airth, Gordon  
Aish, Percy  
Alexander, Harry and Jessie\*  
Barry, Alex and Daisy  
Black, George and Agnes  
Blick, Fanny and Walter  
Bowen, Leslie  
Brewerton, Ernest  
Brice, Ethel  
Brierley, Frank  
Brown, Thomas  
Buchanan, Edward and Dora  
Buchanan, Mrs G.  
Burgess, Christian  
Burns, Edgar and Mrs E.  
Burns, Mr H.  
Clapham, James  
Cornwell, Leonard  
Daniell, Evelyn  
Davies, Miss M.  
De Carteret, Herebert\* and Maude  
Dron, Elizabeth  
Dunn, Maria  
Duthie, James  
Dyason, Afra  
Emerson, Miss M.  
Ferguson, Phebe  
Fleming, Jean  
Fountian, Emma  
Goold, Leonard  
Gordon, Margaret  
Goulstone, Marjorie  
Goulstone, Rosa  
Gresham, Alice  
Gresham, Irene  
Hale, George and Mrs  
Hamilton, Dr George and Isa  
Hamilton, Mrs M.  
Hamilton, Dr Norman  
Hankins, Miss  
Holmes, Helen  
Irvine, William\*  
Kay, Agnes\*  
Kirk, James  
Lewis, Marjorie  
Lewis, Ruth  
Mai, Alice  
McGregor, May  
McIver, Mrs F. and John  
Mills, Nellie and Thomas  
Moir, Mr W.  
Mosley, Miss M.  
Newport, Cora  
Noel, Edwyn  
Olley, John

Packham, Mrs E. and Mr V.  
Paton, Reta  
Perkins, Alfred and Mrs A.  
Persson, Oscar  
Pullenger, Robert  
Raven, Ruth  
Reddell, Arthur  
Reeve, Miss M.  
Revell, William and Mrs  
Revell, Mrs Dora  
Richmond, Andrew and Mrs  
Rimmer, Ernest\* and Mrs E.  
Rolls, Charles  
Roper, Amy  
Ross, Isabella and John  
Rout, Alice  
Rout, Ernest  
Roxburgh, Alfred  
Salisbury, Ernest  
Shepherd, George  
Shirliff, Bessie  
Shirliff, Clare  
Shirliff, Kath  
Shirliff, Julia  
Shirliff, Sarah  
Smith, Allan and Maud  
Smith, Eric and Mrs R.  
Smith, Margaret  
Starck, Emily  
Strachan, Grace  
Sturt, Reginald  
Sundgren, Lottie  
Taylor, Sybil  
Thomson, Mr G. and Mrs  
Townley, Bertha  
Treasure, Miss E.  
Treweek, Jessie  
Turner, Gordon and Myrtle  
White, Arthur and Evelyn  
Williams, Vera  
Witty, Arthur\* and Mrs F.

**Cairo Nile Mission Press**

Kinnear, James

**Ceylon and India General Mission**

Thomson, Thomas

**China Inland Mission (England)**

Dyer, Mr  
Bailey, Rev. Reuben and Mrs

**China Inland Mission (Australia)**

Florence Young\*

**China Inland Mission New Zealand (CIM)**

Anderson, William  
Bateman, Henry  
Begbie, Rachael  
Blakeley, Jane



Blick, Jessie  
 Button, Lela  
 Cannon, Arthur  
 Conway, Norah  
 Cooke, Kate  
 Dobson, Rita  
 Edgar, J. Huston  
 Falls, John and Mrs  
 Funnell, Henry  
 Glanville, Samuel and Mrs  
 Glanville, Edith  
 Gordon, Martha  
 Grey, Naomi  
 Guardiola, Olegario  
 Hamilton, Robert Sinclair  
 Hardisty, Sarah  
 Harrison, Annie  
 Hayman, Arnolis  
 Jamieson, Charles  
 Jensen, Laura  
 Jones, Miriam  
 Kendon, Eleanor  
 MacDuff, Nellie  
 MacLean, Annie  
 Malcolm, Rev. William  
 McGregor, Grace  
 McQuire, Elizabeth  
 Muir, John  
 Patchett, Cyril  
 Pettit, Jessie  
 Popham, Katie  
 Reid, Hannah  
 Reid, Lilia  
 Reid, Margaret  
 Richardson, Reuben and Sophia  
 Roulston, Mary  
 Salisbury, Ella  
 Saunders, Arthur  
 Searell, Edith  
 Searle, Olive  
 Smith, Ada  
 Smith, Dorothy  
 Taylor, Harry  
 Thompson, Joseph  
 Todd, James and Amy  
 Webster, Bessie  
 Worley, Francis

**Christian and Missionary Alliance**  
 Hay, James\*

**Church Missionary Society (CMS)**  
 Irving, Hannah  
 Jones, Rev. F. Melville  
 Kempthorne, Rev. Stanley  
 St Clair Tisdall, Rev. William  
 Snee, Rev. J. F.  
 Stewart, Marie  
 Stuart, Anne  
 Stuart, Bishop Edward

Wilson, George

**Church of England Zenana Missionary Society**

Leslie, Elizabeth  
 Stinson, Elizabeth\*

**Church of Scotland**

Blair, Jessie  
 Colley, Catherine  
 Evans, Amy  
 Fraser, Kate  
 Henderson, Alice\*  
 Kean, Miss  
 Moore, Mary  
 Patterson, Grace  
 Smith, Miss E.

**Diocese of Polynesia**

Cull, Roy  
 Favell, Rev. Harold  
 Greer, Rev. J. Lawrence and Mrs  
 Hands, Edith and Rev. William  
 James, Gwen  
 Rapley, Eva  
 Shaw, Thelma

**Dutch Reform Church**

Wilkens, Linda

**Emmanuel Mission to Seamen**

Darby, Henry

**Evangelical Union of South America**

Benfell, Alfred  
 Elder, Miss I.  
 Gillanders, Roderick (and Isobel)

**Free Church of Scotland/United Free Church of Scotland**

Davey, Mildred  
 Macgregor, Helen  
 Money, Herbert

**Independent**

Blair, William C.  
 Forlong, Houlton and Margaret  
 McKenzie, Martha and William  
 Morton, Annie\*  
 Runciman, Thomas

**Kwato Evangelical Society**

Mill, Miss B.

**Latin American Prayer Fellowship**

Paulsen, Miss M. M.

**London Missionary Society**

Begg, Jean\*  
 Driver, Dr Arthur

Edmanson, Annie  
 Griffin, Evelyn and Harry  
 Harband, Amy  
 Harband, Beatrice  
 Inglis, Jessie  
 May, Helen  
 Ridley, Maud  
 Small, Hilda  
 Smith, Rev. Thomas H.

**Melanesian Mission**

Andrews, Rev. G.  
 Atkins, Rev. Joseph  
 Bice, Susannah  
 Bourne, Bro. E.  
 Bradley, Rev. Arthur  
 Buchanan, Rev. E. G.  
 Coates, R. G.  
 Codrington, Rev. Robert  
 Colenso, Elizabeth  
 Cordell, Emily  
 Crawshaw, Rev. Francis  
 Durrad, Rev. W. J. and Mrs  
 Fox, Rev. Dr Charles  
 Francis, Rev. D. L. and Mrs  
 Godfrey, Eileen and Rev. Richard  
 Hardy, Miss H.  
 Hodgson, Rev. R.  
 Hopkins, Rev. H.  
 Howard, Rev. S.  
 Hurse, May  
 Ivens, Sister Kate  
 Leggatt, Rev. C. F.  
 Mason, Mrs Gwendlyn  
 Mason, Henrietta  
 Mountford, Rev. Conrad  
 Nind, Rev. Hubert  
 Palmer, Rev. J. C.  
 Palmer, Rev. John and Sarah  
 Plant, Rev. John H.  
 Robin, Rev. L.  
 Satchell, Agnes  
 Saunders, Miss  
 Selwyn, Bishop John Richardson  
 Teall, Rev. A. E.  
 Watkins, Mr S.  
 West, George

**Mission to Lepers**

Oldrieve, Rev. Frank and Mrs

**Missionary Settlement for University Women**

Griffiths, Winnifred

**New South Wales Baptist Missionary Society**

David and Mrs Findlay

**New Zealand Anglican Board of Missions**

Richter, Thyra  
 Russell, Naomi

Young, Margaret

**New Zealand Baptist Missionary Society (NZBMS)**

Arnold, Eileen  
 Bacon, Annie  
 Barry, Rev. Walter  
 Beckingsale, Emma  
 Bradfield, Mary  
 Brown, Grace  
 Cowles, Amy  
 De Carteret, Mrs  
 De St Dalmas, Rev. H. G. and Mrs  
 Eade, Rev. Bun and Lois  
 Gainsford, Nellie  
 Gillanders, Helen  
 Goring, Belle and Rev. Ernest  
 Grigg, Rev. Edward  
 Hall, Annie  
 Hughes, Rev. George and Mrs  
 Hunter, Rev. W. C. and Mrs  
 Inglesby, Myra  
 Ings, Rev. John  
 Ings, Letitia  
 Jones, Rev. Harry  
 La Barte, Walter  
 Livingstone, Margaret  
 Macgeorge, Rosalie  
 Newcombe, Annie  
 Newcombe, Ethel and Dr F. W.  
 North, Dr Charles and Emily  
 Ogilvie, Eunice  
 Peters, Gladys  
 Peters, Lilian  
 Pettit, Letitia and Dr William  
 Pillow, Hopestill  
 Rice, Hilda  
 Takle, Rev. John and Maude  
 Whapham, Helen  
 White, Rev. Walter and Mrs  
 Wilkinson, Nellie

**New Zealand Church Missionary Association/Society (NZCMA/S)**

Ault, Rev. Harold and Zeta  
 Baker, Ethel  
 Bargrove, Violet  
 Brunt, Beatrice  
 Carr, Arthur  
 Dineen, Maude  
 Dixon, Muriel  
 Giffard, Beatrice\*  
 Haddow, Dr Phyllis  
 Hunter-Brown, Della  
 Ivens, Rev. Walter  
 Jennings, Margaret  
 Latham, Violet  
 Lindsay, Ruby  
 Long, Rev. Frank  
 McCallum, Isabella

Opie, Gwen  
 Opie, Rita  
 Opie, Vivienne  
 Pasley, Marie  
 Smith, Florence  
 Sowry, Zaidee  
 Stinson, Elizabeth\*  
 Strange, Dr Charles and Olive  
 Thorp, Mary  
 Tobin, Blanche  
 Wilson, Alice  
 Woods, Margaret

**NZSCM Greater Service Scheme**  
 Gavin, Doris

**Poona and Indian Village Mission (PIVM)**

Bailey, Rev. J. J. and Lottie  
 Beale, Emily  
 Browne, Elsie  
 Buist, Miss  
 Burnside, Miss K.  
 Catherwood, Robert  
 Chisnall, Ellen  
 De Carteret, Herbert\*  
 Escott, Tom  
 Evans, Thomas  
 Fear, Maggie  
 Foord, Miss E.  
 Forgie, Madge  
 Giesen, Edith\*  
 Giffard, Beatrice\*  
 Hay, James\*  
 Hinton, William  
 Hooper, Miss  
 Irvine, William\*  
 Kay, Agnes\*  
 Kerkham, Algernon,  
 Lang, Miss  
 Leigh, Mr  
 Lilly, Elise  
 Lowe, Henry and Mrs  
 McGoun, John  
 MacGregor, Joan\*  
 Morley, Ella  
 Morley, Miss  
 Morton, Annie\*  
 Munnings, Miss  
 Murray, Alex  
 Newton, Lillian  
 Newton, Nellie  
 Perry, William  
 Rimmer, Ernest\*  
 Roberts, Miss  
 Robertson, W. Stewart\*  
 Ryburn, Josiah\*  
 Savage, Miss  
 Simpson, Lillian  
 Valpy, Percy  
 Witty, Arthur\*

Wood, Reginald

**Presbyterian Church of New Zealand  
 Canton Villages Mission (CVM)**

Anderson, Margaret  
 Astbury, Nancy  
 Davies, Rev. Herbert  
 Findlay, Mary  
 Goodson, Elsie  
 Hancock, Annie  
 Ings, Dr Joseph and Mrs  
 James, Annie  
 Kirk, Dr Edward  
 Kirk, Dr John and Norah  
 Mawson, Jean  
 Mawson, Sara Rev. William  
 McEwan, Annie  
 McKenzie, Catherine and Rev. John  
 McNeur, Rev. George and Margaret  
 Miller, Andrew  
 Milne, Hazel and Rev. Peter  
 Naish, Violet  
 North, Agnes and Dr Charles Everard\*  
 Ogilvie, Frances  
 Park, Nance  
 Paterson, Catherine and Dr R.  
 Paul, Robina  
 Pih, Dr Kathleen  
 Prentice, Elizabeth  
 Reid, Eileen  
 Robertson, Dorothy  
 Turbott, Eveline and Dr Harold  
 Wilkinson, Rev. Frank and Helen  
 Wilson, Gordon and Mrs  
 Wright, Ellen  
 Yansen, Netta

**New Hebrides Mission**

Bowie, Isabella and Rev. Dr John  
 Bowie, William  
 Gibbons, G. Stanley  
 Gillies, Rev. Alexander  
 Hargraves, John  
 Lamb, Mary and Rev. Dr Robert  
 Mansfield, John  
 McCausland, Dr S. R.  
 McDowall, Robert  
 McLean, Minnie  
 McNaughton, Mr  
 Michelsen, Mrs Alba  
 Michelsen, Ere  
 Michelsen, Mrs Jane  
 Michelsen, Marie  
 Michelsen, Rev. Oscar  
 Michelsen, Mrs Sophia  
 Milne, Isobel\*  
 Milne, Jemima and Rev. William  
 Milne, Kate  
 Milne, Mary and Rev. Peter  
 Morris, Mrs W.

Murray, Rev. Charles and Flora  
 Neill, Mrs  
 Phillips, Mary  
 Riddle, Rev. Thomas\*  
 Smaill, Helen and Rev. Thomas  
 Stringer, Charles  
 Sutherland, Mr  
 Thomson, Mr G.  
 Watt, Agnes and Rev. William  
 Watt, Mrs Jessie  
 Wilson, John  
 Wright, Mary

#### **Punjab Mission**

Allan, Ann  
 Arnold, Harriet  
 Cousins, Dr  
 Davey, Rose  
 Elliott, Esther  
 Gray, Rev. James and Marion  
 Gray, George and Jean  
 Hardie, Beatrice  
 Harvie, Ada and Dr Adam  
 Henderson, Alice\*  
 Mathew, Dorothy  
 McColl, Mr D.  
 Milne, Isobel\*  
 Perry, Dr  
 Porteous, Edith and Dr William  
 Price, Cyril and Grace  
 Ravn, Nellie  
 Riddle, Rev. Thomas\*  
 Robertson, Agnes and Dr W. Stewart\*  
 Ryburn, Jessie and Rev. Josiah\*  
 Ryburn, Hilda and Rev. William  
 Sage, Dorothy  
 Salmond, Mary  
 Sutherland, Dr Angus  
 Sutherland, Violet

**Presbyterian Church of New South Wales**  
 Graham, Jean

**Presbyterian Church of South Australia**  
 Wright, Albert

**Presbyterian Church of Tasmania**  
 Weir, Joseph

**Presbyterian Church of Victoria**  
 Burrell, Dr H.

#### **Ramabai Mukti Mission**

Cole, Sister Clare  
 Ferguson, Jessie  
 McDonald, Miss  
 MacGregor, Joan\*

**Regions Beyond Missionary Union (RBMU)**  
 Graham, Jessie

Hay, Effie  
 Hercus, Eldred and Isabel  
 Scott, Miss  
 Elder, Robert

#### **Salvation Army**

Andrews, Captain Avelis  
 Battersby, Major Agatha  
 Carmichael, Captain Maude  
 Law, Major Alice  
 Marsden, Captain and Mrs  
 Newton, Adjutant Ellen  
 Smith, Captain Louie  
 Smyth, Brigadier Annie  
 Thompson, Victor  
 Wilkinson, Captain Eva

#### **Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG)**

Gibson, May  
 Gilfillan, Rev. Trevor  
 Hall, Kathleen  
 McDouall, Rev. Crichton and Mrs  
 Preece, Eunice  
 Steven, Beryl  
 Stocker, Mrs Dorothy

**South African Wesleyan Church**  
 Dent, Rev. C. and Mrs

**South Australia BMS**  
 Salter, Rev. Lawry and Mrs

#### **South American Evangelical Mission**

Allan, George and Mary\*  
 Barton, Robert  
 Cook, Mr W.  
 Heycock, Ernest  
 Wilson, Charles

#### **South Sea Evangelical Mission (SSEM)**

Cowie, Andrew  
 Deck, Gladys  
 Deck, Jessie  
 Fountain, Miss H.  
 Jenkins, Molly  
 Johnston, Howard  
 McBride, Mr and Mrs  
 McGregor, Jessie  
 Mitchell, Vera  
 Muir, Molly  
 Peters, Alfred  
 Spedding, Hilda  
 Vance, Robert  
 Waterstone, Miss  
 Wilson, Jim  
 Young, Florence\*

**South Sea Islands Assam**  
 Windsor, Albert and Janet

**Sudan Interior Mission (SIM)**

Annan, Reg  
 Barton, Charles  
 Davison, Laurie  
 Downey, Elsie  
 Martin, Bessie  
 McLennan, Christina  
 McMillan, Margaret  
 Nicholson, Jack and Vera  
 Orme, Mary  
 Osborne, David  
 Roke, Alfred  
 Wighton, Annie

Pitt, Miss A.  
 Porter, William Arthur  
 Richardson Mr E.  
 Steele, Kate  
 Theobald, Don

**Sudan United Mission (SUM)**

Boyall, Mr C.  
 Buckton, Miss G.  
 Elizabeth, Sister  
 Fleming, William  
 MacDiarmid, Donald and Phoebe  
 McDonald, Miss  
 Mills, Wilfred  
 Rimmer, Keith and Isa  
 Stewart, Lilly  
 Stewart, Ruby  
 Tulloch, Jasper  
 Wilson, Rev. Fred and Mrs

**Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA)**

Stych, John

**Welsh Presbyterian Mission**

North, Agnes and Dr Charles Everard\*

**YMCA**

Lang, Rev. Henry  
 Price, Eric

**YWCA**

Begg, Jean\*  
 Macky, Nora

**Zenana Bible and Medical Missionary Society**

Giffard, Beatrice\*  
 Thorn, Miss

**Organisation Unknown**

Bell, Miss  
 Bowden, Mr and Mrs  
 Brown, Elise  
 Clemence, Miss  
 Cruikshank, William  
 Dove, Miss  
 Freeman, Miss  
 Guardiola, Miss  
 Kimpton, Mr  
 Massam, Mr H.  
 McSkimming, Gertrude and Peter

## **Alphabetical Listing by Region**

### **AFRICA**

#### **Central Africa (including Congo)**

Aitken, Tom  
Brierley, Frank  
Cruikshank, William  
Gresham, Irene  
Rout, Ernest  
Salisbury, Ernest  
Stych, John  
Williams, Bennet

#### **Chad**

Olley, John

#### **Ethiopia**

Annan, Reg  
Barton, Charles  
Davison, Laurie  
Downey, Elsie  
Martin, Bessie  
McLennan, Christina  
Orme, Mary  
Roke, Alfred

#### **Kenya**

Blaikie, Laura and William  
Marsden, Captain and Mrs

#### **Nigeria**

Jones, Rev. F. Melville  
Kempthorne, Rev. Stanley  
Nicholson, Jack and Vera  
Wighton, Annie  
Wilson, Alice  
Wilson, George

#### **Portugese East Africa**

Porter, William

#### **South Africa**

Dent, Rev. C. and Mrs  
Ferguson, Phebe  
Irving, Hannah  
Richardson, Mr E.

#### **Southern Rhodesia**

Hadfield, Mr F. L. and Mrs  
Sheriff, John

#### **Sudan**

Boyall, Mr  
Buckton, Miss  
Elizabeth, Sister  
Fleming, William  
MacDiarmid, Donald and Dr Phoebe  
McDonald, Elizabeth  
Mills, Wilfred  
Osborne, David

Sudan, Isa and Keith  
Wilson, Rev. Fred and Mrs

#### **Tanganyika**

Lindsay, Ruby

#### **West Africa**

Theobald, Don

### **ASIA (EAST)**

#### **China**

Anderson, Margaret  
Anderson, William  
Andrews, Captain Avelis  
Astbury, Nancy  
Bailey, Rev. Reuben and Mrs  
Baker, Ethel  
Bargrove, Violet  
Bateman, Henry  
Begbie, China  
Blakeley, Jane  
Blick, Jessie  
Brunt, Beatrice  
Button, Lela  
Cannon, Arthur  
Carmichael, Captain Maude  
Colley, Catherine  
Conway, Norah  
Cooke, Kate  
Daniell, Evelyn  
Davies, Rev. Herbert  
Dineen, Maud  
Dixon, Muriel  
Dobson, Rita  
Duthie, James  
Dyer, Mr  
Edgar, J. Huston  
Edmanson, Annie  
Falls, John and Mrs  
Findlay, Mary  
Fraser, Kate  
Freeman, Miss  
Funnell, Rev. Henry  
Gibson, May  
Gilfillan, Rev. Trevor  
Glanville, Edith  
Glanville, Samuel and Mrs  
Goodson, Elsie  
Gordon, Martha  
Goulstone, Marjorie  
Gresham, Alice  
Grey, Naomi  
Guardiola, Olegario  
Haddow, Dr Phyllis  
Hall, Kathleen  
Hamilton, Robert S.  
Hancock, Annie  
Hardisty, Sarah  
Harrison, Annie  
Hayman, Arnolis  
Ings, Dr Joseph and Mrs

James, Annie  
 Jamieson, Charles  
 Jensen, Laura  
 Jones, Miriam  
 Kendon, Eleanor  
 Kimpton, Mr  
 Kirk, Dr Edward  
 Kirk, Dr John and Norah  
 Leslie, Elizabeth  
 MacDuff, Nellie  
 MacLean, Annie  
 Malcolm, Rev. William  
 Mawson, Jean  
 Mawson, Sara and Rev. William  
 McDouall, Rev. and Mrs  
 McEwan, Annie  
 McGregor, Grace  
 McKenzie, Catherine and Rev. John  
 McNeur, Rev. George and Margaret  
 McQuire, Elizabeth  
 Miller, Rev. Andrew  
 Milne, Hazel and Rev. Dr Peter  
 Moore, Mary  
 Muir, John  
 Naish, Violet  
 Newton, Adjutant Ellen  
 Ogilvie, Frances  
 Park, Nance  
 Patchett, Cyril  
 Paterson, Catherine and Dr R.  
 Paul, Robina  
 Persson, Oscar  
 Pettit, Jessie  
 Pih, Dr Kathleen  
 Popham, Katie  
 Preece, Eunice  
 Prentice, Elizabeth  
 Reid, Eileen  
 Reid, Hannah  
 Reid, Lillas  
 Reid, Margaret  
 Richardson, Reuben and Sophia  
 Ridley, Maud  
 Robertson, Dorothy  
 Roulston, Mary  
 Rout, Alice  
 Salisbury, Ella  
 Saunders, Arthur  
 Searell, Edith  
 Searle, Olive  
 Shepherd, George  
 Smith, Ada  
 Smith, Dorothy  
 Smith, Miss E.  
 Smith, Captain Louie  
 Smith, Rev. Thomas  
 Steven, Beryl  
 Stinson, Elizabeth  
 Stocker, Dorothy  
 Strange, Dr Charles and Olive

Stubbs, Winnifred  
 Sturt, Reginald  
 Taylor, Harry  
 Thompson, Joseph  
 Thorp, Mary  
 Tobin, Blanche  
 Todd, Amy and James  
 Turbott, Eveline and Dr Harold  
 Webster, Bessie  
 Wilkinson, Captain Eva  
 Wilkinson, Rev. Frank and Helen  
 Wilson, Mr A. Gordon and Mrs  
 Woods, Margaret  
 Worley, Frank  
 Wright, Ellen  
 Yansen, Netta  
 Young, Florence  
 Young, Grace

### **Hong Kong**

Daniell, Evelyn  
 Ogilvie, Frances

### **Japan**

Battersby, Major Agatha  
 Hunter-Brown, Della  
 Pasley, Marie  
 Smyth, Annie

### **Korea**

Wright, Rev. Albert

## **ASIA (SOUTH)**

### **Ceylon**

Darby, Henry  
 Opie, Gwen  
 Opie, Rita  
 Rolls, Charles  
 Thomson, Thomas

### **India**

Aiken, Albert  
 Allan, Ann  
 Arnold, Eileen  
 Arnold, Harriet  
 Ault, Rev. Harold and Zeta  
 Bacon, Annie  
 Bailey, Mr. J. J.  
 Barry, Rev. Walter  
 Beale, Emily  
 Beckingsale, Emma  
 Black, Agnes and George  
 Blair, Jessie  
 Bowen, Leslie  
 Bradfield, Mary  
 Brown, Elise  
 Brown, Grace  
 Brown, Thomas  
 Browne, Elsie  
 Buchanan, Edward and Dora

Buchanan, Mrs G.  
 Buist, Miss  
 Burnside, Miss K.  
 Carr, Arthur  
 Catherwood, Robert  
 Chisnall, Ellen  
 Clemence, Miss  
 Cole, Clare  
 Cousins, Dr  
 Cowles, Amy  
 Davey, Mildred  
 De Carteret, Herbert and Maude  
 De Carteret, Mrs  
 De St Dalmas, Rev. H. G. and Mrs  
 Driver, Dr Arthur  
 Dunn, Maria  
 Dyason, Afra  
 Eade, Rev. Bun and Lois  
 Edmeades, Robert  
 Elliott, Esther  
 Escott, Tom  
 Evans, Amy  
 Evans, Thomas  
 Fear, Maggie  
 Ferguson, Jessie  
 Findlay, David and Mrs  
 Fleming, Jean  
 Foord, Miss  
 Forgie, Madge  
 Fountain, Emma  
 Gainsford, Nellie  
 Gavin, Doris  
 Giesen, Edith  
 Giffard, Beatrice  
 Gillanders, Helen  
 Goold, Leonard  
 Gordon, Margaret  
 Goring, Belle and Rev. Ernest  
 Goulstone, Rosa  
 Graham, Jean  
 Graham, Jessie  
 Gray, George and Jean  
 Gray, Rev. James and Marion  
 Griffiths, Winnifred  
 Grigg, Rev. Edward  
 Guardiola, Miss  
 Hall, Annie  
 Harband, Amy  
 Harband, Beatrice  
 Hardie, Beatrice  
 Harvie, Ada and Dr Adam  
 Hay, James  
 Henderson, Alice  
 Hinton, William  
 Hooper, Miss  
 Hughes, Rev. George and Mrs  
 Hunter, Rev. W. C. and Mrs  
 Inglesby, Myra  
 Inglis, Jessie  
 Ings, Rev. John

Ings, Letitia  
 Irvine, William  
 Rev. Harry Jones  
 Kay, Agnes  
 Kean, Miss  
 Kerkham, Algernon  
 La Barte, Walter  
 Lang, Miss  
 Lang, Rev. Henry  
 Law, Major Alice  
 Latham, Violet  
 Leigh, Mr  
 Lilly, Elise  
 Livingstone, Margaret  
 Long, Rev. Frank  
 Lowe, Henry and Mrs  
 Macgeorge, Rosalie  
 MacGregor, Helen  
 MacGregor, Joan  
 Mai, Alice  
 Mathew, Dorothy  
 May, Helen  
 McColl, Mr D.  
 McDonald, Miss  
 McGoun, John  
 McIver, John  
 Milne, Isobel  
 Morley, Ella  
 Morley, Miss  
 Morton, Annie  
 Mosley, Miss M.  
 Munnings, Miss  
 Murray, Alex  
 Newcombe, Annie  
 Newcombe, Ethel and Dr F. W.  
 Newport, Cora  
 Newton, Lilian  
 Newton, Nellie  
 Noel, Edwyn  
 North, Dr Charles and Emily  
 North, Agnes and Dr Charles Everard  
 Ogilvie, Eunice  
 Oldrieve, Rev. Frank and Mrs  
 Opie, Vivienne  
 Patterson, Grace  
 Perkins, Alfred  
 Perry, Dr  
 Perry, William  
 Peters, Gladys  
 Peters, Lilian  
 Pettit, Letitia and Dr William  
 Pillow, Hopestill  
 Pitt, Miss A.  
 Porteous, Edith and Dr William  
 Price, Cyril and Grace  
 Ravn, Nellie  
 Reddell, Arthur  
 Revell, William  
 Rice, Hilda  
 Richter, Thyra



Riddle, Rev. Thomas  
 Rimmer, Ernest  
 Roberts, Miss  
 Robertson, Agnes and Dr W. Stewart  
 Rolls, Charles  
 Roper, Amy  
 Roxburgh, Alfred  
 Russell, Naomi  
 Ryburn, Jessie and Rev. Josiah  
 Ryburn, Hilda and Rev. William Morton  
 Sage, Dorothy  
 Salmond, Mary  
 Salter, Rev Lawry and Mrs  
 Savage, Miss  
 Shirtliff, Kath  
 Shirtliff, Julia  
 Simpson, Lillian  
 Smith, Florence  
 Snee, Rev. J. F.  
 Sowry, Zaidee  
 Starck, Emily  
 Steele, Kate  
 Sundgren, Lottie  
 Sutherland, Dr Angus  
 Sutherland, Violet  
 Takle, Rev. John and Maude  
 Taylor, Sybil  
 Thomson, Mr G. and Mrs  
 Thomson, Thomas  
 Thompson, Victor  
 Thorn, Miss  
 Tisdall, Rev. William St Clair  
 Townley, Bertha  
 Treweek, Jessie  
 Valpy, Percy  
 Whapham, Helen  
 White, Rev. Walter and Mrs  
 Wilkinson, Nellie  
 Witty, Arthur  
 Wood, Reginald  
 Young, Margaret

## **ASIA (SOUTH EAST)**

### **Malaya**

Blick, Walter  
 Brewerton, Ernest  
 Burns, Mr H.  
 Cornwell, Leonard  
 Davies, Miss M.  
 Dron, Elizabeth  
 Hankins, Miss  
 Kempthorne, Rev. Stanley  
 Lewis, Ruth  
 Price, Eric  
 Reeve, Miss M.  
 Runcimann, Thomas  
 Shirtliff, Bessie  
 Shirtliff, Clare  
 Shirtliff, Sarah  
 Tobin, Blanche

Townley, Bertha  
 Williams, Vera

### **Singapore**

Emerson, Miss M.  
 Hankins, Miss  
 Macky, Nora

### **Sumatra**

Wilkins, Linda

## **AUSTRALIA**

Barry, Alex and Daisy

## **EUROPE**

### **Holland**

Brice, Ethel  
 Treasure, Miss E.

## **MIDDLE EAST**

### **Algeria**

Smeeton, Nellie  
 Smeeton, Rosa

### **Cyprus**

Clapham, Florence and James

### **Egypt**

Kinnear, James

### **Palestine**

Clapham, Florence and James  
 Goold, Leonard  
 McCallum, Isabella  
 McSkimming, Gertrude and Peter

### **Persia**

Stewart, Marie  
 Stuart, Anne  
 Stuart, Bishop Edward

## **PACIFIC**

### **Fiji**

Austin, Mary  
 Ballantyne, Mary  
 Burton, Rev. John and Mrs  
 Carr, Rev. C. and Mrs  
 Cowan, Miss E.  
 Cull, Roy  
 Cushen, Miss A.  
 Evans, Rev. M. and Mrs  
 Favell, Rev. Harold  
 Findlay, Rev. G. and Mrs  
 Graham, May  
 Griffin, Maud  
 Hames, Inez  
 Hands, Edith and Rev. William  
 James, Gwen

Jennings, Margaret  
 Kempthorne, Bishop Stanely  
 Parkin, Stella  
 Rapley, Eva  
 Roget, Rev. H. H. and Mrs  
 Roscoe, Helen  
 Shaw, Thelma  
 Simmonds, Rev. Joseph and Mrs  
 Slade, Margaret and Rev. William  
 Suckling, Rev. J. and Mrs  
 Sutherland, Mr B. and Mrs  
 Tolley, Frances  
 Wallis, Marion and Rev. Thomas  
 Weston, Christine  
 White, Lily

#### **New Britain**

Broom, Frank and Mrs  
 Crump, Alice and Rev. John  
 Tunnicliffe, Harold

#### **New Guinea**

Massam, Mr H.  
 Mill, Miss B.  
 Windsor, Albert and Janet

#### **New Hebrides**

Blair, William  
 Bowie, Isabella and John  
 Bowie, William  
 Burrell, Dr H.  
 Forlong, Houlton and Margaret  
 Gibbons, G. Stanley  
 Gillies, Rev. Alexander  
 Godfrey, Eileen and Rev. Richard  
 Hargraves, John  
 Lamb, Mary and Rev. Dr Robert  
 Mansfield, John  
 McCausland, Dr S. R.  
 McDowell, Robert  
 McKenzie, Martha and William  
 McLean, Minnie  
 McNaughton, Mr and Mrs  
 Michelsen, Jane and Rev. Oscar  
 Michelsen, Mrs Sophia  
 Michelsen, Mrs Alba  
 Michelsen, Miss Ere  
 Michelsen, Marie  
 Milne, Mary and Rev. Peter  
 Milne, Isobel  
 Milne, Kate  
 Milne, Jemima and Rev. William  
 Morris, Mrs W.  
 Murray, Rev. Charles and Flora  
 Neill, Mrs  
 Phillips, Mary  
 Riddle, Rev. Thomas  
 Satchell, Agnes  
 Smaill, Helen and Rev. Thomas  
 Stringer, Charles

Sutherland, Mr  
 Thomson, Mr G.  
 Watt, Agnes and Rev. William  
 Watt, Mrs Jessie  
 Weir, Joseph  
 Wilson, John  
 Wright, Mary

#### **Norfolk Island**

Bice, Susannah  
 Codrington, Rev. Robert  
 Colenso, Elizabeth  
 Crawshaw, Rev. Francis  
 Fox, Rev. Dr Charles  
 Hurse, May  
 Palmer, Rev John and Sarah  
 Selwyn, Bishop John

#### **Papua**

Avery, Elizabeth and William  
 Benjamin, Julia  
 Enticott, Rev. W. J.  
 Fellows, Rev. Samuel  
 Fletcher, Rev. Ambrose and Mrs  
 Francis, Charles and Mrs  
 Gilmour, Rev. Matthew and Norma  
 Harrison, Ernest  
 Jamieson, Margaret  
 Jenness, May  
 Lill, Maisie  
 Robertson, Isabel  
 Scrivin, Rev. Arthur  
 Thompson, Florrie  
 Vosper, Janet

#### **Samoa**

Begg, Jean  
 Copeland, Rev. Fred and Mrs  
 Greer, Rev. J. Lawrence and Mrs  
 Griffin, Evelyn and Harry  
 Noble, Elizabeth  
 Small, Hilda

#### **Santa Cruz Islands**

West, George

#### **Solomon Islands**

Adkin, Kate  
 Andrews, Rev. G.  
 Atkins, Rev. Joseph  
 Barnett, Mary  
 Bensley, Rev. Arthur  
 Berry, Elizabeth  
 Bourne, Brother E.  
 Bradley, Rev. Arthur  
 Brown, Rev. Hubert and Irene  
 Buchanan, Rev. E.  
 Chivers, Frank and Gladys  
 Coates, Mr R. G.  
 Common, Elizabeth

Cordell, Emily  
 Cowie, Andrew  
 Crawshaw, Rev Francis  
 Dalziell, Jean  
 Deck, Mrs Jessie  
 Deck, Mrs Gladys  
 Dent, May and Rev. Thomas  
 Durrad, Rev. W. J. and Mrs  
 Flux, Doris  
 Fountain, Miss H.  
 Fox, Rev. Dr Charles  
 Francis, Rev. D. L. and Mrs  
 Hardy, Miss H.  
 Hayman, Rev. Frank and Ruth  
 Hodgson, Rev. R.  
 Hopkins, Rev. H.  
 Howard, Rev. S.  
 Ivens, Kate  
 Ivens, Rev. Walter  
 James, Dr Clifford and Florence  
 Jenkins, Molly  
 Johnston, Howard  
 Jones, Lina  
 Leggatt, Rev. C. F.  
 Mason, Henrietta  
 Mason, Mrs Gwendolyn  
 McBride, Mr and Mrs  
 McDonald, Grace  
 McGregor, Jessie  
 McNeish, Alice  
 Mitchell, Vera  
 Mountford, Rev. Conrad  
 Muir, Molly  
 Murray, Coralie  
 Nind, Rev. Hubert  
 Olds, Constance  
 Palmer, Rev. J. C.  
 Peters, Alfred  
 Plant, Rev. John  
 Robin, Rev. L.  
 Saunders, Ada  
 Saunders, Miss  
 Sayers, Jane and Dr Edward  
 Spedding, Hilda  
 Stewart, Muriel  
 Teall, Rev. A. E.  
 Vance, Robert  
 Voyce, Rev. Arthur and Beryl  
 Waterhouse, J. H. Lawry  
 Waterstone, Miss  
 Watkins, Mr S.  
 White, Edna  
 White, Lily  
 Wilson, Jim  
 Young, Florence

#### **Tonga**

Blamires, Gwen  
 Fabrin, Ruth  
 Goulton, Hazel

Harford, Marjorie

## **CENTRAL and SOUTH AMERICA**

### **Argentina**

Alexander, Harry and Jessie  
 Allan, George and Mary  
 Barton, Robert  
 Bowden, Mr and Mrs  
 Burgess, Christian  
 Cook, Mr W.  
 Elder, Robert  
 Hamilton, Dr George and Isa  
 Hamilton, Mrs M.  
 Hamilton, Dr Norman  
 Hay, Effie  
 Hercus, Eldred and Isabel  
 Heycock, Ernest  
 Jackson, Jessica  
 Kirk, James  
 Paton, Reta  
 Ross, Isabella and John  
 Scott, Miss  
 Smith, Margaret  
 Strachan, Grace  
 Wilson, Charles

### **Bolivia**

Allan, George and Mary  
 Allan, Margarita  
 Burgess, Christian  
 Cresswell, Annie  
 Cuthbertson, Bessie  
 Grocott, Ada and Horace  
 Hamilton, Dr George and Isa  
 Hamilton, Mrs M.  
 Heycock, Ernest  
 Hogg, Eleanor and Henry  
 Jackson, Jessica  
 McGregor, May  
 Neal, Marion  
 Packham, Mrs E. and Mr V.  
 Pullenger, Robert  
 Searle, Margaret and William  
 Smith, Eric  
 Starnes, John  
 Turnbull, Johnston and Mrs  
 Turner, Anthony  
 Turner, Gordon and Myrtle  
 Welch, Vern  
 Wilson, Charles  
 Wood, Edith and William

### **Brazil**

Bell, Miss  
 Benfell, Alfred  
 Dove, Miss  
 Gillanders, Isobel and Roderick  
 Smith, Allan and Maud

**British Guiana**

Hale, George and Mrs

**Jamaica**

Hale, George and Mrs

**Mexico**

Paulsen, Miss M. M.

**Paraguay**

Lewis, Marjorie

McGregor, May

Moir, Mr W.

Raven, Ruth

Richmond, Andrew and Mrs

Ross, Isabella and John

Smith, Allan and Maud

**Peru**

Burns, Edgar

Elder, Miss I.

Hercus, Eldred and Isabel

Money, Herbert

**Uruguay**

Aish, Percy

Holmes, Helen

Mills, Nellie and Thomas

Smith, Margaret

White, Arthur

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